KIERKEGAARD'S JOURNALS AND NOTEBOOKS

VOLUME 3

Notebooks 1–15

Edited by
Niels Jørgen Cappelørn, Alastair Hannay, David Kangas,
Bruce H. Kirmmse, George Pattison, Vanessa Rumble,
and K. Brian Söderquist

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Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks

Introduction to the English Language Edition

Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks is based on *Søren Kierkegaards Skrifter* (hereafter, *SKS*) [Søren Kierkegaard's Writings] (Copenhagen: Gad, 1997–), which is a Danish scholarly, annotated edition of everything written by Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855). When completed *SKS* will comprise fifty-five volumes. *SKS* divides the entirety of Kierkegaard's output into four categories: 1) works published by Kierkegaard during his lifetime (e.g., such well-known titles as *Either/Or*, *Fear and Trembling*, and *The Sickness unto Death*); 2) works that lay ready—or substantially ready—for publication at the time of Kierkegaard's death, but which he did not publish in his lifetime (e.g., titles such as *The Book on Adler*, *The Point of View for My Work as an Author*, and *Judge for Yourself!*); 3) journals, notebooks, excerpts, and loose papers, collectively titled Kierkegaard's "journals and notebooks"; and 4) letters and biographical documents. Clearly, Kierkegaard was not only a prolific author, he was also a prolific *writer*, and his literary activity found expression not only in his published works but also in the mass of writings that were not published in his lifetime. It is these writings, the third category listed above, titled *Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks* (hereafter, *KJN*) that constitute the material of the present English language edition. For a detailed account of previous Danish and English language editions of Kierkegaard's unpublished writings, see pp. vii–xii of the "Introduction to the English Language Edition" in volume 1 of *KJN*.

I. Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks

Based as it is on the new Danish edition of *SKS*, the present English language edition of *Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks* employs the *SKS* principle of organization by archival unit: journals, notebooks, and loose papers.

The materials constituting the present edition of *KJN* consist of the documents mentioned above as the third category of materials included in *SKS* as volumes 17 through 27. The eleven volumes of

KJN contain the translated text of these eleven *SKS* volumes, plus most of the explanatory notes contained in the eleven *SKS* commentary volumes that accompany *SKS* 17–27. Specifically, the textual materials constituting *KJN* consist of the following documents:

a) a set of ten journals to which Kierkegaard affixed labels designating them "AA" through "KK" (as "I" and "J" are identical in the classical Roman alphabet, there is no journal titled "I I");

b) fifteen notebooks, designated "1" through "15" by the editors of *SKS*, sequenced according to the dates on which Kierkegaard first made use of them; Kierkegaard himself assigned titles to four of these notebooks, and the editors retain these titles in parentheses;

c) a series of thirty-six quarto-sized, bound journal volumes to which Kierkegaard affixed labels designating them journals "NB," "NB^2," "NB^3," through "NB^{36}"; and

d) a great variety of materials—a large number of individual folio sheets, pages, slips, and scraps of paper—which the editors of *KJN*, following the editors of *SKS*, title "loose papers."

There is a good deal of chronological back-and-forth in Kierkegaard's posthumous papers. Kierkegaard often made use of several of the first twenty-four documents—the ten journals designated "AA" through "KK" and the notebooks "1" through "14"—simultaneously, and there is thus much temporal overlap among these journals and notebooks. (Indeed, it was only after they had been in use for some time, probably in mid- or late 1842, that Kierkegaard assigned the designations "AA" through "KK" to the journal volumes bearing those labels.) Nonetheless, the above-mentioned archival units do fall into several broad temporal categories, and these twenty-four journals and notebooks can be collectively assigned to the period 1833–1846. *Notebook 15*, however, which is entirely devoted to Kierkegaard's relationship to Regine Olsen, his onetime fiancée, stems from 1849. The journals titled "NB" through "NB^{36}" were assigned their numbered titles in chronological order by Kierkegaard himself and stem from the period 1846–1855, though here, too, these journals contain additions and emendations, some of which stem from later periods, disrupting the general chronological

sequence of the journals. The final group of materials, the "loose papers," spans the entire period 1833–1855.

KJN follows the editors of *SKS* in the choice of a two-column format, which best reflects Kierkegaard's practice when keeping his journals and notebooks. Like many of his contemporaries, Kierkegaard's usual custom with his journals and notebooks was to crease the pages lengthwise (vertically) so that each page had an inner column for the main text and a somewhat narrower outer column for subsequent reflections and additions. In this way, further reflections could be—and very often were—added later, sometimes much later, often on several subsequent occasions, e.g., when Kierkegaard read or thought of something that reminded him of something he had written earlier.

As has been noted above, a certain degree of chronological organization is present in the documents themselves, but a strictly chronological presentation of all the material is neither possible nor, perhaps, desirable. A strict and comprehensive chronological organization of the material is impossible, for while we can often detect the *sequence* in which Kierkegaard altered and emended an original passage in a notebook or journal, it is frequently not possible to ascertain *when* these alterations and emendations took place—though in his earlier entries Kierkegaard often dated his marginal additions. Furthermore, there are also cases in which the very sequence of such changes cannot be determined with certainty. Finally, even if it could be established, a rigorously chronological sequencing of all the material would not necessarily be desirable, because such a serial presentation would render it more difficult to see the manner in which Kierkegaard could return to a passage on multiple subsequent occasions, adding to, deleting, and altering what he had originally written. (It is hoped that upon completion of all eleven volumes of *KJN* it will be possible to produce an electronic edition of the entire series; this would make it possible for readers to organize and search through the materials in a variety of ways.)

II. The Format and Organization of the Present Edition

1. *Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks (KJN)* and *Søren Kierkegaards Skrifter (SKS)*

As already noted, *KJN* is a translation of Kierkegaard's journals, notebooks, and loose papers, using the text as established by the editors of *SKS*. The great majority of the materials included in the

present volumes is taken from Kierkegaard's surviving manuscripts, but some manuscripts were lost in the production of the first published selection of Kierkegaard's papers, H. P. Barfod's nine-volume edition of *Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer* (hereafter, *EP*). Thus, particularly in the early volumes of *KJN*, our only source for a number of Kierkegaard's journal entries is the version originally published in *EP*. When this is the case, *KJN* indicates that the source is the published version from *EP* by employing justified right-hand margins, while most of the text of *KJN*, taken as it is from the surviving manuscripts, employs a ragged right-hand margin. In addition, there are a number of cases, typically involving short or fragmentary entries or lines, in which the only surviving source is Barfod's catalogue of Kierkegaard's manuscripts, while in still other cases material in the original manuscripts deleted by Kierkegaard has been deciphered and restored by the editors of *SKS*; both these sorts of material are reproduced in *KJN* without text-critical commentary. Scholars interested in these source details are referred to the text-critical apparatus of *SKS*. In addition, there are some cases in which Kierkegaard's original manuscript cannot be read meaningfully, and the editors of *SKS* suggest a proposed reading of the passage in question. *KJN* has adopted all such proposed readings without comment.

In some cases Kierkegaard's spelling is erroneous or inconsistent or there is missing punctuation. On rare occasions the editors of *SKS* have corrected errors of this sort silently, while in other cases missing punctuation has been supplied (but placed within square brackets to indicate that this is the work of the editors of *SKS*), and in still other cases Kierkegaard's errors of spelling or punctuation have been allowed to stand because they are indicative of the hasty and informal style that often characterizes his unpublished materials. Where they do not cause significant difficulties for English language readers, the editors of *KJN* have followed the editors of *SKS* in allowing a number of Kierkegaard's spelling errors (e.g., of proper names) and punctuation lapses to remain. On the other hand, where the retention of Kierkegaard's errors might cause significant difficulties for English language readers, the editors of *KJN* have absorbed without annotation the corrections made by the editors of *SKS* (both the silent and the bracketed corrections), and have occasionally corrected instances of erroneous spelling and missing punctuation that have been permitted to remain in *SKS*. Here—as in the above-mentioned cases involving materials that have their source in Barfod's cata-

logue or in text deleted by Kierkegaard and restored by the editors of *SKS*—scholars who require access to the entire text-critical apparatus of *SKS* should consult that edition.

2. Two-Column Format in the Main Text

As already noted, a two-column format is employed where necessary in order to emphasize the polydimensionality of the original documentary materials; thus, for example, providing a spatial representation of a draft's character as a draft with multiple alterations.

3. Typographical Conventions in the Main Text

a) In Kierkegaard's time, both "gothic" and "latin" handwriting were in common use among educated people. Generally, when writing Danish and German (which of course accounts for the bulk of his journals and notebooks) Kierkegaard used a gothic hand, while when writing Latin or French (which he did much less frequently than Danish or German) Kierkegaard used a latin hand. Following the editors of *SKS*, the editors of *KJN* have sought to preserve this feature by using ordinary roman type to represent Kierkegaard's gothic hand, and a sans serif typeface to represent Kierkegaard's latin hand. Greek and Hebrew appear in their respective alphabets.

b) As in *SKS*, italic and boldface are used to indicate Kierkegaard's degrees of emphasis. *Italic* indicates underlining by Kierkegaard. **Boldface** indicates double underlining by Kierkegaard. ***Boldface italic*** indicates double underlining plus a third, wavy underlining by Kierkegaard.

4. Margins in the Main Text

a) The *SKS* pagination of the journals appears in roman type in the margins of the present edition. This permits the reader to refer to *SKS*, which contains the entire apparatus of text-critical markers and notes concerning the manuscripts, including indications of Kierkegaard's own pagination of his journals and notebooks.

b) Two separate italic line counters are included in the inner and outer margins in order to facilitate specific line references to each of the two columns.

c) The boldface entry numbers in the margins are not Kierkegaard's own but have been added by the editors of *SKS* in order to facilitate reference to specific entries. Each journal or notebook has

its own entry numbering in arabic numerals, e.g., "AA:1," "DD:8," "Not3:2," etc., which refer to the first entry in *Journal AA*, the eighth entry in *Journal DD*, the second entry in *Notebook 3*, etc.

Kierkegaard's marginal additions to journal or notebook entries are indicated with lowercase alphabet letters, e.g., "AA:23.b," which refers to Kierkegaard's second marginal addition to the twenty-third entry in *Journal AA*. If a marginal addition itself has a marginal addition, this is also indicated by another layer of lowercase alphabet letters, e.g., "DD:11.a.a," which refers to the first marginal note to the first marginal note to the eleventh entry in *Journal DD*. When Kierkegaard left a reference mark in his main text referring to a marginal note, the marginal note referred to is preceded by a lowercase alphabet letter, set in roman, with no enclosing brackets, e.g. "a." When Kierkegaard did not leave a reference mark in his main text for a marginal note, but the editors of *SKS* are not in doubt about the point in Kierkegaard's main text to which the marginal note refers, the reference symbol (a lowercase alphabet letter) preceding that marginal note is set in roman and is enclosed within roman square brackets, e.g., "[a]." When Kierkegaard did not leave a reference mark in his main text for a marginal note, and the editors of *SKS* could not determine with certainty the point in Kierkegaard's main text to which the marginal note refers, the reference symbol (a lowercase alphabet letter) preceding that marginal note is set in *italic* and is enclosed within italic square brackets, e.g., "*[a]*." In these cases, the editors of *KJN*, following the usage of the editors of *SKS*, have situated Kierkegaard's marginal additions approximately where they are found on the pages of Kierkegaard's own journal manuscripts, which, as noted, employed a two-column format.

Loose papers are numbered sequentially "Paper 1," "Paper 2," "Paper 3," etc. The second entry on a given paper would be, e.g., "Paper 4:2," and if it has a marginal note associated with it, the designation of that note is in the format "Paper 4:2.a," etc. If more specific reference than this is necessary, the system of *KJN* volume number, page number, and line number on the appropriate line counter is employed, e.g., "*KJN* 1, 56:11," referring to a passage in the first volume of *KJN*, page 56, line 11 on the line counter for the inner column. If a marginal note (thus, a note in the outer column of the page) is referred to in this manner, the reference is in the format "*KJN* 9, 56*m*:3," referring to a marginal note found in volume 9 of *KJN*, page 56, line 3 on the marginal or outer column line counter.

5. Footnotes in the Main Text

a) Kierkegaard's own footnotes are indicated by superscript arabic numerals, both in the main text and at the beginning of the footnote itself, and are numbered consecutively within a journal entry, with the numbering beginning at "[1]" for each new journal entry. Kierkegaard's footnotes appear at the bottom of the text column or at the end of the entry to which they pertain, whichever comes first, but always *above* the solid horizontal line at the foot of the page. When the source for a footnote by Kierkegaard is Barfod's *EP* rather than an original manuscript, the placement in the main text of the superscript reference number for that footnote is of course not known from Kierkegaard, but only from *EP*; in such cases, Kierkegaard's footnote will appear at the bottom of the page (though *above* the solid line) as with all other footnotes by Kierkegaard, but the superscript reference number preceding the footnote will be followed by a close-parenthesis, e.g., "[1])."

b) Translator's footnotes appear *below* the solid horizontal line at the foot of the page.

6. Foreign Language in the Main Text

Foreign (non-Danish) words, expressions, and quotations that appear in Kierkegaard's text are left in the original language. English translations of foreign language text are provided in translator's footnotes at the foot of the page, *below* the solid horizontal line. In the event that extreme length or some other technical difficulty makes it impossible to accommodate a translation of a foreign language passage at the foot of the page, it will appear in the explanatory notes at the back of the volume. English translations of the titles of foreign language books, articles, poems, etc. are always in the explanatory notes, not in the translator's footnotes.

7. Photographs of Original Manuscripts

Selected photographs of original manuscript material are included in the main text.

8. Orthography of Classical Names

The orthographical standard for all ancient Greek and Roman names and place names is *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

9. Material Included at the Back of Each Volume

a) A brief "Critical Account of the Text" gives a description of the physical appearance, provenance, and whatever chronological information is known concerning a document. If the document is related to others—for example, in the cases where Kierkegaard is known to have used one of the journals in the *AA–KK* group in tandem with one or more of the notebooks numbered 1–14, which stem from the same period—this is also indicated.

b) Each journal or notebook is accompanied by "Explanatory Notes." In some cases, notes included in *SKS* have been shortened or omitted in *KJN*. In a number of cases, notes that do not appear in *SKS* have been added to *KJN;* typically, these serve to explain geographical or historical references that are obvious to Danes but are not likely to be known by non-Danes. Notes are keyed by page and entry number to specific lemmata; that is, to key words or phrases from the main text that appear in **boldface** at the beginning of each note. The *running heads* on each page of notes indicate the journal or notebook and entry number(s) to which the notes on that page refer, while the numbers *in the margins* of each column of notes indicate the page and line number in the main text where the lemma under discussion is found. When the text of a note mentions a lemma explained in another note for the same journal or notebook, an arrow (→) accompanied by a large and a small number—e.g., → 110,22—serves as a cross-reference, indicating the page and line number (in this case, page 110, line 22) where that lemma occurs in the main text. Each journal or notebook is treated as a separate unit with respect to explanatory notes; thus the notes for a given journal or notebook contain no cross-references to notes for other journals or notebooks. (The explanatory notes for *Notebooks 9* and *10* will constitute an exception to this rule because those two notebooks are so closely connected that they should perhaps be considered a single document.) The notes are usually confined to clarifying historical, biographical, geographical, and similar information not readily available in a standard English language desk reference volume. Notes do not engage in critical interpretation or in discussions of the scholarly literature. As noted under 6 above, on some occasions—which presumably will be very infrequent, if they occur at all—it may not be possible to translate foreign language passages in translator's footnotes at the foot of the main text page, and in such cases the translated passage will appear in an explanatory note at the end of the volume. There

are no markers in the main text denoting the existence of an explanatory note pertaining to a particular word or passage.

c) Maps of nineteenth-century Copenhagen, Denmark, etc., are provided where appropriate.

d) Calendars of the years covered in the volume, indicating days of the week, holidays, etc., are provided.

e) Illustrations referred to in Kierkegaard's text are reproduced.

f) A concordance to the Heiberg edition of the *Papirer* is provided in order to facilitate using the present edition in conjunction with works, including previous translations of Kierkegaard's posthumous papers, that refer to the *Papirer*.

10. Abbreviations

a) Abbreviations used in the main text

In the main text an attempt has been made to preserve something of the feel of the original documents, in which Kierkegaard made liberal use of a great many abbreviations, shortening words in accordance with the common usage of his times. Naturally, many of these abbreviations cannot be duplicated in English, but where it has seemed appropriate a number of commonly used (or easily decipherable) English abbreviations have been employed in order to provide a sense of Kierkegaard's "journal style."

b) Abbreviations used in "Critical Accounts of the Texts" and in "Explanatory Notes"

ASKB	*The Auctioneer's Sales Record of the Library of Søren Kierkegaard,* ed. H. P. Rohde (Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 1967)
B&A	*Breve og Aktstykker vedrørende Søren Kierkegaard* [Letters and Documents Concerning Søren Kierkegaard], 2 vols., ed. Niels Thulstrup (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1953–1954)
B-cat.	H. P. Barfod, "Fortegnelse over de efter *Søren Aabye Kierkegaard* forefundne Papirer" [Catalogue of the Papers Found after the Death of Søren Aabye Kierkegaard]
Bl.art.	*S. Kierkegaard's Bladartikler, med Bilag samlede efter Forfatterens Død, udgivne som Supplement til hans øvrige Skrifter* [S. Kierkegaard's Newspaper Articles, with an Appen-

dix Collected after the Author's Death, Published as a Supplement to His Other Works], ed. Rasmus Nielsen (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 1857)

d. Died in the year

EP *Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer* [From Søren Kierkegaard's Posthumous Papers], 9 vols., ed. H. P. Barfod and H. Gottsched (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 1869–1881)

Jub. G.W.F. Hegel, *Sämtliche Werke* [Complete Works]. *Jubiläumsausgabe*, 26 vols., ed. Hermann Glockner (Stuttgart: Friedrich Frommann Verlag, 1928–1941)

KA The Kierkegaard Archive at the Royal Library in Copenhagen

KJN *Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks*, 11 vols., ed. Niels Jørgen Cappelørn, Alastair Hannay, David Kangas, Bruce H. Kirmmse, George Pattison, Vanessa Rumble, and K. Brian Söderquist (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007–)

KW *Kierkegaard's Writings*, 26 vols., ed. Howard V. Hong and Edna H. Hong (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978–2000)

Occasionally, the explanatory notes will employ different English translations of the titles of Kierkegaard's works than those used in *KW*. For example, Kierkegaard's *En literair Anmeldelse*, which is translated *Two Ages* in *KW*, may appear in the explanatory notes as *A Literary Review*. All such departures from the English titles as they appear in *KW* will be explained in the explanatory notes in which they appear. Generally, however, the English titles used in *KW* will be used; these titles have been assigned standard abbreviations as follows:

AN "Armed Neutrality" in *KW* 22
BA *The Book on Adler* in *KW* 24
C *The Crisis and a Crisis in the Life of an Actress* in *KW* 17
CA *The Concept of Anxiety* in *KW* 8

CD	*Christian Discourses* in *KW* 17
CI	*The Concept of Irony* in *KW* 2
COR	*The "Corsair" Affair; Articles Related to the Writings* in *KW* 13
CUP	*Concluding Unscientific Postscript* in *KW* 12
EO 1	*Either/Or*, part 1 in *KW* 3
EO 2	*Either/Or*, part 2 in *KW* 4
EPW	*Early Polemical Writings: From the Papers of One Still Living; Articles from Student Days; The Battle Between the Old and the New Soap-Cellars* in *KW* 1
EUD	*Eighteen Upbuilding Discourses* in *KW* 15
FPOSL	*From the Papers of One Still Living* in *KW* 1
FSE	*For Self-Examination* in *KW* 21
FT	*Fear and Trembling* in *KW* 6
JC	"Johannes Climacus or De omnibus dubitandum est" in *KW* 7
JFY	*Judge for Yourself!* in *KW* 21
LD	*Letters and Documents* in *KW* 25
NA	"Newspaper Articles, 1854–1855" in *KW* 23
NSBL	"Notes on Schelling's Berlin Lectures" in *KW* 2
OMWA	*On My Work as an Author* in *KW* 22
P	*Prefaces* in *KW* 9
PC	*Practice in Christianity* in *KW* 20
PF	*Philosophical Fragments* in *KW* 7
PV	*The Point of View for My Work as an Author* in *KW* 22
R	*Repetition* in *KW 6*
SLW	*Stages on Life's Way* in *KW* 11
SUD	*The Sickness unto Death* in *KW* 19
TA	*Two Ages: The Age of Revolution and the Present Age, A Literary Review* in *KW* 14
TDIO	*Three Discourses on Imagined Occasions* in *KW* 10
TM	*"The Moment" and Late Writings:* Articles from *Fædrelandet*; *The Moment*, nos. 1–10; *This Must Be Said, So Let It Be Said*; *What Christ Judges of Official Christianity*; *The Changelessness of God* in *KW* 23
UDVS	*Upbuilding Discourses in Various Spirits* in *KW* 15
WA	*Without Authority: The Lily of the Field and the Bird of the Air; Two Minor Ethical-Religious*

Essays; Three Discourses at the Communion on Fridays; An Upbuilding Discourse; Two Discourses at the Communion on Fridays in *KW* 18

WL *Works of Love* in *KW* 16

WS "Writing Sampler" in *KW* 9

NKS Ny Kongelige Samling [New Royal Collection], a special collection at the Royal Library in Copenhagen

NRSV *Holy Bible: New Revised Standard Version with Apocrypha* (see part c below)

NT New Testament

OT Old Testament

Pap. *Søren Kierkegaards Papirer* [The Papers of Søren Kierkegaard], 2nd ed., 16 vols. in 25 tomes, ed. P. A. Heiberg, V. Kuhr, and E. Torsting (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1909–1978)

SKS *Søren Kierkegaards Skrifter* [Søren Kierkegaard's Writings], 28 text volumes and 27 commentary volumes, ed. Niels Jørgen Cappelørn, Joakim Garff, Jette Knudsen, Johnny Kondrup, and Alastair McKinnon (Copenhagen: Gad, 1997–)

The 28 text volumes of *SKS* are referred to as *SKS* 1 through *SKS* 28. The 27 commentary volumes that accompany the text volumes are referred to as *SKS* K1 through *SKS* K28. (The reason there are 27 rather than 28 commentary volumes is that a single commentary volume, *SKS* K2–3, accompanies the two text volumes *SKS* 2 and *SKS* 3, which together comprise the massive two-volume work *Enten—Eller* [Either/Or].)

SV1 *Søren Kierkegaards Samlede Værker* [Søren Kierkegaard's Collected Works], 1st ed., 14 vols., ed. A. B. Drachmann, J. L. Heiberg, and H. O. Lange (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1901–1906)

SV2 *Søren Kierkegaards Samlede Værker* [Søren Kierkegaard's Collected Works], 2nd ed., 15 vols., ed. A. B. Drachmann, J. L. Heiberg, and H. O. Lange (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1920–1936)

c) The Bible. All biblical quotations are from the following English translations:

Holy Bible: New Revised Standard Version with Apocrypha (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) (Standard for references to the authorized Danish translation of the New Testament from 1819 and used for many other biblical references.)

The Bible: Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) (Often used for references to the authorized Danish translation of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha from 1740 and occasionally used for other biblical references.)

Occasionally, in order to help the reader understand the text of a journal entry, the translators of *KJN* may make minor modifications to one of the above Bible translations.

Books of the Bible are abbreviated in accordance with the abbreviations used in the *NRSV*:

Old Testament

Gen	Genesis	Eccl	Ecclesiastes
Ex	Exodus	Song	Song of Solomon
Lev	Leviticus	Isa	Isaiah
Num	Numbers	Jer	Jeremiah
Deut	Deuteronomy	Lam	Lamentations
Josh	Joshua	Ezek	Ezekiel
Judg	Judges	Dan	Daniel
Ruth	Ruth	Hos	Hosea
1 Sam	1 Samuel	Joel	Joel
2 Sam	2 Samuel	Am	Amos
1 Kings	1 Kings	Ob	Obadiah
2 Kings	2 Kings	Jon	Jonah
1 Chr	1 Chronicles	Mic	Micah
2 Chr	2 Chronicles	Nah	Nahum
Ezra	Ezra	Hab	Habakkuk
Neh	Nehemiah	Zeph	Zephaniah
Esth	Esther	Hag	Haggai
Job	Job	Zech	Zechariah
Ps	Psalms	Mal	Malachi
Prov	Proverbs		

APOCRYPHAL BOOKS

Tob	Tobit	of Thr	and the Song of the Three Jews
Jdt	Judith		
Add Esth	Additions to Esther	Sus	Susanna
Wis	Wisdom	Bel	Bel and the Dragon
Sir	Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)	1 Macc	1 Maccabees
Bar	Baruch	2 Macc	2 Maccabees
1 Esd	1 Esdras	3 Macc	3 Maccabees
2 Esd	2 Esdras	4 Macc	4 Maccabees
Let Jer	Letter of Jeremiah	Pr Man	Prayer of Manasseh
Song	Prayer of Azariah		

NEW TESTAMENT

Mt	Matthew	1 Tim	1 Timothy
Mk	Mark	2 Tim	2 Timothy
Lk	Luke	Titus	Titus
Jn	John	Philem	Philemon
Acts	Acts of the Apostles	Heb	Hebrews
Rom	Romans	Jas	James
1 Cor	1 Corinthians	1 Pet	1 Peter
2 Cor	2 Corinthians	2 Pet	2 Peter
Gal	Galatians	1 Jn	1 John
Eph	Ephesians	2 Jn	2 John
Phil	Philippians	3 Jn	3 John
Col	Colossians	Jude	Jude
1 Thes	1 Thessalonians	Rev	Revelation
2 Thes	2 Thessalonians		

11. Variants

While *KJN* does not include the full text-critical apparatus of *SKS*, a number of textual variants, deemed by the editors of *KJN* to be of particular interest, are included in the explanatory notes for each journal or notebook. The notation used to indicate different types of variants is explained below. (A list of selected variants for *KJN* 1 is included in volume 2, immediately following the explanatory notes for *Journal KK*.)

first written: changes determined by the editors of *SKS* to have been made in the manuscript at the time of original writing, including: (a) replacement variants placed in the line, immediately following deleted text; (b) replacement variants written directly on top of the original text; and (c) deletions

changed from: changes determined by the editors of *SKS* to have been made in the manuscript subsequent to the time of original writing, including: (a) deletions with replacement variants written in the margin or on top of the original text, and (b) deletions without replacement text

added: additions determined by the editors of *SKS* to have been made to the manuscript subsequent to the time of original writing

12. Symbols

[ ] enclose the *KJN* editors' supplements to the *SKS* text; also enclose reference symbols, added by the editors of *SKS*, to marginal annotations or footnotes for which Kierkegaard did not leave a symbol, but whose placement is beyond doubt

[ ] enclose reference symbols, added by the editors of *SKS*, to marginal annotations for which Kierkegaard did not clearly assign to a specific locus in a specific main entry

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K. Brian Söderquist, Associate General Editor,
for the Editorial Board of *Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks*

NOTEBOOK 1

NOTEBOOK 1

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Notesbog 1 in *Søren Kierkegaards Skrifter*

Text established by
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7
1 Lectures on Dogmatics.

by

H. N. Clausen.

9

2 *Chapter 5.*
On the Relation of Holy Scripture to Reason.

§ 24.

The purpose of Christianity is to lead human beings to the true knowledge of God, faith, fear of God, and obedience. This purpose presupposes that hum. beings have the capacity to attain conviction concerning the true nature of things, it presupposes an *original religious consciousness* and *certain moral dispositions*.

Knowledge Jn 8:12; Eph 1:18,19; Col 1:9; Phil 1:9,10; 1 Thess 5:21.
Faith. Jn 3:16; Mk 16:16; Rom 10:13,14.
Fear of God and *obedience* Jn 4:24; Jn 14:21; Heb 5:9; Jas 1:27.

On the concept of religion? Definition: the immediate consciousness in which the hum. being feels conscious of being dependent on God, and of being taken up into and incorporated in the divine being.—Natural religion. Acts 14:16, 17:24–29; Rom 1:20.

§ 25.

Christianity sets itself against all other (ancient) forms of positive religion, and supports its authority with reasons and proofs. It challenges one to compare it with ancient religions, and to reach a conclusion based on this comparison, to base faith on one's own examination of it, and it censures the apathetic indifference that does not respond to this challenge. Christianity thus presupposes that its content and rationale can be apprehended by hum. reason, that its doctrine accords with the basic principles of hum. thought, and strengthens respect for and confidence in the spiritual powers in hum. beings.—

Christianity bases its authority on reasons: *Jn 7:17, 8:32.—Mt 11:4–6— Jn 5:39,46,47*.

[a] Inspiration. impulsio; directio; suggestio realis et *verbalis*.
sufficientia; perspicuitas; efficacia.
The properties of scripture.

[b] una, sancta, apostolica, catholica ecclesia infallibilis (in this regard the letter to the Eph. is especially important. Eph 4:5–6.).

[c] *cf Bockshammer* pp. 1 and 2.

1 impulsio . . . realis et verbalis] *Latin,* prompting; guidance; inspiring content and verbal expression **3** sufficientia; perspicuitas; efficacia] *Latin,* sufficient; perspicuous; efficacious **5** una, sancta . . . ecclesia infallibilis] *Latin,* one, holy, apostolic, Catholic, and inerrant Church

Does Christnty turn to ideal or pure reason (in abstracto)?

§ 26.

In Holy Scrip. Christianity *is not communicated to us as a system or doctrinal notion*, but Christian faith is found portrayed in its individual characteristics in a manifold of forms. The doctrine is conceived from different sides, developed in different directions, set forth in differing form and garb, and supported by proofs that are more or less universally valid. *The sacred history* must be educed from many different stories whose compatibility is not rarely difficult to see. *The sacred books* have come to us via hum. hands and have been subjected to the alterations of time. In their inner constitution as well as their outer circumstances the sacred books thus call for a many-sided employment of the hum. being's intellectual capacities—*for historical and critical investigations* in order to demonstrate the books' authenticity, *for interpretation and reflection* in order to develop the doctrine contained in them in its purity, in order to show it in its completeness and coherence and to employ it in relation to life's particular circumstances.—

This use of reason is called: usus organicus, formalis, instrumentalis. "qui eruditionis subsidiis accinctus revelationem ex scriptura sacra explicat."

§ 27.

As a result of the particular relation of Jesus and the apostles to their time, as shown us by Holy Scrip., we find in their teaching wise and careful attention to the various needs of their contemporaries, partly by leaving to one side (negatively) what could not have been understood, partly by choosing the medium of exposition and proof, partly by choosing expressions that were understood by all. In this way the question of accommodation (συγκαταβαξις condescendentia) arises, the scope and limits of which can only be determined by scientific investigation, and the doctrinal validity of the N. T. rests upon this.— 11

1 in abstracto] *Latin,* in general **23** usus organicus, formalis, instrumentalis] *Latin,* the organic, formal, instrumental use **24** qui eruditionis . . . ex scriptura sacra explicat] *Latin,* who, equipped with the means provided by scholarship, expounds the revelation from Holy Scripture **35** συγκαταβαξις] *Greek,* go or come down to **35** condescendentia] *Latin,* come down [to the level of]

Negative. (1 Cor 9:22, 10:33.).—Jn 16:4, 16:12; Mt 24:35. 1 Cor 3:2; Heb 5:12.
Positive. Mt 13:11, 12:27, 22:31; Jn 10:35; Gal 4:22, 3:16. All of Heb. Mt 8:11.

Manicheans and Gnostics especially *the Phantasiasts* took the whole of Jesus' life to be a sustained accom. *The Church Fathers also* dealt with accommodation occasionally, e.g., Tertullian, Clemens Alex, Origen, Chrysostom, Jerome. (Gal 2:14.)

Accomodatio formalis—materialis
negativa. positiva.

Did the Reformers acknowledge both positive and negative accommodation[?] Hahn says that they only accepted it in the formal and negative sense. Clausen thinks that they also accepted it positively, and remarks that the Reformers accepted that the apostles gave certain prescriptions that were only meant to be used temporarily, and he cites the Augsb. Confess. 7th Artic.: "Non peccant, qui non observant, quia ne ipsi quidem apostoli voluerunt onerare conscientias tali servitute, sed ad tempus prohibuerunt propter scandalum, est enim *perpetua voluntas evangelii consideranda* in decreto." But I don't see how this can be called any sort of positive accommodation.—

Cartesians, Semler, Teller: "Multa in scriptura sacra tradi secundum falsos et erroneos vulgi conceptus."

[d]Nevertheless, one might note that wherever a genuine acc. is employed *it is indicated at the time*. E.g., *1 Cor 7, Acts 15, etc*.

10 Accomodatio formalis—materialis] *Latin,* formal—material accommodation **12** negativa. positiva.] *Latin,* negative. positive. **20** Non peccant . . . consideranda in decreto] *Latin,* [And yet] they do not sin who do not observe [the apostles' instruction to abstain from bloody meat], since the apostles themselves did not wish to burden the conscience with such servitude, but issued the prohibition relative to the time, in order to avoid offense; one must therefore always keep the intention of the gospel in mind. **26** Multa in scriptura . . . et erroneos vulgi conceptus] *Latin,* Many things in Holy Scripture have been transmitted in accordance with the false and erroneous conceptions of the common man.

§ 28.

It follows from the definition of Christianity as well as from the apostles' express utterances concerning their vocation to secure the Kingdom of Truth on earth that every accommodation concerning Christian teaching can only be viewed as striving to overcome obstacles to the spreading the truth and gradually to bring about a way for it to enter in, under the conditions of the particular circumstances. Every religious teaching taken up and used by Chr. and the apostles must therefore be regarded as a way of indicating Christian truth such as to elicit its meaning and to assure its more complete development by virtue of its coherence with their teaching as a whole. On the other hand, those ideas that stood outside the circle of Christian teaching or were not connected to it in their expositions could either be seen as involuntary adaptation or as necessary in order to attain certain benevolent aims. The knowledge of truth is in this case left to a later, more universal intellectual development and expansion of knowledge.—

Christianity is fitted for the expansion of truth, e.g.: Joh. 18:37, 8:32, 14:16,17, 16:13, 14:6.—
Chr. warns zealously against false teachers.
Paul too: Col 2; 2 Tim 4:3.
Paul corrects Peter over a wrong accommod. in Gal 2:11.

When we find that Chr. *and the apostles used an idea that was demonstrably universal among the Jews* but, despite being depicted with various characteristics, *is nevertheless unaltered* and not independently developed, when no weight is laid on its meaning and what it assumes or explains or its practical value, the presumption then arises that accomm. was used. *And likewise*, when we put these ideas together and try to relate them to one another but cannot get a coherent idea in our minds or a distinct image, and when particular utterances make a figurative explanation necessary, it becomes probable that they have accommodated themselves *e.g. regarding the devil*.

§ 29.

The relationship between the content of Christianity and hum. reason (usus normalis s. normativus) must be defined, on the one hand, by the utterances of Chr. and the apostles concerning religious mysteries that are inseparable from a revealed religion generally and that exclude the demand for comprehensibility and transparency

36 usus normalis s. normativus] *Latin,* normal or normative use

and call forth the concept of what is above reason; on the other hand, the hum. being is summoned to distinguish between true and false revelation and it is supposed to be the essence of the Christian faith to bring about a new life in hum. beings. From this follows both, that no Christian doctrine can be in conflict with the gen. laws of thought and the gen. religious ideas and that every Christian doctrine must be meaningful to hum. reason and capable of being brought into connection with its ideas. True Christian religiosity thus rests on a free and vital reciprocity between God's Word in scripture and the divine voice within the hum. being and is equidistant from the extremes of naturalism and of the hatred of reason, where either revelation's or reason's rights are injured.

Naturalism is, e.g., expressed by the Socinians: "nihil credi posse, quod a ratione capi et intelligi nequeat." Hatred of reason by, e.g., Tertullian: ["]credo, quia absurdum est."

(Rationalists.—Supernaturalists.)
Rationalists—Irrational.
Naturalists—Supernatural.

[e]Mynster (on the concept "Dogmatics["]) § 21.

13 nihil credi posse . . . intelligi nequeat] *Latin,* one can believe nothing that cannot be grasped or understood by reason. **15** credo, quia absurdum est] *Latin,* I believe because it is absurd.

14
3

2nd Division.
On Christian Dogmatics.

§ 30.

Christian dogmatics or sci. development and exposition of Christian doctrine is not necessary in order to elicit the life of Christian faith; but just as faith, when accompanied by a higher level of intellectual development, itself elicits the desire that its content should be scientifically established, so too is it necessary for a clear and complete understanding of the meaning of the dogmas and their reciprocal connection and relatedness. Dogmatics is biblical, because it develops the content of the Bible; it is philosophical, because it develops the dogmas' relation to hum. beings' religious ideas; it is ecclesiastical, because it indicates the particular direction in which the doctrine is found to be developed in a particular society.

On *the meaning of the word dogmatics*.
The necessity of dogmatics is obvious from 1) Hum. nature, its urge to communicate itself. 2) from Xnty's nature, the way in which it has been communicated.

§ 31.

Holy Scrip. is the foundation of doctrine by means of philological-historical interpretation, directed and guided by insight into the principal content and religious character of Christianity (analogia scripturæ). Thanks to such interpretation the right selection and the right use of scriptural proof texts (dicta probantia, loci classici, sedes doctrinarum) is assured.

§ 32.

Thanks to the correct interpretation of scripture, the principal Christian teachings (articuli fundamentales s. constitutivi) emerge of themselves, that is to say, those that: 1. constitute the leading ideas of the teaching of Christ and the apostles; 2. that communicate to Christian faith and Christian life its peculiar character, and 3. in relation to which the other teachings can be regarded as elaborations. By thus tracing back to the purely Christian element, biblical dogmatics demonstrates the surest way to Christian unity.—

23 analogia scripturæ] *Latin,* the analogy of scripture **25** dicta probantia . . . sedes doctrinarum] *Latin,* proof texts, classical *or* key texts, doctrinal texts **29** articuli fundamentales s. constitutivi] *Latin,* fundamental or constitutive articles

§ 33.

Dogmatics is closely connected to philosophy not only with regard to form, that is, the scientific definition of individual doctrines and their reciprocal connection in a coherent whole, a doctrinal edifice; but also with regard to content, since this is more or less also the object of the philosophy of religion, and it is when the teachings are more deeply established in the religious consciousness that they acquire meaning and power or influence over the mind. But dogmatics is nevertheless different from philosophy, because it rests on a positive foundation. Every attempt to mix the two thus rests on a misunderstanding of each science's distinctiveness, and it is only by the free and independent development of each alone that the wished-for unity is to be sought.—

§ 34.

Historical investigation within dogmatics partly concerns the pre-Christian anticipations and intimations of Christian teachings, by virtue of which the meaning and distinctive form of the latter is brought into clear view; partly the later developments of doctrine that serve by their variety and counterpoint to display Christian truth in a clearer light and to show the relationship between the doctrine of the Church and that of scripture.—

16
History of the Science. **4**

Various methods in the organization of the dogmatic material.

1. *The analytic*, which took its point of departure in the ends and then found its conclusion in the means.

2. *The synthetic*, which takes its point of departure in the causes and concludes with the effects.

3. The *trichotomatic*. Marheinecke.

The federal method of Cocceius.
[a]) foedus naturæ (before the Fall) [b] foedus gratiæ.—or 1) foedus patriarcharum 2) foedus legis 3) foedus evangelii.
Wolf's demonstrative-mathematical method.

Lactantius libri VII divinarum institutionum.

Genadius Massiliensis de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus; Isidorus Hisp. libri III sententiarum.
Johannes Damascenus εκθησις ακριβης της ορτοδοξου πιστεως.—

11 foedus naturæ] *Latin,* covenant of nature **11** foedus gratiæ] *Latin,* covenant of grace **11** foedus patriarcharum] *Latin,* covenant of the patriarchs **12** foedus legis] *Latin,* covenant of the Law **12** foedus evangelii] *Latin,* covenant of the Gospel

17
5

Appendix to the First Main Division. Concerning Higher Spirits.
1 Concerning the Good Spirits.

§ 14.

Chr. and more frequently his apostles discuss angels and speak of them as perfect beings, as God's messengers and Chr.'s servants; but also as limited beings who cannot become the object of any more precise knowledge or be worshiped by hum. beings.—

Mt 22:30; Lk 20:36; Mt 25:31; Lk 9:26; Lk 15:10; Mt 18:10.

From the apostles.
2 Cor 11:14; 1 Tim 5:21; Eph 1:21, 3:10; Col 1:16; Rom 8:38—Gal 1:8, 4:14; 1 Cor 13:1.

As God's messengers. Heb 1:14; Lk 1:19; Rev 8:2; Lk 12:8; Gal 3:19; Acts 7:53; Heb 2:2.

As Chr's servants. Mt 1; Lk 1:2. In Chr.'s temptation, suffering, resurrection, ascension.—
In the story of the apostles. Acts 5:20, 12:7; Acts 10:3; Mt 13:41, 25:31; 1 Thess 4:16; 2 Thess 1:7; 1 Pet 3:22. The first 2 chapters of Heb.
As limited beings. Mt 24:36; Heb 1:14; 1 Cor 6:3.

As objects of our knowledge. Col 2:18; 1 Tim 1:4; Tit 3:9.

§ 15.

Although we thus find support for belief in the existence of higher spirits in Holy Scrip., the way in which the idea of these beings is represented in a particular form and with individual characteristics
18 cannot be regarded as part of Christian doctrine; for this form is adopted without alteration from the O. T. and Jewish folklore, and as the sayings in the N. T. are all made in relation to circumstances, without any dogmatic character, and without having any independent development, their mythical features are unmistakable. Even in a literal interpretation the concept of the angels' nature and their definition and their relation to us would show itself to be too incomplete and incoherent to serve as the basis for any dogma or to

exert any religious influence on our mental disposition; nor is there any trace of this in the N. T.—

The Jews first saw angels as beings that exist in order to glorify the manifestation of God, without any definite form, which is why Jehovah's angels are often identified with God (Gen 22:12, 31:13; Ex 3:2 and 6; Judg. 6:21–23, 13:21–23). Later definite distinctions betw. angels and God are found, in that angels are portrayed as a council, a host, surrounding God's throne (1 Kings 22:19; Job 1:6). Subsequently angels are portrayed as personifications of natural powers and powers at work in giving effect to God's providence in the natural world (Ψ 34:8, 91:11, 104:4; Job 38:7).

In the post-exilic books, the teaching concerning angels is developed under the influence of Persian mythology.

§ 16.

The comprehensive debates in the early Church as well as more recently about the *nature, creation*, and *activity* of angels, and of their *various types* and *orders*, have been promoted on the one hand by the N. T.'s silence on all these questions, but on the other hand this must convince us of the dogmatic error that has been committed here. There is absolutely not a single article about angels in the Protestant Ch. doctrine, but only opposition to the Greek and Roman Ch. practice of making angels the objects of prayer and invocation.—

2. Concerning Evil Spirits. 19

§ 17.

Christ and the apostles discuss both demons (unclean spirits) and a more powerful evil spirit *who is their Prince*; they are portrayed *as dependent [on] God*, thus not as originally evil but as those who have devoted themselves to evil, promoting ignorance and unbelief, ungodliness and sin and thus their own misery. In the first 3 Gospels they are also portrayed as the causes of various bodily illnesses; their dwelling-place is variously said to be in the sky, on earth, in the underworld.—

αγαθοδαιμονες—κακοδαιμονες.—Acts 17:18; Eph 6:12; Mt 25:41.
שטן—*βεελσεβουβ*. Mt 10:25, 12:24,27. *βελιαλ s. βελιαρ* 2 Cor 6:15.
—*ὁ πονερος, ο αντιδικος, ὁ πειραζων, ο αρχων του κοσμου*.

11 Ψ] *Greek,* Psi **33** αγαθοδαιμονες—κακοδαιμονες] *Greek,* good demons, spirits—bad demons, spirits **35** שטן—βεελσεβουβ] *Hebrew,* Satan— *Greek,* Beelzebub *or* Beelsebub **35** βελιαλ s. βελιαρ] *Greek,* Belial or Beliar **36** ὁ πονερος . . . κοσμου] *Greek,* the evil one, the enemy, the tempter, the ruler of the world

(Jn 12:31, 14:30). *ο θεος του αιωνος τουτου, ὁ αρχων των δαιμονιων*, in Rev: *ο οφις αρχαιος, ο δραχων, ὁ αγγελλος της αβυσσου*.
They are portrayed as dependent on God: Lk 22:31; Jas 2:19.—
Jn 8:44; 1 Jn 3:8? (Jn 15:27; 1 Jn 2:7; Lk 1:70.)
They promote *error*: 2 Cor 6:14; Jn 8:44; 2 Thess 2:9; Jas 3:15.
Unbelief Mt 13:39; 2 Cor 4:4; Eph 2:2.
Ungodliness and sin: Acts 26:18; 1 Cor 5:5; 1 Tim 1:20.—Jn 8:44; 1 Jn 3:8.—1 Cor 7:5; 1 Thess 3:5; 1 Tim 3:7; 2 Tim 2:25; Eph 6:11.—1 Pet 5:8; Acts 5:3.
They bring about their own unhappiness. Jas 2:19; Mt 25:41; 2 Pet 2:4; Jude 6; Rev 20:10.
Possession by demons δαιμονιζομενοι, εχοντες διαβολον, βασανιζομενοι, ενοχλουμενοι, καταδυναστευομενοι. Lk 4:35; Mt 12:28, 17:18,21; Lk 13:16,32; Mk 16:17; Mt 10:1.
They are said to dwell in the lower regions of the sky Eph 2:2, 6:12; Lk 10:18, in the underworld 2 Pet 2:4; Jude 6; Lk 8:31.—on the earth Mt 12:43; 1 Pet 5:8.

§ 17. b.

The devil is expressly portrayed as the enemy of Christ and Chrnty and as the persecutor of Christians; but just as his power has been broken by Chr. as well as by his kingdom's extension over the earth, neither are his assaults so great that they cannot be overcome by the power of Christian faith.—

Mt 13:39. Christ's temptation. Jn 14:30; 13:2,27; Lk 22:3—Lk 22:31; 1 Thess 2:18; 1 Tim 4:1.
The devil's rule has been broken by Chr.: 1 Jn 3:8; Jn 12:31; Lk 10:18; Jn 16:11; Col 2:15.—
Christians have nothing to fear: Eph 6:11,16; Jas 4:7; 1 Pet 5:8; 1 Jn 5:8.

§ 18.

In the cited sayings from the N. T. we find use being made of particular features of a demonology that belonged to the dominant folklore among the Jews after the Babylonian exile and that appears as such in the O. T. Apocrypha and in other contemporary writings.—

No trace of teaching concerning demons that are evil in and for themselves and independent of God is to be found in the

1 ο θεος . . . δαιμονιων] *Greek,* the god of this world, the ruler of the demons
2 ο οφις . . . αβυσσου] *Greek,* the old serpent, the dragon, the angel of the abyss
13 δαιμονιζομενοι . . . καταδυναστευομενοι] *Greek,* those possessed by demons, those who have a devil, the tormented, the troubled, the oppressed

canonical books. 1 Sam 16:14; 2 Sam 24:1,16; Isa 37:26; 1 Kings 22:20f.
After the exile we find this teaching more developed, presumably having been much influenced by the Persians: Sirach 21:27; Wis 2:24.
Possession by devils is mentioned in Tob 6:7—Asmodeus. (Rev 9:11.) The evil spirits live in barren places Tob 8:3; Bar 4:35. There is no trace of a demonology in Philo, but on the other hand there is in Josephus.

§ 19.

The interpretation of the sayings of Chr. and of the apostles concerning the spiritual and physical effect of evil spirits on hum. beings is subject to especial difficulty; the *frequency* of the relevant sayings could count in favor of the *literal interpretation, as could the circumstance* that there is not a trace of opposition to belief in a realm of devils; *the nonliteral interpretation* as the symbolic personification of evil finds support *partly* in the demonstrable derivation of these ideas from pagan religions, *partly* in the unaltered form in which they are incorporated into the N. T., *partly* in the way in which they were used without their having any reciprocal connection to each other as did Xtianity's definitive propositions. In addition to this, displacing such deeply rooted ideas would not have been possible without the considerable extension and improvement of physical and psychological knowledge, whereas those ideas that were damaging in practical ways could be guarded against by being dealt with in a certain way.—

§ 20.

If one goes further than the generally known doctrine that sin may also be found among the higher spiritual beings to the question concerning the origin of evil in these spirits, then there are scientific reasons that give the advantage to the nonliteral interpretation, though without it being possible to prove that this is the only valid approach. There is therefore no avoiding the fact that the variability of subjective factors will be dominant in influencing the decision con-

cerning this question. This freedom may be seen as based on what is said in H. Scrip.; no definite doctrine concerning the nature of evil spirits can be educed, thus their effect on the hum. world will be limited and conditioned by the manner in which scripture deals with it, a proposition without religious meaning or practical influence. But precisely because it is so easy to overstep this limit, and the doctrine thus acquires a significant character, it is dangerous to nourish and strengthen belief in the activities of evil spirits, just as, on the other hand, it can be inappropriate simply to contest or deny them.—

[a]The question as to why evil entered the world is not solved by the assumption of a personal devil, for this merely pushes the question further back.

22 § 21.

Alongside the gen. Church teaching derived from scripture, various hypotheses have been put forward about the fall, nature, activities, and future fate of the evil spirits, which in all essential points were maintained from the time of the most primitive Church until long after the Reformation. These lack sufficient support in H. Scrip. and, to the extent that this is lacking, must be excluded from dogmatics. Concerning the bloody effects of the power of superstition in this respect, Chrch history contains a multitude of cautionary examples. In the Catholic Symbols the demonic realm is passed over in silence. In the Augsburg Confession there are occasional isolated expressions on the subject, but no dogmatic development.—
In the Augsburg Confession.

19 Artic. causa peccati est voluntas malorum, videlicet diaboli et impiorum.

20 Art Diabolus impellit homines ad varia peccata, ad impias opiniones et manifesta scelera.

17 Art. Chr. impios homines et diabolos condemnabit, ut sine fine crucientur.

29 causa peccati est . . . videlicet diaboli et impiorum] *Latin,* the cause of sin is the will of the evil ones, namely of the devils and the impious. **31** Diabolus impellit homines . . . manifesta scelera] *Latin,* The devil drives men to many kinds of sins, to impious opinions and manifest crimes. **33** Chr. impios homines . . . ut sine fine crucientur] *Latin,* Christ will condemn the impious men and the devils to torments without end.

23
6

Second Main Division.
Christian Anthropology.

Chapter 1.
On the Hum. Being as Created in God's Image.

§ 22.

The hum. being was created by God and the hum. race is descended from a single couple. This doctrine is expressed by Chr. and by the apostles, although briefly and in passing (because the chief point is contained in the gen. belief in God as originator of the world) with specific reference to the creation narrative in Genesis. On the other hand, scripture provides no more basis for problems that were later connected with this than it provides ways of answering them.

Mt 19:4 (Gen 1:27); 1 Tim 2:13; 1 Cor 11:8,9; Acts 17:26; Rom 5:12; 1 Cor 15:45–48.

How is the narrative of Gen 1 reconcilable with that in the second chapter? Isaac Peirère

Where did the first hum. beings live?
How is the descent of hum. beings from a single couple reconcilable with the variety of races?

§ 23.

The hum. being was created in God's image and this higher, inalienable nobility is to be found in the soul, which is opposed to the perishable body, especially in the soul's capacities for thought and self-determination.

Acts 17:29; Jas 3:9; 1 Cor 11:7.—Gen 1:26 בְּצֶלֶם כִּדְמוּת Ps 8:7.

In the N. T. we find an opposition betw. νους, πνευμα, ψυχη and σωμα, σαρξ. נֶפֶשׁ רוּחַ—נִשְׁמַת, עָפָר בָּשָׂר.

Mt 10:28; 16:17.

In Paul we find an opposition betw. σαρξ, πνευμα; ὁ εσω ανθρωπος and ὁ εξω ανθρωπος 2 Cor 4:16; Eccl 12:7.—A distinction is made between spirit and the life-principle πνευμα and ψυχη: 1 Cor 15:44,45.—In 1 Thess 5:23 there is a tripartite division.—πνευμα is understood as the higher spiritual 24

26 בְּצֶלֶם כִּדְמוּת] *Hebrew,* in the image, according to the likeness **27** νους, πνευμα, ψυχη . . . σωμα, σαρξ] *Greek,* reason, mind, spirit, soul, . . . body, flesh **28** רוּחַ נֶפֶשׁ, נִשְׁמַת—עָפָר בָּשָׂר] *Hebrew,* spirit, life, spirits—flesh, earth **30** σαρξ, πνευμα; ὁ εσω ανθρωπος . . . ὁ εξω ανθρωπος] *Greek,* flesh, spirit; the inner man . . . the outer man **32** πνευμα . . . ψυχη] *Greek,* spirit . . . flesh

attribute by which the hum. being raises himself to likeness to God: Mt 5:48; 1 Pet 1:15; Eph 4:24; Col 3:9,10.

§ 24.

The purity and loftiness of Christian teaching on this point has been obscured by hypotheses concerning the origin and nature of the hum. soul, and it was only by a misunderstanding that religious importance could be ascribed to these; this was partly owing to incorrect representations and partly to hairsplitting inquiries concerning the manner of the divine image in hum. beings.—

On the origin of the soul. The preexistence school.—Plato—Justin M., Clement of Alex., Origen and Theodoret.—*Creatianists*.—Aristotle—Ambrose, Jerome, Pelagius.—*The Traducians*. Tertullian, Augustine.

On the nature of the soul. 1. On the various components of the soul. (νους s. το ηγεμονικον; το θυμικον; το επιθυμικον). *2*. On the soul's proper substance. *a* the material views of the teachers of the Latin Ch. (recompense in the next life, dreams and visions) Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Lactantius. *b* the immaterial views of the teachers of the Alexandrian Ch. Clement of Alex., Origen.—

[a] 2nd Chapter On Immortality

§ 25.

The human being is immortal; this faith rests on consciousness of the soul's higher nature and activity; it is confirmed by Chr.'s death and glorification and expressed in the apostles' free-spiritedness in the face of death and in their longing for their fatherland in heaven. In the O. T. Moses does not teach any doctrine of immortality; but gradually—-and before the exile—this is slowly and imperfectly developed.

Mt 10:28.—Mt 6:20; Lk 16:9; 2 Cor 4:17,18.—Jn 5:24, 6:47, 11:25, 17:3.—

Is Mt 22:31,32 a proof ?

Eph 1:14; 2 Cor 5:5.

Jesus' death and glorification. Jn 17:24, 14:1.—2 Tim 1:10; Heb 2:14,15.—Rom 6:8, 8:11,17; 1 Cor 15:14–23; 1 Cor 6:14; 1 Pet 1:3.

The example of the apostles Rom 8:38; 1 Cor 15:31,55; 2 Cor 4:11; Phil 1:21, 2:17; 2 Tim 4:6,7; Acts 7:55. The apostles' longing is expressed: Rom 8:23; 2 Cor 4:17, 5:2,4,6,8; Phil 1:23, 3:20.

15 νους s. το ηγεμονικον; το θυμικον; το επιθυμικον] *Greek and Latin,* understanding or reason ("the hegemonic"); high-spirited, passionate; desire

The Jewish doctrine of immortality.
(This is not found in Moses)

A. before the exile. 1) It was believed that the dead were gathered in a common place "gathered to their fathers or to their people.["] וַיֵּאָסֶף אֶל עַמָּיו Gen 25:8, (Abraham) 49:33 (Jacob) Deut 32:50 (Moses). At Gen 37:35 Jacob says כִּי אֵרֵד אֶל־בְּנִי אָבֵל שְׁאֹלָה 2) a common abode is indicated שְׁאֹל from שׁאל poscere or perhaps from the Ethiopic שׁוֹל Hell. This שְׁאֹל is mentioned in Gen 37:35, 42:38, 44:29,31; Num 16:30,33 (Korah). In the following books more precise details of this kingdom appear: Job 30:23 בֵּית מוֹעֵד לְכָל־חָי.: It is equipped with gates שַׁעֲרֵי־מָוֶת. Isa 38:10 אֵלְכָה בְּשַׁעֲרֵי שְׁאֹל; it is subterranean and located in the deepest abyss Job 11:8: "God is higher than heaven and deeper than Sheol.["] Prov 9:18. under the waters Job 26:5 מַיִם בְּעַמְקֵי שְׁאֹל מִתַּחַת. Darkness and shadows are said to reign there Job 10:21 אֶל־אֶרֶץ חֹשֶׁךְ וְצַלְמָוֶת. Quiet and silence reign there.—3) With regard to the dead themselves, they are called: רָפָאִים from רָפָה εκλειπειν; beings without substance, powerless shadows unable to do anything. (In 1 Sam 28 we see that they believed that these shadows could be conjured forth by magical arts). Job 3:13; Ps 115:17, 6:6, 88:11; Isa 38:18.—In other passages, especially in poetic ones, we find a kind of personal life: Isa 14; Ezek 32.

[b]The English dogmatician Warburton was the first to maintain that there was no doctrine of immortality in Mosaic religion.

B. after the exile.[c] Better ideas are found less in the canonical books than in the Apocrypha, and among these especially in the Alexandrian rather than the Jewish Apocrypha. 26

Sadducees. Essenes. Pharisees.

[c]In the book of *Ecclesiastes* "For the fate of hums. and of animals is the same. All go to the same place. All are of dust, and all turn to dust again. Who knows whether the hum. spirit goes upward, and the spirit of animals goes downward to the underworld?" 9:10: ["]There is no work, or thought or knowledge or wisdom in Sheol." On the other hand, certain definite concepts are found in *Daniel*: 12:2: those who sleep beneath the earth will awaken. —*The Book of Wisdom* 2:23: ["]God created hum. beings for eternal life and has made them in his image to

5 וַיֵּאָסֶף אֶל עַמָּיו] *Hebrew,* and he was gathered to his people. **7** שְׁאֹלָה כִּי אֵרֵד אֶל־בְּנִי אָבֵל] *Hebrew,* I shall go down to Sheol to my son, mourning. **8** שְׁאֹל . . . שׁאל] *Hebrew,* Sheol . . . require or demand **8** poscere] *Latin,* to require, to demand **9** שׁוֹל] *Hebrew,* Sheol, kingdom of the dead **12** בֵּית מוֹעֵד לְכָל־חָי] *Hebrew,* to the house appointed for all living **13** שַׁעֲרֵי־מָוֶת] *Hebrew,* the gates of death **13** אֵלְכָה בְּשַׁעֲרֵי שְׁאֹל] *Hebrew,* I depart to the gates of death. **16** בְּעַמְקֵי שְׁאֹל] *Hebrew,* in the depths of Sheol **16** מִתַּחַת מַיִם] *Hebrew,* below the waters **18** אֶל־אֶרֶץ חֹשֶׁךְ וְצַלְמָוֶת] *Hebrew,* to the land of gloom and deep darkness **20** רָפָאִים . . . רָפָה εκλειπειν] *Hebrew,* the departed . . . to be powerless, *Greek,* to be powerless

§ 26.

The Christian doctrine of immortality is most distinctively developed in the doctrine of the resurrection, which is connected to Chr.'s resurrection. In the next life, the hum. being is to maintain a bodily organ for the activity of the soul; this will not be the soulless, earthly body nor yet something absolutely different in essence, but imperishable and suited to a higher life and activity. Thus this doctrine, which comprises in a purer form the later religious ideas of Judaism, points in a significant way toward a higher existence in which hum. nature and personal individuality are preserved.

On the constitution of the future body and its relation to the present one.

1. It is to be different. 1 Cor 15:38,50. This is expressed in the words: μεταμορφουςθαι, μετασχηματιζεσθαι, αλλασσεσθαι 2 Cor 3:18; 1 Cor 15:51; Phil 3:21.—Rom 8:23.—2 Cor 5:1 also uses the expression εκδημειν.

2. There will be an analogy. 1 Cor 15:53,54; 2 Cor 5:2–4.—Mt 22:30; 1 Cor 15:42–49; 2 Cor 3:18; Phil 3:21; 1 Cor 13:12.

The Jewish Doctrine of Resurrection

Dan 12: 2.[d]—2 Macc 7:9,10,11,14,23; 2 Macc 12:40,44.

Chr. and the apostles made use of these particular features but gave them a more universal character. Acts 24:15; 1 Cor 15:22.

§ 27.

The life to come is connected to the present life in the closest possible way. This relationship is depicted in the idea of a just recompense for hum. beings' earthly life. Figurative descriptions of future happiness and misery do not amount to definite ideas. The only thing that is definitely emphasized is, on the one hand, the higher degree of perfection, the closer association with perfection and the happiness deriving from that, and, on the other hand, the power of evil in the hum.

be like him." 3:2: ["]the ignorant believe that the righteous die and their departure is regarded as painful, but they are at peace." 5:16: the just will live forever. Also the ungodly will be raised—3:18: the ungodly ["]have no hope, no comfort in the day of judgment."

[d]Daniel 12:2: Your people shall be delivered, all those who are written in the book, and many who sleep beneath the earth will awaken, some to eternal life, others to eternal shame and contempt. 2 Macc 7:9,10,11,14,23. The story of the 7 sons, one of whom says: ["]My hope is that these limbs will all be restored to me, but for you (Antiochus) there will be no resurrection to life." 2 Macc 12:40,44. After a battle in which many Jews died, some bodies were found with the mark of idols, and Judas Macc made sin-offerings for their resurrection.

17 μεταμορφουςθαι, μετασχηματιζεσθαι, αλλασσεσθαι] *Greek,* be transformed, be changed, be altered **19** εκδημειν] *Greek,* to travel abroad

being himself, his association with evil and the misery deriving from that.

The connection betw. this life and the life to come is characterized as involving recompense, which is figuratively depicted: *1* Life here on earth is work, payment is made in the hereafter Mt 25:22–23; Lk 19:17,19; 1 Cor 3:8. *2* Life here is seedtime, the next is harvest time 2 Cor 9:6; Gal 6:7,8,9. *3* Life is represented as a struggle, beyond is the reward for the struggle: 1 Cor 9:24; 2 Tim 4:7,8; Heb 12:1.

The life to come is depicted as a just recompense Mt 12:36, 18:8; Mt 25:34,41; Jn 5:29; Rom 2:6,16; 2 Cor 5:10; 1 Cor 4:5; Gal 6:8; Eph 6:8.—Degrees of punishment and reward: Lk 19:26; Mt 25:22,23; Mt 10:15 (Sodom and G.) 11:22 (Tyre and S.) Lk 12:47.

Happiness and misery are described figuratively. We can distinguish between the *general statements*: δοξα, τιμη, κληρονομια, υιοθεσια, σωτηρια, ζωη αιωνιος. as opposed to κρισις, οργη και θυμος, θλιψις και στενοχορια, απολεια s. ολεθρος. *Other, more definite, but figurative statements* are: ανακλινεσθαι μετ' Αβρααμ, Ισαακ και Ιακωβ 8:11 ειναι εν κολπω Αβρααμ Lk 16:22 σκοτος εξωτερον, κλαυθμος και βρυγμος οδοντων Mt 22:13; 2 Pet 2:17. πυρ αιωνιον Mt 25:41; Lk 16:24. σκωληξ αυτων ου τελευτᾳ Mk 9:44.

Happiness is presented as a higher perfection, a closer connection to what is perfect. οψονται τον θεον Mt 5:8; 1 Jn 3:2. ειναι συν χριστω, ενδημειν προς τον κυριον, συνδοξασεσθαι συν τω Χριστω. Jn 14:3; 17:24; 2 Cor 5:8; Phil 1:23; 1 Thess 4:17; Rom 8:17; Heb 12:23.

The misery of the wicked is portrayed as being remote from God and from the good and as a cohabiting with evil. Lk 16:26; Mt 13:49; 2 Thess 1:9.

The idea of judgment and recompense as moral is indicated at Jn 3:18.

17 δοξα . . . αιωνιος] *Greek,* glory, honor, inheritance, taking as a son, salvation, eternal life **19** κρισις . . . απολεια s. ολεθρος] *Greek and Latin,* judgment, wrath and anger, trouble and distress, ruin or destruction **21** ανακλινεσθαι . . . Ιακωβ] *Greek,* to sit at table with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Mt 8:11) **22** ειναι εν κολπω Αβρααμ] *Greek,* to be in the bosom of Abraham **23** σκοτος . . . οδοντων] *Greek,* outer darkness, weeping, and gnashing of teeth **24** πυρ αιωνιον] *Greek,* eternal fire **25** σκωληξ αυτων ου τελευτᾳ] *Greek,* their worm never dies **27** οψονται τον θεον] *Greek,* they shall see God. **28** ειναι . . . Χριστω] *Greek,* to be with Christ, to be at home with the Lord, to be glorified with Christ.

§ 28.

The Main Point in the Christian Doctrine of Immortality.

The Christian doctrine does not allow any disruption of hum. life and activity by death. A particular difficulty therefore arises if it is allowed that there is a definite point of time in the future (Chr.'s return) when at one and the same time all are to be raised to life and be judged. The first difficulty seems to be alleviated in the case of the apostles' expectation of Chr.'s imminently expected return. Scripture seems to indicate that at the last judgment a universally more perfect order of things will come to pass, without the poetic description of this entitling us to have any more definite ideas as to how the next life will be constituted.—

Xtianity does not allow any disruption of hum. life
Lk 16:9, 16:22, 23:43; 2 Cor 5:1; Heb 9:27; 2 Cor 5:8; Phil 1:23.—Heb 4:9–11 does not prove anything to the contrary[.] καταπαυσις is not to be understood in terms of the soul sleeping but in terms of happiness.—

The general resurrection: Jn 5:28; 1 Cor 15:23–52; 1 Thess 4:16,17.—We are to stand forth ενωπιον του βηματος του Χριστου: Rom 14:10; Acts 17:31; 1 Cor 4:5; 2 Cor 5:10; 2 Thess 1:6,7,9; 2 Tim 4:1; 1 Jn 2:28, 3:2; Mt 10:41,42, 19:28, 25:31.

The apostles were well aware that no one knows the hour of Chr.'s return: 1 Thess 5:1,2 warns against speculations 2 Thess 2:2. Nevertheless they expected Chr.'s return within a short time: 1 Cor 10:11, 15:51; 1 Thess 4:15; 1 Tim 6:14; Titus 2:13; 1 Jn 2:18; Jas 5:8; 1 Pet 4:7; Heb 10:25.

§ 29.

Chr. doctrine concerning the hum. being's continuing personality and activity after death brings with it the concept of a continuing freedom, but this concept seems to be annulled by what scripture says regarding eternal blessedness and eternal damnation, insofar as these are thought of as inalterable consequences of hum. beliefs and actions in this life. The only way of alleviating this difficulty seems to be by taking eternal blessedness and eternal damnation as characterizing

[e]1834. Richter, Die Lehren von den letzten Dingen. Weize Die philosoph. Geheimlehre von der Unsterblichkeit. Göschel Fichte.

18 καταπαυσις] *Greek,* rest **21** ενωπιον του βηματος του Χριστου] *Greek,* before the judgment seat of Christ

the eternal connection between goodness and happiness and between evil and misery, and the denial of hum. beings' capacity or opportunity to alter this situation in the life to come is not considered.

The condition after death is called eternity. There is talk of ζωη αιωνιος—πυρ αιωνιον Mt 18:8. κολαςις—ζωη αιωνιος Mt 25:46—κριςις αιωνιος Mk 3:29. το σκωληξ αυτων ου τελευτᾳ Mk 9:44.—

After having dealt with the doctrine of 1) immortality 2) resurrection 3) just recompense, we come to a number of questions that are connected with these but that in varying degrees lack a biblical foundation.—

§ 30.

Although belief in the immortality of the soul as the preservation of human personality in a condition in which it received a just recompense was only developed and secured in Chrstnty, the lack of definiteness with which scripture dealt with subsidiary doctrines led to many questions and investigations that, in the most ancient and in the most recent times, have led to various fantastic speculations and injurious opinions. These have concerned 1) *the manner of the resurrection*; 2) *the intermediate condition* between death and the last judgment 3) *the eternity of punishment in hell*.—

1 *Concerning the manner of the resurrection*. If we run through the dogmatic and apologetic writings of the Ch. Fathers, there is scarcely any point that is handled as carefully as this.

Thus Athenagoras, (περι ανασταςεως των νεκρων) Tertullian † 220.[f]. Justin M. † 165; two books by Origen † 254, and a book by Clement of Alex († 218) that has not survived. The reason this doctrine was dealt with so frequently was 1) that they regarded it as something essential; 2) because it was connected with Chr.'s resurrection; 3) because many sects in the most ancient Ch. opposed it: Acts 17:32; 1 Cor 15:12; 2 Tim 2:17. (Hymenaeus and Philetus) later on the Gnostics.

[f] de resurrectione carnis.

[g] Celsus says: what hum. soul could want to return back to the rotten corpse, or how should it become what is transient, how could God do what is impossible.—

6 ζωη αιωνιος—πυρ αιωνιον] *Greek,* eternal life—eternal fire **6** κολαςις—ζωη αιωνιος] *Greek,* punishment—eternal life **7** κριςις αιωνιος] *Greek,* eternal judgment **7** το σκωληξ αυτων ου τελευτᾳ] *Greek,* the worm never dies.

Concerning the relationship between the future body and the present one.—Most thought that the future body was to be material of the same substance as the present one.

The Alexandrians held more spiritual views, positing a resurrectio κατα το ειδος not κατα το υποκειμενον.—

In more recent times the *Paulicians* and *Cathars* fought against the *scholastics*. The scholastics presumed an identitas totalis. More recent dogmaticians presume an identitas[i] partialis.—Marheincke.

2. *Concerning the intermediate state*. Some thought that the soul died with the body. θνητοψυχιται. Others thought that after death the soul sank into an unconscious sleep ψυχοπαννυχια.—The view that after death the soul hovered around the grave was also dominant in popular belief.—Others supposed the soul's transmigration ψυχοπομποσις, μεταψυχησις.

Many Ch. Fathers held to the Jewish idea of a Hades, a place where all dwelt. But early on, this Hades got split into several regions, thus Tertullian 3 regions, 1 for the ungodly, 1 for the holy (Lk 16), 1 for martyrs and the exceptionally holy (Lk 23:43). Later it was believed[j] that Chr. had freed the pious Israelites from Hades for paradise by his preaching in the underworld; then it was believed that all pious Christians came to paradise.

In the scholastic period this teaching was developed in a distinct manner. 5 dwelling places were differentiated from each other 1) Paradisus for the pious, which was the outer circle 2) within that was the limbus patrum where the patres and the pious Jews who lived before Chr. dwelt—though since Chr.'s descent into hell this was empty. 3) limbus infantium for the children of Christians who died without being baptized 4) locus purgatorius for those who had not expiated their sins by means of the Church's penitential practices 5) Orcus s. Geenna for the impenitent.—

[h] They appealed to: a) God's omnipotence, b) the relationship betw. soul and body. c) justice requires that the body suffer for its sins. d) such expressions as "weeping and gnashing of teeth." 1 Cor 15:50 "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God" are explained with reference to the earthly mind.—

[i] identitas ex primis staminibus.—

[j] The gospel of Nicodemus speaks of Xt's work during his death (the 3 days)[.] The author believes that Xt preached to the pious Israelites and led them to paradise. Hermas's Shepherd has the apostles preaching to the dead.

5 resurrectio] *Latin,* resurrection **5** κατα το ειδος] *Greek,* according to the image **5** κατα το υποκειμενον] *Greek,* according to the substance **8** identitas totalis] *Latin,* complete identity **9** identitas partialis] *Latin,* partial identity **11** θνητοψυχιται] *Greek,* having a mortal soul **13** ψυχοπαννυχια] *Greek,* soul sleep **16** ψυχοπομποσις] *Greek,* the ascent of the soul (from the dead) **16** μεταψυχησις] μετεμψυχωσις, the migration of the soul from one body to another **28** Paradisus] *Latin,* paradise **29** limbus patrum] *Latin,* the limbo of the fathers **30** patres] *Latin,* fathers **32** limbus infantium] *Latin,* the limbo of the infants **34** locus purgatorius] *Latin,* place of purgation **36** Orcus s. Geenna] *Latin,* Orcus or Gehenna

10 identitas ex primis staminibus] *Latin (read "e" instead of "ex"),* the identity of the noblest elements of life

[k] They called it πυρ καθαρσιον and πυρ φρωνιμον.

[1] Because the Greeks were present here and did not share the Romans' views of the fire as something material, nothing was discussed here concerning how the fire was constituted, but it was merely taught that it served to atone for penance.

[m] money is collected for prayers for the dead at this festival.—

The doctrine of purgatorial fire is connected with this.—Similar ideas are found in the Zenda religion, in Pythagoras, Plato, Heraclitus, the Stoics and sometimes among the Scandinavians.—This doctrine was especially developed by Gregory M. † 604; it was connected to the Church's liturgy. (An anticipation of this is found in 2 Macc 12:44). This doctrine was connected to the trade in indulgences and was sanctioned at the Synodus Florentina 1439[1] and Conc. Trid. 1545–63, in the 25th Sessio: "catholica ecc., spiritu s. edocta, ex sacris litteris et antiqua patrum traditione docet, purgatorium esse et animas ibi detentas fidelium suffragiis (intercessions) potissimum vero acceptabili altaris sacrificio juvari"

A festum omnium animarum is also celebrated on 2nd Nov.—

3. Concerning eternal damnation and the punishments of hell. As regards the condition of eternal misery, opinions were divided. In the Greek Ch. Justin M. † 165, Tatian, Theophilus, Athanasius kept to the biblical expressions.—The Latins were more materialist.—Purer ideas are found in Clement and Origen. As regards the nature of the punishment, they taught that it consisted of ignorance (σκοτος εξωτερον), in a complete disturbance of the soul's harmony, and in pangs of conscience. As regards their duration, they taught that these punishments were to be regarded as painful medicines. These positions were condemned by Justinian 553 at the Conc. Constantinopolitanum. However, they had been accepted by such names as Gregory of Nyssa † 394, Theodore of Mopsuestia † 428, Diodore of Tarsus † 360. Jerome † 420 also held these views, although he did think that the devils would suffer eternal punishment. Augustine's system required him to assert eternal punishment in hell. This position counted as orthodox throughout the Middle Ages.—Older Lutheran dogmaticians distinguished

1 πυρ καθαρσιον] *Greek,* purifying fire **2** πυρ φρωνιμον] φρονιμον, reasonable fire

10 Sessio] *Latin,* session **10** catholica … sacrificio juvari] *Latin,* the Catholic Church, illuminated by the Holy Spirit, and on the basis of Holy Scripture and the tradition of the ancient Fathers, teaches that there is a purgatory and that the souls held there are aided by the intercessions of the faithful and especially by the true, well-pleasing sacrifice of the altar. **14** festum omnium animarum] *Latin,* Feast of All Souls **23** σκοτος εξωτερον] *Greek,* outer darkness

between the poenæ damni (natural) and poenæ sensus (positive). They conceded that scriptural expressions concerning the punishments were figurative and they did not attempt to define them according to these ex-
32 pressions. Some distinguished between different degrees of punishment, but then accepted their eternity. As the basis for the eternity of punishment they cited *1* God's infinite majesty, which required infinite punishment. *2* God's omniscience (scientia media), which
10 foresaw that evildoers would be eternally evil, even if their lives were extended infinitely, *3* they thought that the evildoers who are dead in their sin would not find an opportunity for improvement and are thus hardened, therefore their punishment is eternal. These
15 reasons are easily rebutted.

Modern dogmaticians took as their point of departure on this matter the fact that the scriptural expressions are indefinite and that the task was thus to look for and to find an idea that was compatible with the
20 scriptural expressions and that conformed to general Christian ideas and propositions and was not in conflict with the principles of hum. thought. Doederlein, Morus, Storr, Reinhardt, Knapp, who are acknowledged as orthodox theologians, treated this doctrine
25 in this way. They bore in mind that 1.) when scrip. says that Chr. is to judge hum. beings, no opposition is made between life before and after the last judgment. We are thus justified in regarding the intermediate state as a state of activity, in which there is room for a con-
30 tinued striving. 2) that there would be a hypothetical eternity for the punishment of evildoers.—

§ 31.

In the symbolic books of our Church, the majority of the questions discussed above are passed over in
35 silence. These contain a short statement of the doctrine of the resurrection and the judgment, mostly in the same words that are used in scripture, to which is added an affirmation of eternal happiness and misery, which is explained on the basis of analogies drawn
40 from H. Scrip. In the other Protestant symbolic books, the doctrine of purgatorial fire is definitely rejected.—

1 poenæ damni] *Latin,* the punishments of the damned **1** poenæ sensus] *Latin,* the punishments of the senses **9** scientia media] *Latin,* mediate knowledge

[n] *In Symb. apost.* κυριος ερχεται εις 1
το κρινειν ζωντας και νεκρους. In *3rd article*: πιστευω εις *σαρκος* αναστασιν και ζωην αιωνιον.

In symb. Nicænum. προσδοκωμεν 5
αναστασιν των *νεκρων* και ζωην μελλοντος αιωνος.—

1 κυριος ερχεται εις το κρινειν ζωντας και νεκρους] *Greek,* the Lord shall come to judge the living and the dead. **3** πιστευω εις σαρκος αναστασιν και ζωην αιωνιον] *Greek,* I believe in the resurrection of the flesh and the life everlasting.
5 προσδοκωμεν αναστασιν των νεκρων και ζωην μελλοντος αιωνος] *Greek,* we expect the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come.

In Symb. Athanas. Article 38: Omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis, et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem. *39*: et qui bona egerunt ibunt in vitam æternam, qui vero mala in ignem æternum. *Confessio Aug. Article 17*: Chr piis et electis dabit vitam æternam et perpetua gaudia, impios autem homines et diabolos condemnabit, ut sine fine crucientur. damnant Anabaptistas, qui sentiunt, hominibus damnatis ac diabolis finem poenarum futurum esse.—
Confessio Gallica says concerning purgatorial fire: humanum commentum et jugum ex hominum auctoritate conscientiis impositum.—

3rd Chapter. 33

On Human Sinfulness.

§ 32.

The complete perdition and deep depravity that was dominant among Jews and pagans in their time is depicted and powerfully characterized by Chr. and by the apostles; it is portrayed as self-inflicted, as the neglect or misuse of natural endowments, and as the immediate cause of Chr.'s being sent.

Chr.'s sayings are solely directed against the Jews. *Against the people*. Mt 10:15, 11:16,24, 12:39; Jn 15:18.— *Against the Scribes*. Mt 5:20, 7:15, 12:31, 15:14, 23[:1–36]. The apostles are of the same opinion: Jn 1:5, 12:37; 1 Pet 1:18. This is especially spoken about in Rom, Gal, and Ephesians.

§ 33.

It is further taught that no hum. being is without sin, and this presupposes a sinfulness that is common to all and grounded in hum. nature, or a weakness in spirit with regard to its striving toward God, in a preponderance of the flesh or of sensual desire. Paul expounds on the origin and growth of this misrelationship. Sensual desire becomes active before the moral disposition and takes the hum. being into its service before the latter is conscious of evil; it is only when the Law speaks that this consciousness is awakened, but this also arouses a desire to resist, taking advantage of its earlier power. Although some strive to resist and others give themselves up without resistance, no one is able to free his will from the flesh, which is enmity toward God. Every hum. life and every moment in life, thought, feeling, and will, are thus marked by the power of evil. Spiritual rebirth is thus necessary for all, but it cannot proceed from the hum. being himself. Statements on this matter can be found especially in Rom 7 and many other places.—

1 Omnes homines resurgere habent . . . rationem] *Latin,* all shall rise with their bodies and give account of their deeds. **4** et qui bona egerunt . . . in ignem æternum] *Latin,* and those who have done good will go in to eternal life, those who have done evil to eternal fire. **7** Chr piis et electis . . . finem poenarum futurum esse] *Latin,* [Christ will] give eternal life and perpetual joy to the pious [and the elect], but will condemn the ungodly and the devils to be tormented without end. [The Reformers] damn the Anabaptists who believe that there will be an end to the punishment of the condemned human beings and the devils. **16** humanum commentum . . . conscientiis impositum] *Latin,* a human fabrication and a yoke laid on the conscience by human authority

Similar statement are found in the O. T.: Gen 6:5, 8:21; Job 9:1; Ps 143:2; Prov 20:9; Eccl 7:21; 1 Kings 8:46.— Sir 8:5; Wis 13:1.

§ 34.

According to Paul's teaching, moral sinfulness derives from the first beginnings of the hum. race and is passed down from the first ancestors and is thus the source of sin and death in all generations. Although reference is thus made to the O. T. narrative in order to show how sin is inseparable from hum. nature, no more precise explanation of this narrative is found in the N. T. The later doctrine of the Fall as the complete ruination of hum. nature as a result of Adam's one sin, and the attribution of this sin to his descendants, is alien to scripture.—

§ 35.

In the light of the preceding account, the chief ideas of the Chr. doctrine are to be found in the following points: 1) that both in the whole and in the individual, sinfulness must be regarded as something received by nature and as something self-caused, based in an erroneous development of the original disposition; 2) that sinfulness must be regarded as a disturbance in the hum. being's higher nature, which makes help from on high needful; but not as an alteration of hum. nature that would make higher assistance insufficient. Where this doctrine is understood in its purity, it will manifest its effectiveness in bringing about the humble recognition of hum. imperfection, weakness, and culpability, awakening the longing for and trust in help from on high, strengthening awareness of the hum. being's higher capacities, and strengthening the will to develop these capacities.—

§ 36.

From the earliest periods of the Ch., the indefiniteness of the story of the Fall has given rise to many attempts at interpretation, both of a historical, mythic-symbolic and of an allegorical kind. These do not however concern Chr. dogmatics, and similarly no specific explanation for them has been established as normative in the

symbolic books of the evangelical Ch. The case is different as regards the true and fitting ideas on the origin of sin, its development, its meriting punishment, and the consequences contained in this narrative.—

§ 37.

In the doctrine of hum. sinfulness the older Ch. Fathers generally found the just balance, guided by right Chr feeling; although their individual expressions are uncertain and indefinite, they agree in recognizing, on the one hand, God's image and moral freedom in every hum. being, and, on the other hand, sin as the common lot of hum. beings, based in sensuous nature and to that extent original and inherited. By setting it in connection with Adam's sin they only assume an increase in the power of the sensuous as a result of the first sin. Tertullian explains this as a propagation of sin by virtue of the propagation of the soul but without thereby asserting any imputation of Adam's sin and without intending to deny that the hum. being has any independent power of doing good.—

§ 38.

Pelagius not only denied that sin was transmitted, he also denied any moral influence from Adam's sin on hum. nature; not only did he assert moral freedom, he asserted that hum. beings are born as pure and uncorrupted as they were originally created, so that his one-sided enthusiasm for personal freedom brought him to misinterpret both the individual's relation to the race and the hum. relation to God. Against him and his followers Augustine proposed this doctrine: that all hum. beings sinned in and with Adam and have received as just punishment a nature corrupted at birth and free only to do evil. This system triumphed especially because of its connection with the interests of the Ch. But the contradictions between this and both scripture and hum. self-consciousness provoked gen. opposition in the Greek Ch., and in the Latin, the semi-Pelagian doctrine concerning hum. cooperation in good works. Despite the difficulties that every attempt to give a more definite account of this doctrine must encounter, it gained gen. acceptance in the Middle Ages on account of its practical-consolatory character and in the Cath. Ch. was sanctioned at the conc. Trid.—

§ 39.

In the evangelical Ch. the central doctrine on the opposition between the merits of the Ch. and of Chr., between churchly works and

Chrstn faith, leads to the rejection of every kind of merit and of human action that might be thought of as independent of God's grace, which, through Xt, calls hum. beings to the good. This is the real tendency of the following statements in the Augsb. Conf., the point of which is seen when they are contrasted with the Cath. doctrine: 1) concerning an original lack of the fear of God. 2) an inherited desire that confuses ideas, corrupts the will, and causes misery 3) true holiness and virtue as effected by the H. Sp.'s assistance. On the other hand, this tendency is distorted in the Formula of Concord and the other symbolic books, which describe the complete depravity of human nature in a manner that conflicts with H. Scrip. and with experience, and that deny hum. beings any capacity to receive or to make use of div. grace.—

Conf. Aug. 2nd Article: docent, quod post lapsum Adæ omnes homines secundum naturam propagati nascantur, cum peccato, hoc est sine metu dei, sine fiducia erga deum et cum concupiscentia, quodque hic morbus sive vitium originis vere sit peccatum, damnans et afferens nunc quoque æternam mortem his, qui non renascuntur per baptismum et sp. s. Damnant Pelagianos et alios, qui vitium originis negant esse peccatum, et ut extenuent gloriam meriti et beneficiorum Chr., disputant hominem propriis viribus rationis coram deo justificari posse.—

§ 40.

Whereas Jansenius sought to renew the strict Augustinian system in the Cath. Ch., it was maintained as orthodox doctrine in the Protestant Ch., and among Lutheran theologians in particular was connected to various theories concerning the imputation of Adam's sin. But just as this system had never been free of contradictions in its earlier form, it has gradually had to yield to a freer study of the Bible and to more thorough psychological and moral investigations, even if the deeper meaning of the scrip. teaching is not seldom misconstrued by these latter. The best current in modern theology has held to the evangelical doctrine by abandoning unbiblical accretions, and, equidistant from Pelagian frivolity and Augustinian abasement, [it has sought] to unite the recognition of a common original sinfulness (frailty) with belief in moral freedom and its power when God's grace is at work in the hum. being.—

14 docent . . . coram deo justificari posse] *Latin,* they [the reformers] teach that following the fall of Adam all born according to the manner of nature are born with sin, that is, without the fear of God, without confidence in God and with concupiscence; and that this sickness or original defect is truly sin, bringing about damnation and eternal death for those who are not born again through baptism and the Holy Spirit. They condemn the Pelagians and others who deny that this original defect is sin, and, to belittle the glory of the merit and benefits of Christ, assert that human beings are able to be justified before God by reason and their own powers.

[a]Messianic psalms: 2, 16, 22, 40, 45, 69, 72, 109, 110.

[a]2 Sam 7:16: Your (David's) house and your kingdom shall be made sure forever before me; your throne shall be established forever. Hosea 3:5: The Israelites will first be depraved, then return to Jehovah and their King David. Amos 9:11: I will raise up the booth of David that is fallen and rebuild it as in the days of old, says the Lord. Micah 5:1: From Bethlehem is to come forth one who is to rule in Israel. Isa 9:6: A child has been born for us, who is called wonderful, Hero, Prince of Peace, his dominion will be great and there shall be endless peace for the throne of David.—The Messiah is called: the shoot of David's rod.

[b]The expectation of a Messiah of Davidic descent is discussed in 2 Sam 7:16;[a] Hos 3:5; Amos 9:11; Isa 9:6.—Mt 2:5, 9:27, 22:42; Jn 7:42.

[c]The Messiah is depicted by the prophets as a man endowed with extraord. qualities. After the exile he is portrayed as a div. being. Dan 7:13.[a]—In the apocryphal books there is no particularly individualized portrayal of the Messiah. The reason for this may be sought *both* in the idealistic tendencies of the Alexandrians, *and* in political grounds.—Platonic philosophy—After the exile the coming of the Messiah was awaited as imminent: 1) because of the magnitude of distress. 2) the oppressions perpetrated by neighboring peoples. 3) because particular passages of the O. T. were explained in connection with that time: Dan chap. 8 (on

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3rd Main Division.
Christian Soteriology.
1st Chapter's 1st Section.
On Christ's Personality.

§ 41.

The common longing for help from on high in order to be freed from the power of evil, [a longing] that is deeply grounded in human nature among earth's various races, gradually developed among the Jewish people into the expectation of a div. Messiah. The expectation was fulfilled when Jesus Chr. was sent in the fullness of time into the world according to God's eternal counsel, grounded in eternal love for the salvation of the human race.

The N. T. speaks of an eternal counsel grounded in God's unalterable loving will as the true ground for Chr.'s mission. It is said that Chr. is sent κατ' ευδοκιαν του θεληματος, κατ' ευδοκιαν, ην προεθετο, κατα προθεσιν των αιωνων; similarly Chr. is said to have been foreordained to this office from eternity and that he was sent in the fullness of time:
Eph 1:11, 3:11; 2 Tim 1:9; 1 Pet 1:20; Gal 4:4.
This div. resolve is grounded solely in God's love αγαπη, χρηστοτης, το ελεος, φιλανθροπια, χαρις σωτεριος, χαρις του θεου, δοθειςα εν Ιησου Χριστῳ, χαρις αντι χαριθος: Jn 1:16, 3:16; Eph 2:4,7,8; Tit 2:11, 3:4.

12 Micah 5:1] *In NRSV and King James version,* Micah 5:2

17 κατ' ευδοκιαν του θεληματος, κατ' ευδοκιαν, ην προεθετο, κατα προθεσιν των αιωνων] *Greek,* according to the good pleasure of his will, according to the good purpose determined beforehand, in accordance with the eternal purpose **24** αγαπη . . . χαριθος] *Greek,* love, goodness, compassion, love toward human beings, saving grace, the grace of God, given in Jesus Christ, grace upon grace

§ 42.

Just as the original connection between the divine and the human is obscurely indicated in the mysterious aspects of Chr.'s birth, so it is manifested openly in Jesus' life by the contrast between his perfect holiness, miraculous works, and glorious victory over the enemies of light and the no less meaningful lowliness and constriction of his external circumstances. By his freely chosen suffering and death he sealed his obedience to God and his love of hum. beings.—

Concerning Chr.'s αναμαρτησια. This is sometimes depicted *negatively* 1 Jn 3:5; Heb 4:15; 1 Pet 1:9; 1 Pet 2:22, *sometimes positively* 1 Pet 3:18; Heb 7:26; Jn 8:46.—He came to accomplish the Father's will: Jn 4:34, 7:18. He glorified the Father Jn 17:4. Chr.'s obedience is depicted in Phil 2:7. Passages such as Jn 2:4, Mt 15:15 prove nothing to the contrary.

Chr. potuit non peccare—*Chr. non potuit peccare*. opposed to this are: 1) the natural development from the age of childhood to the age of manhood would hereby be disrupted. 2) how can Chr. be depicted as a pattern for hum. beings? 3) Chr.'s temptation.[d]—Heb 5:8 also seems to be at odds with Chr.'s holiness. But since the letter is not authentic this proves nothing decisively. In any case, this difficulty can also be explained away.

Chr. portrays the lowliness of his circumstances. Mt 8:20, 20:28. Phil 2:7. 1) This lowliness was a condition of the rapid spread of his teaching, as it thereby came in contact with the mass of the people. Mt 9:35, 9:11,12, 11:25; 2) herein also lies a figurative visualization of the difference between true and false exaltation. Jn 13:14–16; Jas 1:9.

Chr. himself characterized his suffering as grounded in a free decision: Jn 10:18; Mt 26:53. *This decision is grounded in obedience toward God*: Jn 14:31; Mt 26:39; Lk 24:26; Phil 2:7. *He did it from love for hum. beings*: Jn 10:15, 15:13; Rom 5:6.

the 4 monarchies); Ezek 38 and 39; Haggai 2:6; Malachi 3:1.—It can also be seen from Mt 2:2, Lk 2:26, as well as from Suetonius and Tacitus.—concerning a messianic forerunner—

[a]Dan 7:13: There came one like a Son of Man in the clouds of heaven to the Ancient One and was presented before him and he gave him kingship and power and glory, that all peoples and languages should serve him, his power is eternal and shall not pass away, and his kingdom is without end.——*concerning the time* Haggai 2:7: (on the glory of the second Temple, on much future glory, especially in the time of the Messiah) "in a little while, I will shake the heavens and the earth and the sea, and the consolation of nations shall come and I shall make this house full of glory.["] Malachi 3:1: ["]The Lord whom you seek will soon come to his temple, the messenger of the covenant whom you desire."

[d]the objection has also been raised: the prayer in Gethsemane; Mt 14:17: No one is good but God alone. Heb 5:8 he learned obedience by suffering.

11 αναμαρτησια] *Greek,* freedom from sin **18** Chr. potuit non peccare] *Latin,* Christ is able not to sin. **18** Chr. non potuit peccare] *Latin,* Christ is not able to sin.

§ 43.

The resurrection, foretold by Chr., although without effect on the minds of the disciples, is not only significant as the solemn, historical, documentary justification to the world of Chr.'s messianic exaltation, but also in connection with the supernatural element in Chr.'s departure from the world to God, as glorifying the divine, which, according to its nature, was elevated above perishability and death.

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Chr. discusses his death and resurrection: Mt 16:21, 17:23, 20:19; Lk 18:33, 24:7; Jn 2:20.—The apostles were nevertheless not prepared: Lk 24:11; Mk 16:11,13; Jn 20:25.

On the reliability of this fact.

The N. T. stresses the resurrection: Rom 1:4, 10:9; 1 Cor 15:17; 2 Cor 13:4; Eph 1:20; Acts 2:27, 3:15, 17:31.

Something more is signified in such passages as Acts 2:24: ουκ ην δυνατον κρατεισθαι αυτον υπο θανατου; Acts 13:34–37; Rom 6:9. Here the resurrection is regarded as a sign of something future and thus the sign of a visible testimony concerning a nature not subjected to death.

Chr.'s glorification, whereby he is distinguished from every hum. being, is discussed in Jn 14:28, 16:28, 17:5. υψουσθαι Acts 2:33; Phil 2:9. αναβηναι εις υψος Jn 6:62, 20:17; Eph 4:8. αναληφθηναι εν δοξη: 1 Tim 3:16. πορευεσθαι, ειςελθειν εις τον ουρανον: 1 Pet 3:22; Acts 3:21; Heb 9:24.

Mk 16:19; Lk 24:51; Acts 1:9.

§ 44.

The unification of the divine and the hum. that shines forth from Chr.'s life constitutes the main sum of what scripture states concerning his nature and personality. Chr. depicts himself and is depicted by the apostles as 1) perfectly human as regards his soul and body 2) dependent on God as regards his power and activity; but also as 3) inseparably united with the full-

[e] In 1819 *Brennecke* published "A proof that Chr. lived on for 27 years after the resurrection."

[f] (Was Xt's body *impalpable and non-local* after the resurrection? Texts: Phil 3:21; Lk 24:51; (Jn 8:59) prove nothing; and against this theory are the passages where Xt expressly draws attention to the *material nature of his body*: Mt 28:9; Lk 24:39; Jn 20:27.—)

19 ουκ ην δυνατον κρατεισθαι αυτον υπο θανατου] *Greek,* it was not possible for him to be held down by death **26** υψουσθαι] *Greek,* being exalted **26** αναβηναι εις υψος] *Greek,* ascend to the heights **27** αναληφθηναι εν δοξη] *Greek,* raised in glory **28** πορευεσθαι, ειςελθειν εις τον ουρανον] *Greek,* to journey, go to heaven

ness of the divine power that permeates him as the principle by which he acts and is guided. 4) united in a special way with God, the visible revelation on earth of God's being, the object of hum. beings' highest reverence.—

1) *The hum. nature is designated*: σαρξ: Jn 1:14; 1 Jn 4:2; 1 Tim 3:16; Heb 2:14. Chr. is called ανθρωπος Jn 8:40; Rom 5:15; 1 Cor 15:21; 1 Tim 2:5; ανηρ Acts 2:22, 17:31.—This is more precisely expounded by drawing on the common elements that are properties of hum. nature: γενομενος εκ γυναικος Gal 4:5; εκ των πατερων s. εκ σπερματος Δαβιδ: Rom 1:3, 9:5. With reference to the manner in which the bodily powers develop [in] Xt: ηυξανε Lk 2:40; επεινασε Mt 4:2; διψω Jn 19:28; κεκοπιακως Jn 4:6; Mt 8:24 εκαθευδε. The powers of his soul also developed in a hum. way: εκραταιουτο πνευματι; προεκοπτε σοφιᾳ Lk: 2:40,52; Heb 4:15.—συλλυπουμενος Mk 3:5; ηρξατο λυπεισθαι και αδημονειν Mt 26:37; γενομενος εν αγωνια Lk 22:44; ενεβριμησατο τω πνευματι Jn 11:33; Lk 19:41. His joy: εγαλλιασατο τῳ πνευματι Lk 10:21.—Mk 13:32; Mt 26:42.—

2) *Dependence is designated* God is depicted as Xt's God and Father: Jn 20:17; 2 Cor 11:31; Eph 1:17; Jn 14:28; 1 Cor 3:23, 11:3; Heb 3:2. It is depicted with ref. to Xt's calling on earth: Jn 3:16, 6:29, 7:28. ὁν ὁ πατερ ηγιασε: Jn 10:36; Acts 10:38.—The teaching is not his: Jn 7:17, 8:28,38; also his works Mt 26:39; Jn 5:36,19; Jn 15:10, 17:4. Paul speaks of υπακοη Phil 2:7–8.—Mt 28:18; Jn 3:35, 13:3, 5:27, 17:2; 1 Cor 15:28; Eph 1:22. Chr. returns to the Father: Jn 8:14, 14:12, 16:28.

[g](A merely apparent hum. nature is suggested at Rom 8:3; Phil 2:7, but these prove nothing against the reality of his nature)

6 σαρξ] *Greek,* flesh **7** ανθρωπος] *Greek,* man, human being **8** ανηρ] *Greek,* man, human being **11** γενομενος εκ γυναικος] *Greek,* born of a woman **11** εκ των πατερων s. εκ σπερματος Δαβιδ] *Greek and Latin,* from the fathers or from the seed of David **14** ηυξανε] *Greek,* grew **14** επεινασε] *Greek,* hungered **14** διψω] *Greek,* I thirst. **15** κεκοπιακως] *Greek,* tired **15** εκαθευδε] *Greek,* slept **16** εκραταιουτο πνευματι; προεκοπτε σοφιᾳ] *Greek,* became strong in spirit; increased in wisdom **18** συλλυπουμενος] *Greek,* grieved **18** ηρξατο λυπεισθαι και αδημονειν] *Greek,* he began to be grieved and agitated. **19** γενομενος εν αγωνια] *Greek,* in his anguish **19** ενεβριμησατο τω πνευματι] *Greek,* he became disturbed in spirit. **20** εγαλλιασατο τῳ πνευματι] *Greek,* he rejoiced in the spirit. **25** ὁν ὁ πατερ ηγιασε] *Greek,* the one, whom the Father has sanctified **28** υπακοη] *Greek,* obedience

3) *The unity with the div. subsisting in Chr. stated*: ὁ λογος σαρξ εγενετο Chr. πληρης πνευματος αγιου. Chr. cast out demons εν πνευματι Mt 12:28.—Rom 1:4; 1 Tim 3:16; Col 2:9.—Jn 15:24 εργα εποιησε, α ουδεις αλλος. Jn 16:15.—Chr. is called κυριος της δοξης 1 Cor 2:8; Jas 2:1.

Chr. called God: Rom 9:5; Titus 2:13; Jn 20:28; 1 Jn 5:20.

4.) *Ch. is united with God in a peculiar manner*[.] he is called *υιος του θεου*. This formula occurs in the O. T. with reference to the Jews: Ex 4:22; Deut 14:1; to the judges and kings: 2 Sam 7:14; Ps 2:7, 82:6; to the angels Job 1:6, 38:7.—In the N. T. υιος του θεου is also used of good people: Lk 20:36; of Christians: Mt 5:9,45; Jn 1:12; Rom 8:14; 1 Jn 3:12.—Chr. is only called μονογενης (Jn 1:18) in Jn; αγαπητος in the 3 gosps. and epistles; πρωτοτοκος (Col 1:15); ιδιος at a single place Rom 8:32. Heb 3:5–6 distinguishes him from Moses. There is said to be unity of will and power: Jn 10:30,38, 17:10. This is expressed with ref. to Chr.'s teaching: ο πατερ εδιδαξεν με Jn 8:28, 6:45, 8:38. With ref. to Chr.'s works: ὁ πατερ φιλει τον υιον και δεικνυσι αυτω παντα, α ποιει Jn 5:20. Jn 14:10: πατηρ εν εμοι μενων.—Chr. reveals God's being on earth and is therefore depicted as the object of reverence: Jn 14:9, 12:45; Col 1:15; 2 Cor 4:4; Phil 2:7; Heb 1:3.—Jn 5:23; Phil 2:10; Heb 1:6.

§ 45.

Finally, several statements concerning a preterrestrial condition that do not stand in any immed. connection with Chr.'s work for hum. salvation also appear in scripture, as when Chr. speaks of his preexistence and the apostles further speak of his part in the creation and sustaining of the world; but what especially characterizes the scrip. doctrine is that faith in the div. majesty of Chr.'s person is necessary 1)[i] to arouse full

[h](Chr. is also called υιος του θεου in the N. T.: Jn 1:49, 11:27; Mt 16:16, 26:63.)
(This is not necessarily to assume that υιος του θεου and Χριστος are synonyma, the latter is perhaps more related to his messianic vocation, the former to his messianic dignity)

[i] 1) See Jn 3:31, 6:46, 7:28, 1:18, 17:3.

1 υιος του θεου] *Greek,* the son of God **5** Χριστος] *Greek,* Christ, the anointed one **6** synonyma] *Latin,* synonyms

1 ὁ λογος σαρξ εγενετο] *Greek,* the word became flesh. **2** πληρης πνευματος αγιου] *Greek,* full of the Holy Spirit **3** εν πνευματι] *Greek,* in the spirit **4** εργα εποιησε, α ουδεις αλλος] *Greek,* did works that no one else did **5** κυριος της δοξης] *Greek,* the king of glory **9** υιος του θεου] *Greek,* the son of God **14** μονογενης] *Greek,* only begotten **15** αγαπητος] *Greek,* beloved **16** πρωτοτοκος] *Greek,* firstborn **16** ιδιος] *Greek,* [one's] own **19** ο πατερ εδιδαξεν με] *Greek,* the Father instructed me. **21** ὁ πατερ . . . ποιει] *Greek,* the Father loves the Son and shows him all that he himself is doing *or* that he should do. **22** πατηρ εν εμοι μενων] *Greek,* the Father, who dwells in me

confidence in *the truth of his teaching, its utter lack of deceitfulness*, 2)[j] *in the worth* and *work of his mission*, his suffering and acting, 3)[k] *in the unshakeable enduring of the Kingdom that he founded*—Thus the connection between the div. in Chr.'s nature and the div. in his activity becomes the essential practical religious point of emphasis, and the biblical faith in a unification of the div. and the hum. in Chr., which, according to its nature is *mysterious*[l] *and inconceivable*, although it may be illuminated by analogy, is just as far from dogmatizing theories on the essence and constitution of this unity as it is from dissolving[m] the historical truth into rhetorical symbols or fantastic speculation.—

Preexistence. Jn 8:58, 17:5, 24:1, 1:2.—His part in creation and maintenance Col 1:6; Heb 1:2–3; Jn 1:3,10; *1 Cor 8:6; Eph 3:9*.[n]

§ 46.

In the most ancient Church they stayed with the results of the biblical doctrine and, in contrast to the *Gnostic* and *Ebionite* opinions, held fast to the doctrine both of Chr.'s true hum. nature and of the union of that nature with the divine [nature], which is designated by the term θεανθρωπος. But a broad field was left open for speculation about the nature and constitution of the unity. This was bound to lead to various kinds of ideas that occasioned intense conflicts and in time a series of dogmatic definitions that could not promote real insight into the nature of the mystery and so the character of the mystery was often distorted and new difficulties thereby generated. But just as these very precise definitions had developed in accordance with a certain historical necessity, so could a right use of them serve to secure the principal truths of the Bible against one-sided and nonscriptural dogmatizing.

Apollinarian. (in Syria in Laodicea.)

Nestorian.

Monophysite. Eutyches. At the Council of Chalcedon 451 both natures were adopted as orthodox. "ο χριστος τελειος εν θεοτητι και τελειος εν ανθρωποτητι; δυο φυσεις ασυγχυτως, ατρεπτως (against the Monophys-

[j]2) *The worth* rests on the greatness of the grace of Providence cf. Jn 3:16; Rom 5:8; 1 Jn 4:9; Phil 2:5. *The actions*: Rom 8:3,31.

[k]3) Mt 16:18; Jn 10:28; Mt 28:20.

[l]It has been observed that this doctrine concerning Xt's two natures was self-contradictory. But something is called self-contradictory when opposing predicates are attributed to it, [the term] cannot conceivably be used of a relationship of which we can say nothing, and thus by no means [can we say] that it is self-contradictory.—Analogies are found: 1) the relationship between soul and body; 2) in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit's indwelling in us. Symbolum Athanas. "sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo; ita et deus et homo unus est Chr."

[m]E.g., *De Wette in* his work on religion and theology: this doctrine has to be rejected in the light of the laws of rational truth, but it is a pretty image of the unity of the div. and the hum.—

[n]How these two texts are to be interpreted is nevertheless ambiguous; they could also be explained in a spiritual sense.

23 θεανθρωπος] *Greek,* God-man **38** ο χριστος . . . μιαν υποσταςιν] *Greek,* Christ is perfect as regards divinity and perfect as regards humanity; two natures unconfusedly, unchangeably . . . indivisibly, inseparably . . . without extension, united in one person and hypostasis.

19 sicut anima rationalis . . . deus et homo unus est Chr.] *Latin,* as a rational soul and a body constitute one human being, so are God and man one in Christ.

ites) αδιαιρετως, αχωριστως (opposed to Duophysitism), αδιαστατως συντρεχουσι εις ἓν προζωπον και μιαν υποσταζιν."
Symb. Athans. Chr. perfectus deus, perfectus homo, non duo tamen, sed unus Chr., unus non confusione substantiæ, sed unitate personæ, non conversione divinitatis 44
in carnem, sed assumtione humanitatis in deum.

Monotheletic. The Council of Constantinople 680: "δυο φυσικα θεληματα, ουκ υπεναντια, αλλα το ανθρωπινον θελημα μη αντιπιπτον η αντιπαλον, μαλλον μεν ουν υποταζζομενον τω θειω και πανσθενει θεληματι."

Adoptionist. Elipandus Toletanensis and Felix Urghellitanus.

§ 47.

Whereas the Augsburg Confession limits itself to a short statement of the principal propositions concerning the union of the div. and hum. in Chr., the Formula of Concord and, following its lead, later Lutheran dogmatics, partly for polemical reasons, made the relationship between the two natures and the attributes especially belonging to each the object of thorough terminological definitions, thought out with scholastic over-nicety. As modern theology returns to the scrip. teaching, this kind of dogmatizing retains at most a merely historical interest.—

Propositiones verbales.
Propositiones idiomaticæ
a) The relationship betw. the persons and the one or other nature.
b) vice versa.
c) between the hum. and divine natures. *NB*°
d) vice versa.

1 °*NB*. The dogmatic writers remembered that the properties of the hum. nature could not be transferred to

4 Chr. perfectus deus … in deum] *Latin,* Christ, perfect God, perfect man, yet not two, but one Christ, one not by the confusion of substance, but by the unity of the person, not by the conversion of the flesh, but by the inclusion of the human nature in God **9** δυο … θεληματι] *Greek,* two natural wills, not opposed, but the human will is not contrary or hostile; rather, it is subordinated to the divine and almighty will. **27** Propositiones verbales] *Latin,* verbal propositions **28** Propositiones idiomaticæ] *Latin,* propositions concerning the properties

a) genus idiomaticum. E.g., Rom 1:3; 1 Pet 3:18. Chr. suffered; Chr. here is the whole person, but suffering cannot be attributed to God.
b.) genus apotelesmaticum i.e., those statements in which what belongs to the work of redemption and thus concerns the whole person is nevertheless applied to one or other of the natures. 1 Tim 2:5; Heb 1:3.
c) genus majestaticum s. αυχηματικον in which the div. is transferred to the hum. Jn. 5:27; Phil 2:10.

the div. nature, thus the relationship falls away.

[p] What made this terminology so important at that time was its polemical use: they tried to find in it a proof of Chr.'s personal presence in the eucharist. It was said that omnipresence belonged to the div. nature, but because of the unification [of natures] the hum. nature came to participate in it.—

1 genus idiomaticum] *Latin,* genus concerning properties **4** genus apotelesmaticum] *Latin,* genus concerning completion, perfection **8** genus majestaticum s. αυχηματικον] *Latin and Greek,* the genus relating to worth or honor [or] concerning that of which one is proud

[q] *On Chr.'s Work*

2nd Section.

§ 48.

In the Jewish expectation of messianic redemption the most diverse ideas crisscross one another, a) both as concerns the nature and character of redemption, b) and as concerns its scope and c) the means by which it is to be effectuated, all depending on the diverse levels of education and spiritual development.

[r] *1. From the political side* the Messiah as 1) the restorer of the power of the Davidic monarchy: Isa 11:1, etc.; Amos 9:11; Ezekiel 34:11–23; Lk 1:32–33. This is depicted as 2) Chr. is to subject the heathen to the dominion of the Jews: Joel 3:7; Isa 11:14; Micah 5; Zech 12. Similarly in the apocryphal books: Baruch 4 and 5; Sir 36:12–17. Also in the N. T. Lk 1:68ff.; Lk 24:21; Acts 1:6. 3) This redemption is also described more particularly as the return to the land of Palestine: Ezek 37:22; Isa 11:11.

[r] Isa 11:1 a shoot shall spring from Jesse's stem. Amos 9:11: David's fallen booth will be raised. Ezek 34:23: Ezekiel declaims against the priests and leaders of the people, promises a better shepherd, namely David.

[s] Joel 3:7: All the heathen shall be gathered in the Vale of Jehoshaphat to be judged, no stranger shall ever again enter Jerusalem with hostile intent. Isa 11:14: Philistia, Idumea, Moab, Ammon shall submit. Micah 5: he shall bring about victory over Assyria and other nations. Zech 12: Jerusalem is called a cup of reeling and a stumbling stone for the heathen.

[t] *Ezek 37:22*: I, Jehovah, will take the children of Israel from among the nations, I will gather them, and bring them back to their own land and give them a king. *Isa 11:11*: On that day the Lord will stretch forth his hand a second time to recover the remnant of his people, lead them back, bring about unity and establish one kingdom, where enmity will cease, etc.

9 Joel 3:7] *In NRSV and King James version,* Joel 3:12

46 *2. From the religious side*. Rooting out idolatry belongs here. Micah 5:11–12; Ezek 36:25; Zech 13:2.—Tied up with this is the reconciliation between Jehovah and his people. Hos 2:19; Isa 54:8. Also in the N. T.: Mt 1:21; 5 Lk 1:77. The messianic period is portrayed as the triumph of justice, truth, knowledge, and the fear of God: Joel 3:2; Isa 11:9; Ps 85:11; Jer 31:33; Lk 1:75,79; Mt 3:11–12; Jn 4:25. The more poetic passages also come in here, depicting the messianic period as a golden age. 10 Isa 11:6, 60:17.

Concerning its scope. In opposition to particularism we find the universal idea that redemption is to include all. Isa 2:2, 56:6–7; Zech 14:9,16. Similarly in the apocryphal books: Tob 13:13, 14:6ff.; Lk 2:32.

15 Might there have been among the Jews an expectation of a suffering and dying Messiah as the means of atonement before Chr.'s time? Here we have to distinguish between the books of the O. T. and what came after the closing of the canon, i.e., what most immedi- 20 ately preceded Chr.'s time.

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[u] a) 1
b)
c)
d)

[v] *From the religious side*. 5
a). Rooting out of idolatry *Micah 5:11*: I will root out sorceries and soothsayers, images and idols, so that you shall no more worship the works of your hands. *Ezek 36:25*: I will clean 10 you from all uncleanness and from your idols, give you a new heart, a new spirit. *Zech 13:2*. On that day I will root out the names of the idols from the land, drive out the false prophets and unclean spirits. b) a reconciliation between Jehovah and the people. *Hosea 2:19*: And I will take you for my wife forever, in righteousness, grace, [and] mercy and you 20 shall know the Lord. *Isa 54:8*: For a moment I hid my face from you, but with everlasting grace I will have compassion on you. Mountains may vanish and hills be removed, 25 but my grace shall not depart from you nor my covenant be removed. c). *Joel 3.—Isa 11:9*: They shall not feel faint (from thirst for true knowledge) on my holy mountain, for the 30 earth is filled with the knowledge of God as if covered with the waters of the sea. *Ψ 85:11*: Goodness and faithfulness will meet, peace and righteousness kiss one another, faith- 35 fulness spring up from the ground, righteousness look down from heaven. *Jer 31:33–34*: I will write my law in their heart, they shall be my people and I will be their God, no one will 40 need to teach another, but they shall all know me, both great and small. d) The poetic writings. *Isa 11:6*: The wolf shall dwell with the sheep, the

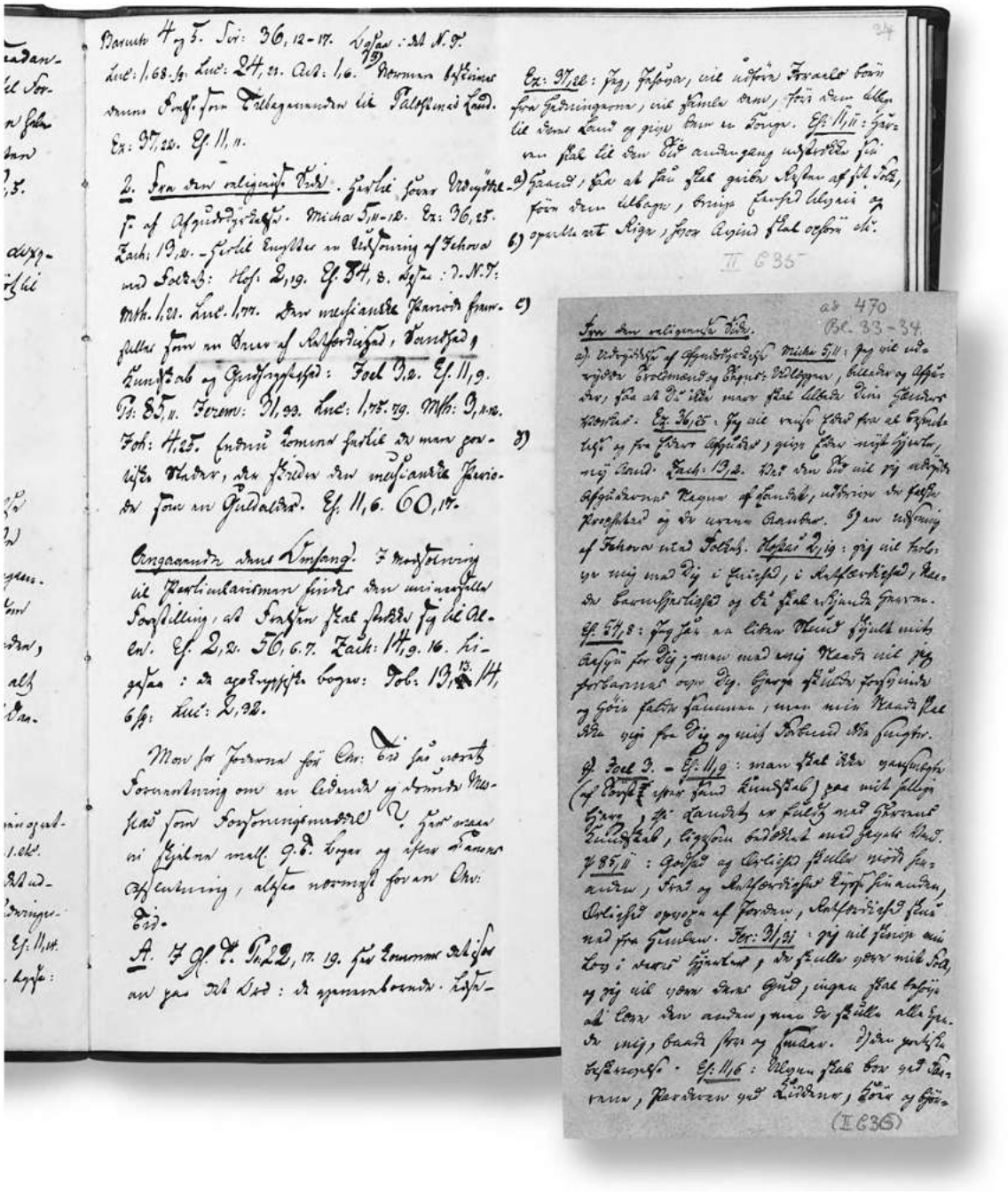
2 Micah 5:11–12] *In NRSV and King James version,* Micah 5:12–13

6 Micah 5:11] *In NRSV and King James version,* Micah 5:12

leopard with the kid, cows and bears graze together; the lion shall eat straw like the ox, and the child shall play with the snake and put his hand on the cockatrice's den. Isa 60:17: I will bring gold instead of bronze, silver instead of iron, bronze instead of wood, wood instead of stone. Violence shall no more be heard in your land, no devastation or destruction within your borders, your walls shall be called Salvation, your gates Praise. The sun shall not go down, the moon not lose its shine, for the Lord will be the eternal light and your days of suffering will be ended.

Concerning its scope.

Isa 2:2: In the last days, the mountain of the Lord's house shall be higher than other mountains, and all nations will stream to it and say, Come, let us go up to the Mountain of the Lord, to the House of the God of Jacob, that he might teach us his ways and we might walk in his paths, for the law shall go forth from Zion and God's word from Jerusalem. *Isa 56:6–7*: The children of aliens who have sought the Lord to serve him, and love his name, these I will bring under my holy roof, and their sacrifices will be pleasing to me, for my house is a house of prayer for all people. *Zech 14:9–16*. The Lord shall be king over all lands; on that day the Lord will only be one and his name only one and all the nations that came up against Jerusalem shall go up year by year to worship the Lord Sabaoth and keep the festival of booths. *Tob 14*: All people shall turn to fear the Lord God, break down their idolatrous images and praise the Lord.



Notebook 1:7.v. Additions on a loose piece of paper attached to the page (see p. 41).

A. In the O. T. Ps 22: 17–19. What is especially important here is the word: they pierced. How this is to be read is uncertain, some having כָּאֲרִי like a lion, others כָּאֲרוּ they pierced or bound. (Mt 27:35; Jn 19:24.).— Zech 12:10; Isa 52 and 53;[w] Dan 9:26.—It is unlikely that these ideas were dominant in the O. T.— Nevertheless we still find them used in the N. T.: Lk 24:26; Acts 3:18, 26:23; 1 Cor 15:3; 1 Pet 1:11.

[w] Three explanations are offered for this. 1) it applies to the Messiah 2) it applies to the Jewish people (who suffer for univrsl hum. sinfulness, but finally the Mosaic religion will be spread all over [the world]) 3) it applies to a certain member of the Jewish people (either Isaiah or the whole prophetic order.)

B. Later Jewish ideas.
Here we find the most fantastic ideas.
1 a double Messiah.
2 the Messiah suffered in his preexistent state and by this suffering atoned for the people's sins.

Here there remains no alternative to turning to the N. T., from which we can infer:
1 that the idea of a dying Messiah was alien to a large proportion of the populace: a) Jn 12:34; b) the disciples never grasped the meaning of Chr.'s predictions of his suffering and death; c) Chr.'s death was an offense to the Jews.
2. that ideas of a suffering Messiah were not alien to Jews who had purer ideas of the Messiah, and are connected with the idea of the Messiah as bringing about rebirth. Lk 2:34; Jn 1:29.[y]

[x] חֲבְלֵי הַמָּשִׁיחַ

[y] It now remains to show the inw. connection linking this statement to the Jews' religious ideas about sin. 1) This is closely tied up with the concept of the atoning efficacy of the sacrifices (especially the great yearly atonement sacrifice) Lev 16:21. 2) This idea is transferred to[a] hum. beings. Ex 20:5, 34:7; 1 Kings 21:29; 2 Kings 24:1. 3) Finally the view was reached that the forgiveness of sins could be earned by almsgiving. Dan 4:24. Tob 4:11–12. But not only good gifts from the individuals concerned, but others' gifts were a means to the forgiveness of sins. Thus Jehovah commands Job's friends first of all to bring sacrifices

10 חֲבְלֵי הַמָּשִׁיחַ] *Hebrew,* the messianic woes **23** Tob 4:11–12] *In NRSV,* Tob 4:10–11

1 Ps 22: 17–19] *In NRSV and King James version,* Ps 22:16–18 **3** כָּאֲרִי . . . כָּאֲרוּ] *Hebrew,* like a lion . . . they pierced

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and then to persuade Job to intercede for them: Job 42:7–8; 2 Macc 12:42.— 1

[a]God visits the sins of the fathers. 1 Kings 21: Jehovah has threatened Ahab with destruction, but now has compassion on him and says to Elijah: Ahab's house will be spared in his lifetime, but in his son's time I will visit his sins upon him. 2 Kings 24:1: The destruction of the Kingdom of Judah under Jehoiakim by Nebuchadnezzar is a punishment for the ungodliness of Manasseh. 5 10

§ 49.

When Jesus proclaimed himself in word and deed to be the promised Messiah, the founder of the awaited Kingdom of God, and the apostles confirmed this testimony to Jews and pagans, every idea of Jewish dominion and worldly power was rejected and excluded. Reconciliation and peace with God by means of faith; freedom from ignorance, sin, and death; and the stated aim of Jesus being sent, the aim of his teaching, life, and death was the founding of a society in which the possession of these goods was to be allotted to hum. beings. (munus propheticum et sacerdotale). 5 10

Chr. declared himself to be the Messiah[z] *by using of himself the expressions by which the Messiah was characterized in the O. T. and elsewhere among the Jews*. 15

E.g. υιος του θεου—ὁ ερχομενος—ὁ χριστος—ὁ υιος του ανθρωπου. (Dan 7:13); Mt 3:17, 9:6, 10:7, 11:14, 16:16; Lk 4:21; Jn 4:26, 5:39, 8:56, 9:37, 17:3; Mt 26:24; Lk 24:25,44.—

The apostles confirmed this testimony: Acts 2:36, 3:18, 4:10, 8:35, 10:38; 1 Jn 4:2. 20

The Jews' mistaken ideas of Chr. as a political ruler are refuted: *directly* Lk 17:20–21; Jn 18:36 (my Kingdom is not of this world), 17:4, etc.; *indirectly* 1) where 51
he predicts his suffering and death Mt 16:21, 17:22; and 25
2) where he withdraws from the crowd: Jn 6:15; 3)

[z]by having explained himself in terms applied in the O. T. to the Messiah. 15

12 munus propheticum et sacerdotale] *Latin,* prophetic and sacerdotal [priestly] office **16** υιος του θεου—ὁ ερχομενος—ὁ χριστος—ὁ υιος του ανθρωπου] *Greek,* the son of God—the coming one, he who is to come—the Christ, the anointed one—the son of man

where he urges the disciples and the people to fulfill to all their social obligations: Lk 12:13, 20:20; Mt 22:15.—The people wanted him to declare himself definitively, because they nurtured ideas about his political significance: Mt 12:23, 16:14; Jn 7:4,26,31, 10:24.—Neither do the apostles attribute any political tendency to Xnty: Rom 13:1; 1 Tim 2:1; Titus 3:1; 1 Pet 2:13.

Usually the aim of Chr.'s coming is stated in such terms as, that Chr. is sent εις σωτηριαν, εις το σωζεσθαι ημας, ινα εχωμεν ζωην αιωνιον, ινα μη απολωνται: Mt 18:11; Jn 3:16–17, 12:47. Thus the teaching is called ευαγγελιον σωτεριας Eph 1:13. The disposition that God has made manifest is called χαρις σωτεριος Titus 2:11. God is called σωτηρ as too is Chr. σωτηρ: Titus 1:3, 2:11, 3:4–6; 1 Thess 5:9; 1 Cor 1:21; 1 Tim 1:15, 2:3, 4:10; 2 Tim 1:10.

Chr.'s aim is not only to enlighten hum. beings but embraces their entire being, striving to bring all their powers into harmonious activity. But by what means? *1.* By word or teaching: Jn 8:12, 17:3, 18:37. But this was not enough, a visible manifestation was also needed, which was served by *2* Chr.'s life. But this was not enough; [his] authority had *3* to be confirmed by outw. signs. Chrnty is thus to be regarded as an arrangement in which history has been bound to teaching. This is why, at other places in the N. T., it is at one point, Chr.'s death, at another point, the resurrection, that is emphasized as the essential element. The resurrection, e.g., 1 Cor 15. This necessary connection between Chr.'s teaching and the higher historical elements is indicated when Chr. is analyzed according to his *munus in propheticum, sacerdotale and regium.*

munus propheticum, i.e., Chr.'s work in revealing the way to righteousness and blessedness to hum. beings.

munus sacerdotale, i.e., Chr.'s work effected in his sacrificial death and its effectiveness in bringing about reconciliation with God for hum. beings, to which 3 actus have been attributed: satisfactio, intercessio, benedictio. Heb. 4.

munus regium, i.e., Chr.'s work in founding his spiritual Kingdom. 52

§ 50.

Chr. has given to hum. beings complete assurance regarding God's merciful grace, which alone can comfort the anxious conscience a) by his teaching that God, who is a Spirit, is love b) by his life, which is the visible revelation of the div. love and mercy; c) by his death, which is the pledge of God's love to sinful hum. beings. Thus, even when weighed down by their sins, hum. beings have

8 εις … απολωνται] *Greek,* unto salvation, in order to save us, in order that we might have eternal life, in order that they should not die **10** ευαγγελιον σωτεριας] *Greek,* the gospel of salvation **11** χαρις σωτεριος] *Greek,* saving grace **12** σωτηρ] *Greek,* savior **25** munus … regium] *Latin,* office in prophecy, priesthood … kingship **31** actus … satisfactio, intercessio, benedictio] *Latin,* acts … satisfaction, interecession, benediction [blessing]

reconciliation, atonement, peace with God, the spirit of childlike confidence and cheerfulness, forgiveness of sins through Chr., and Chr.'s death is portrayed with deep meaning as the true sacrifice that gives hum. beings peace and tranquillity, vainly sought through the blood of animal sacrifices, and by its never-diminishing power does away with the use of all self-made means of reconciliation.

Confidence in div. grace is given to Christians. *1 by the teaching* that God is Spirit, his being is love; his grace must therefore be higher than all hum. limitations; his love must be eternal, unalterable, excluding wrath and all affects: Mt 5:44–45; Lk 15:10; Jn 3:16; 1 Jn 4:9,16,19; Rom 5:8; Eph 2:4–7; Titus 3:4. *2 by his life*. Chr. says Jn 14:19, whoever has seen me has seen the Father; this expresses Chr.'s likeness to God; but what preeminently characterizes Chr.'s relation to hum. beings is the love with which he offered himself for them and remained true to himself in love to the end of his life: Jn 10:11, 15:13, 12:47, 8:7–11; Lk 9:56; Mt 18:22; Lk 23:34. *3* by his death.—

Scripture speaks of ἱλαςμος and ιλασκεςθαι Heb 2:17; 1 Jn 2:2, 4:10. It should be noted here that ἱλαςμος does not belong to God as the object of atoning activity (as in previous religions), but that hum. beings and their sins are atoned for. Following from this, scrip. speaks of a reconciliation (reconciliatio) καταλλαγη, καταλαςςειν: 53 (only in the Pauline passages) 2 Cor 5:18; Rom 5:10. αποκαταλαςςειν: Eph 2:16; Col 1:20,21. καταλλαγη: Rom 5:11, 11:15; 2 Cor 5:18,19.— More figurative expressions are also used, such as εγγιζειν Heb 7:19, προςαγωγη [Rom] 5:2; Eph 2:18, 3:12; 1 Pet 3:18.—It is indicated in more specific expressions: Chr. has brought ειρηνην, παρρησιαν προς τον θεον, πνευμα υιοθεςιας for hum. beings: Rom 5:1, 8:15–16; Eph 2:16, 3:12; 1 Jn 3:21, 4:17. In the same sense *Chr*. is called the mediator of the new covenant between God and hum. beings: 1 Tim 2:5; Gal 3:20; Heb 7:22, 8:6. Finally, it is also said that, through Chr., hum. beings have obtained the forgiveness of sins: Mt 26:28; Acts 5:31; Eph 1:7; Col 1:14, figuratively as απολυτρωςις των αμαρτιων Eph 1:7; Col 1:14; Rom 3:24; Heb 9:15. Or when Chr. says that he gives himself as λυτρον Mt 20:28; αντιλυτρον. 1 Tim 2:6.

When the N. T. attributes this reconciling work especially to Chr.'s death, the basic idea is that of Chr.'s death as a sacrificial death: προςφορα και θυσια, εις οςμην ευωδιας Eph 5:2; 1 Pet 2:24; Rom 3:25; 1 Cor 5:7 and preeminently in Heb.

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18 ἱλαςμος] *Greek,* reconciliation **18** ιλασκεςθαι] *Greek,* to be reconciled **22** καταλλαγη] *Greek,* atonement, reconciliation **22** καταλαςςειν] *Greek,* (καταλλασσειν), to atone, reconcile **23** αποκαταλαςςειν] *Greek,* (αποκαταλλασσειν) to atone **25** εγγιζειν] *Greek,* to come, draw near **26** προςαγωγη] *Greek,* access **27** ειρηνην. . . υιοθεςιας] *Greek,* peace, boldness before God, a spirit of adoption **33** απολυτρωςις των αμαρτιων] *Greek,* a ransom for sins **35** λυτρον] *Greek,* a ransom **35** αντιλυτρον] *Greek,* a ransom **38** προςφορα . . . ευωδιας] *Greek,* a gift and sacrifice, and for a sweet-smelling savor

§ 51.

Chr. delivers human beings from evil, he brings about rebirth to a holy life, well-pleasing to God. In the revealed word and in Chr.'s example the law of God's will is set forth 1.) in complete purity and clarity 2) with an authority that beats down doubt and contradiction and stirs the powers of the spirit into activity. But, as well as his mission and self-sacrifice, Chr.'s teaching is also the revelation of God's grace and love. The consciousness of this drives away the oppressive fear of servitude, instilling feelings of love and thankfulness and, with these, additional strength to fulfill God's law and follow Chr., as well as joy through voluntary obedience. This, then, is the aim of reconciliation and its completion.

Mt 4:17; Jn 3:3; Lk 10:18; Jn 12:31; 1 Jn 3:8; Gal 1:4; Titus 2:12, 3:5; 1 Pet 2:24; Heb 9:14.

With regard to the work of bringing enlightenment, Chr. calls himself το φως του κοσμου. Jn 8:12, 14:6. A more precise explanation is to be found in Jn 8:32. The aim of Chr.'s teaching is said to be: επιγνωσις αληθειας 54 κατ ευσεβειαν Titus 1:1; 1 Tim 2:4; Eph 1:13,17. At other places in the apostolic letters knowledge of the truth that has been communicated is presented as a necessary condition for a God-fearing life: περιπατειτε ὡς τεκνα φωτος. Rom 13:12; Eph 5:8; 1 Pet 2:9; 1 Jn 1:6–7, 5:20.—A higher div. power to effectuate such enlightenment is furthermore attributed to Christian teaching: πνευμα και δυναμις θεου: Jn 6:63; Rom 1:16; 1 Cor 1:24, 2:4; 1 Thess 2:13; 1 Pet 1:3.

But in what are we to look for this div. power? What distinguishes the Chr. teaching from every other? What is it that brings about this complete conversion? *1* the lofty purity, depth, and clarity concerning God's nature and being. *2*. The unique form given to Chrnty by virtue of the authority that attends it: Jn 3:18, 6:46; 1 Cor 2:7; Heb 2:3–4. *3* Chr.'s example of obedience, love, and self-sacrifice: Jn 4:34, 10:15, 13:15, 15:13; 2 Cor 5:15, 8:9; Phil 2:3–5; 1 Tim 6:13; 1 Pet 2:21; 1 Jn 3:16; Heb 12:1–2.

19 το φως του κοσμου] *Greek,* the light of the world **21** επιγνωσις αληθειας κατ ευσεβειαν] *Greek,* knowledge of the truth that leads to the fear of God **25** περιπατειτε ὡς τεκνα φωτος] *Greek,* live as children of light **29** πνευμα και δυναμις θεου] *Greek,* God's spirit and power

Chr.'s mission and sacrifice are portrayed as revelation of God's and Chr.'s love toward hum. beings. The practical application of this is now made on the basis of hum. nature, hum. beings being summoned to a reciprocal love that must show itself in obedience to the div. law, whereby the new holy life arises: to live not for oneself but for God and Chr., whereby all opposition betw. the hum. and the div. will falls away. Rom 6:1; 7:24–28, 8:14–15; 2 Cor 5:14–15; Eph 3:16–19; 1 Pet 1:18–19. 1 Jn 4:10–19; 5:3. By this means the Christians are permeated by a higher div. spirit of freedom, holiness, and truth, from which originates the higher life that distinguishes the Christians from others: Rom 8:15–16; 1 Cor 6:19; 2 Cor 3:17, 12:9; Eph 2:18; 2 Pet 1:4.

§ 52.

Although faith in Chr. as redeemer and savior was the foundation stone on which the Church rested from the time when it was first established, the doctrine concerning the nature of this salvation was developed in many different ways. Church teachers of the first 3 centuries are at one in emphasizing Chr.'s death as the preeminent means of deliverance, but following the example of the founder, they link together different ways of representing this in free and indeterminate, often figurative exposition. The biblical ideas concerning Chr.'s death as an atoning sacrifice giving the sinner access to God's grace, and as a means of reestablishing hum. nature by communicating to it the higher div. life, are in a remarkable way found combined with the dominant ideas about the demonic realm and the immortality of the soul. On the other hand, ideas about the propitiation of God's wrath, about Chr.'s death as a penal affliction in hum. beings' place in order to satisfy div. righteousness, about the attribution of Chr.'s merits, were alien to an age whose theology generally preserved Chrnty's simplicity and practical character. The dialectical tendency, which began to take the upper hand in the development of dogma from the 4th century, gradually brought these ideas into connection with Chrstn. soteriology until, in the 11th century,

[z1]Just as the work of atonement was not limited to his death alone, but also involved his teaching and life, so too his work of bringing about rebirth is not limited to his teaching and life, but also involves his death.

[z2]Tertullian was the first to use the expression satisfacere, but in such a way that one can see he did not have any dogmatic theory in view but used it also of punishment, repentance, etc.

9 satisfacere] *Latin,* to make satisfaction, to satisfy

they were systematized by Anselm of Canterbury in the juridico-philosophical theory of satisfactio vicaria.

§ 53.

The satisfaction theory was maintained in the post-Reformation dogmatic systems, all the more because it contained the sharpest contrast to the Catholics' teaching about the necessity of ecclesiastical works of satisfaction. At the same time, only isolated weak references to it are to be found in the Augsburg Confession, which itself subordinates itself to the biblical account. On the other hand, this theory was emphasized with utmost force in the Formula of Concord and completed by the doctrine of Chr.'s active obedience (activa obedientia). In the Lutheran Church, the pressure of the Symbols kept any polemical arguments about this at bay for a long time, whereas the Arminians, on the other hand, softened the ecclesiastical theory, and the Socinians abandoned it.—

The Augbsurg Confession 3rd Article: natus, passus, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, ut *reconciliaret nobis patrem*, et hostia esset non tantum pro culpa originis, sed etiam 56
pro omnibus actualibus peccatis. *4th Article*: ["]Chr. [sua morte pro nostris peccatis] satisfecit" *21st Article*: Scriptura unum Chr. nobis proponit mediatorem, propitiatorem, pontificem et intercessorem. In other symbolic books this doctrine is stated more crudely: *Cathechismus major*: "Chr. irati patris favorem et gratiam placata indignatione nobis conciliavit." *In repetitio Confessionis* (confessio Saxonica): Tanta est justitiæ severitas, ut non sit facta reconciliatio, nisi poena persolveretur; tanta est iræ magnitudo, ut æthericus pater non sit placatus nisi deprecatione filii. —*Cathechismus Heidelbergensis:*

1 [z3]*The Arminians* followed H. Grotius who said: There is no wrath in God that is to be placated, but there is a div. justice or a moral world order (justitia rectoria).
The point of departure for *the Socinians* was that no other atonement was thinkable in relat. to God than moral improvement. When it is said that atonement for hum. beings is brought about through Chr., they explained it figuratively, inasmuch as Xt is the improver of humnty and his death gained victory for Chrn. teaching and inspired hum. beings to imitate Chr.'s exalted virtue.

[z4]has been noted that the use of the expression satisfecit in the confession was made with ref. to the Catholics' teaching that one's own works were also necessary for satisfaction.—

2 satisfactio vicaria] *Latin,* vicarious satisfaction **14** activa obedientia] *Latin,* active obedience **19** natus . . . actualibus peccatis] *Latin,* was born suffered, crucified, died, and was buried in order that he might reconcile the Father to us, and to be a sacrifice not only for original sin, but also for all actual sins. **22** Chr. sua morte pro nostris peccatis satisfecit] *Latin,* Christ who, by his death, has made satisfaction for our sins **23** Scriptura unum Chr. . . . et intercessorem] *Latin,* Scripture proposes to us the one Christ as our mediator, propitiator, high priest, and intercessor. **27** Chr. irati patris favorem et gratiam placata indignatione nobis conciliavit] *Latin,* Christ has conciliated the wrathful Father's indignation against us, winning his favor and grace. **29** Tanta est justitiæ severitas . . . deprecatione filii] *Latin,* So severe is justice, that reconciliation cannot be made unless punishment is applied; so great is wrath, that the heavenly Father can only be placated by the pleading of the Son.

5 justitia rectoria] *Latin, (justitia Dei rectoria),* God's ordering righteousness **18** satisfecit] *Latin,* has made satisfaction

modo beneficia Chr. vera animi fiducia amplector sine ullo meo merito ex mera Dei misericordia mihi perfecta satisfactio, justitia et sanctitas Chr. imputatur et donatur, perinde ac si neque ullum peccatum ipse admisissem, neque ulla mihi labes inhæreret, immo vero quasi eam obedientiam, quam pro me Chr. præstitit, ipse perfecte præstitissem.

The texts that have been adduced as proof texts for obedientia activa are: Mt 3:15, 5:17; Rom 5:19; Rom 10:4; Gal 4:5; Phil 3:9; Heb 10:7.

Over against obedientia activa we now find obedientia passiva or satisfactio poenalis, that is, sufficientissima poenarum, quæ nos manebant, persolutio per mortem vicariam hoc est nostro loco ad avertendas a nobis peccatorum poenas sponte susceptam.—The effect of this double obedientia was also differentiated: agendo sustulit culpam hominum; patiendo sustulit poenam.

[z5] *obedientia activa,* i.e., perfectissima legis impletio vicario nomine pro hominibus suscepta.— 1

§ 54.

A freer study of biblical interpretation, philosophy of religion, and the history of dogma must lead to the recognition that the scholastic ecclesiastical theory of satisfaction 1.) is no more the correct expression of the teaching of Chr. and of the apostles 2) as it was originally seen to be; 3) is no more in agreement with the religious and moral ideas that Xnty has made the unshakeable lodestar that guides our thinking, than it 4) secures the right influence of Xnty on mind and life. Although, on the one hand, this opposition has often led to a failure to appreciate the meaning of the biblical teaching, it has, on the other hand, occasioned artificial attempts to bring the interpretation of scripture and philosophy into line with ecclesiastical definitions; the spirit of the evangelical Ch. has taught the

1 modo . . . præstitissem] *Latin,* I embrace solely the good works of Christ with true confidence of mind; without any merit of mine, the perfect satisfaction, justice, and holiness of Christ have been imputed and given to me by the great mercy of God as though I myself had committed no sin whatever, or that no stain whatever adhered to me; indeed, exactly as if I had perfectly practiced the same obedience as Christ practiced on my behalf. **9** obedientia activa] *Latin,* active obedience **11** obedientia passiva] *Latin,* passive obedience **12** satisfactio poenalis] *Latin,* satisfaction through punishment **12** sufficientissima . . . susceptam] *Latin,* the supremely fitting punishments that awaited us were endured through a vicarious death, that is, in our place, which he freely accepted in order to avert the punishment due to our sins. **16** agendo . . . poenam] *Latin,* by acting, he took away the guilt of man; by suffering, he took away the punishment.

1 perfectissima legis . . . pro hominibus suscepta] *Latin,* the perfect fulfilling of the Law done vicariously for human beings

differentiation between biblical teaching and theological systematizing, without failing to appreciate the religious character of the former, and has urged it to insist upon this distinction in developing dogma and in practical application.

Those who failed to appreciate the meaning of the biblical teaching are, e.g., Tollner, Eberhardt, Steinbarth, Loffler, Hencke, Wegscheider, who teach: "that XChr.'s death can only be regarded as atoning insofar as it secures the Chrstn. religion and thereby brings about God's good pleasure without sacrifice. The whole biblical account is regarded either as a conscious or as an unconscious accommodation to Jewish and pagan ideas concerning the necessity of sacrifice. Nevertheless, Chr.'s death can also be regarded as a symbol either of God's and Chr.'s love toward hum. beings or of the abolition of sacrifice; but for all that, it nevertheless conflicts with the genuine Chrn idea, according to which hum. beings can only receive God's grace by the improvement of their disposition."

§ 55.

It seems best to relate the obscure statement in 1 Pet 3:19 about Chr. preaching to the dead to the doctrine of Chr.'s work in salvation and deliverance, insofar as this seems to suggest the idea that the consequences of the div. scheme for hum. salvation through Chr. must be thought of as embracing everyone.—

Different explanations have been put forward: 1) Chr.'s *descent* is explained as *victory over death and the devil*, as the freeing of all hum. beings or at any rate of the good among them and thereupon leading them to paradise (whereby the word κηρυγμα slips into the background). It is found in the apocryphal gosp. of Nicodemus.—In the Formula of Concord: "Satanam devicit, potestatem inferorum evertit, et Diabolo omnem vim et potestatem eripuit"; "quomodo vero id Chr. effecerit, non est argutis et sublimibus imaginibus scrutemur."] 58 2) that Chr. did not descend to actual hell, the abode of

1 [z6]Kant distinguishes between the old and the new hum. being (thus a dying-away). Krug says that it is not the hum. being as such but the ideal hum. being that is the object of God's good pleasure. Marheincke clearly makes this into a pure metaphysical definition.

[z7]Rufinus says that in the ancient Roman and Oriental Symbols this expression is not found, being regarded as superfluous, because they have: ["]dead and buried,["] it is similarly missing from the symb. nicænum and nic. const. Athanasii Symbolum has descendit ad inferos, but lacks mortuus et sepultus.

16 descendit ad inferos] *Latin,* he descended into hell. **17** mortuus et sepultus] *Latin,* dead and buried

32 κηρυγμα] *Greek,* kerygma, message, proclamation **34** Satanam devicit … sublimibus imaginibus scrutemur] *Latin,* He has vanquished Satan, destroyed the power of hell, and taken all might and power from the devil. How this has truly been done by Christ, is not up to us to scrutinize with subtle and lofty imaginings.

the condemned, with the intent of saving any, but to show himself in his *glory and convince the condemned of the justice of their condemnation*. 3) that Chr.'s *sojourn in the underworld should be assigned to his status exinanitionis,* in order to endure the punishments of hell, and thus by the final act of his existence in a condition of humiliation, he brought the work of salvation to a conclusion.

Æpinus, priest in Hamburg.

[z8]Marheincke explains this dogma as a symbolic depiction of Xt's presence with evil. 1

4 status exinanitionis] *Latin,* the state of humiliation

59

Second Main Section 8

1st Part.

On Faith.

§ 56.

Hum. beings come to participate in salvation through Chr. through faith or by the devotion of the whole hum. being in all its thinking, feeling, and willing to Chr., as him in whom the fullness of div. truth and grace is revealed. This mood issues from knowledge both of one's own sinfulness and one's own spiritual need and of the higher satisfaction found in revealed truths, and therefore the word "faith" is often used in scripture to characterize simple constancy of conviction, either in gen. or re. Chr.'s teaching and person.

The gen. thesis: Mk 16:16; Jn 3:16, 6:40; Acts 10:43; Rom 3:25,28; Gal 2:16; Eph 2:8. The object of faith is stated in Rom 3:25, 4:24.

When salvation though Chr. is ascribed to hum. beings immed., without faith being mentioned, the latter must nevertheless be added in thought: Rom 5:10; 2 Cor 5:21.

§ 57.

Hum. beings are justified before God by faith not by works, i.e., God's grace cannot be earned by hum. works but is grounded in God's own being; access to it is openly available to all who through Chr. have confidence in the Father's everlasting love. The Pauline teaching on this is contained in Chr. teaching on God's nature and on the works of faith. It is only by virtue of a misunderstanding that it has come to be regarded as in conflict with the apostle James's teaching on the reciprocal inseparability of faith and works and that the high degree of comfort that it contains has become damaging for Chrn. virtue.

Concerning the meaning of δικαιουϛθαι and δικαιοσυνη. *δικαιουν* does not only mean to make righteous but also to declare to be righteous. Tob 3:2; Sir 10:28.—Lk 7:35—δικαιουν εαυτον Lk 10:29, 16:15.

1 [a]This doctrine has been regarded as damaging to Chrn. virtue. But that comes from misunderstanding the word "faith" and works. The former

35 δικαιουϛθαι] *Greek,* to be justified **36** δικαιοσυνη] *Greek,* justice, righteousness **36** δικαιουν] *Greek,* to make righteous, just **38** δικαιουν εαυτον] *Greek,* to justify oneself

Similarly when it is said χριστος or θεος δικαιουται Lk 7:29; 1 Tim 3:16.

This assertion is only found in Paul, and therefore it could seem not to have been originally Christian and that, insofar as he added something to it that did not originally belong to it, he departed from Chrn. teaching. —But the basic Chrn. ideas, which Paul fully developed are: *1.* that no work can in itself be regarded as the expression of a virtuous disposition and therefore not as the object of God's good pleasure. *2.* that God is exalted over every hum. influence, so that hum. beings can no more exclude themselves from God's grace by their sins than they can win it by good works. *3* that faith in Chr. opens up access to God's grace.

§ 58.

Just as true Chrn. faith is bound up with repentance and the transformation of the workings of the soul in thinking and willing, so too it further expresses itself as sanctifying power; it directs hum. beings' striving toward a lofty association with God and Chr.; from love it develops pure Chrn. virtue, from hope true strength for making sacrifices for the good. Such a life is the visible glorifying of faith, Chrnty's aim, and hum. beings' way to God's good pleasure and eternal blessedness.—

Re. the preceding state of life, repentance must be bound up with faith, but it cannot always be decided whether the one comes before the other or vice versa. A lively knowledge and feeling of sin must lead to faith and, on the other hand, faith must awaken repentance, so that, in becoming aware of God's grace, the hum. being acknowledges his own unworthiness: Lk 15; 2 Cor 7:10.—Just as faith cannot be thought of as being effective without repentance, conversion is similarly bound up with true faith. That is, if one imagines someone in whose mind love has taken the place of fear, then his actions, which were previously directed outward, will turn inward, so that voluntary obedience will replace enforced, vain pride, and the arrogance of meritorious works will be replaced by consciousness, accompanied by humility, that no one can fulfill the

has been taken in a purely intellectual sense; the latter has been used only with respect to empirical phenomena. *Augustine*: [“]inseparabilis est bona vita a fide, quæ per dilectionem operatur, immo ea ipsa est bona vita.” —This fear comes from applying a hum. measure to the div. Because we cannot look into people's hearts, we have to look at their works.

1 χριστος . . . θεος δικαιουται] *Greek,* Christ . . . God is vindicated, justified.

4 inseparabilis est bona vita . . . bona vita] *Latin,* the good life is inseparable from faith, which works by means of love, which is indeed itself the good life.

div. law. This transformation is set forth in different images: συναποθνησκειν τῳ χριστῳ, αναγενναςθαι, συνεγειρειν συν τω χρ., παλιγγενεσια, ανακαινωςις του πνευματος, ανανεουςθαι τῳ πνευματι, μεταμορφουςθαι, αποδυεςθαι, αποθεςθαι, σταυρουν τον παλαιον ανθρωπον, ενδυεςθαι τον καινον ανθ., σταυρουν την σαρκα, τας πραξεις του σωματος, ἡ καινη κτιςις, αποκυειν, γενηθηναι ανωθεν. Jn 3:3,5; Rom 6: 6–7, 7:6, 8:13, 12:2; 2 Cor 3:18, 5:17; Gal 4:19, 5:24, 6:15; Eph 2:5,15, 4:22; Col 3:5,9; Titus 3:5. επιστρεφεςθαι απο σκοτους εις φως, εγειρεςθαι εξ υπνου, ανοιγειν τους οφθαλμους, αποθεςθαι τα οπλα, or εργα του σκοτους, ενδυεςθαι τα οπλα του φωτος. Mt 18:3; Acts 14:15, 26:18; Rom 13:12; Eph 5:8; 1 Thess 5:4–6; Col 1:13.

In scripture it is said that the Holy Spirit is communicated to hum. beings by means of faith, and takes possession of a person's being and becomes the active principle in it. το πνευμα αγιον της πιςτεως, δια της πιςτεως; 2 Cor 4:13; Gal 3:2, 5:14; Eph 1:13. By faith, God's Spirit dwells in hum. beings: 1 Cor 3:16, 6:19. By the Holy Spirit a hum. being is consecrated for true worship, so that the whole of one's life becomes a continuous spiritual act of worship: 1 Cor 3:16, 6:19–20; 2 Cor 6:16; Eph 1:19; Rom 8:14. The same thing is meant when it is said that hum. beings should strive to acquire the Spirit of Christ. Rom 13:14; Gal 3:27. Chr. is formed in the Christians: Gal 4:19; Rom 6:5, 8:29; Gal 2:20; Eph 3:17.

Love does not merely contain the notion of a feeling, but is described as the highest moral perfection: Mt 22:40; Jn 15:12; Rom 13:9–10; 1 Cor 13; Gal 5:14; 1 Tim 1:5; Jas 2:8.
Love's essence consists in a hum. being's attending to what is external to oneself and making it the object of the same care as that given to what is within oneself, or the hum. being becomes one with God. The contrary position is the egotistical, which regards only itself. Egoism springs from sensuous desire, it strives to acquire the good for itself alone.—Constancy in the good, hope, is further depicted as an immed. consequence of faith: Mt 10:22,28; Jn 16:33; Rom 5:2–5, 8:25, 12:12, 15:13; 1 Cor 13:13; Col 1:23; Phil 4:13; Heb 10:35, 12:1–2.

1 συναποθνησκειν τῳ χριστῳ] *Greek,* to die together with Christ **2** αναγενναςθαι] *Greek,* to be born again **2** συνεγειρειν συν τω χρ.] *Greek,* to rise together with Christ **2** παλιγγενεσια] *Greek,* rebirth **3** ανακαινωςις του πνευματος] *Greek,* renewal by the Spirit **3** ανανεουςθαι τῳ πνευματι] *Greek,* to be renewed by the Spirit **3** μεταμορφουςθαι] *Greek,* to be transformed **4** αποδυεςθαι] *Greek,* to strip off, undress **4** αποθεςθαι] *Greek,* throw or put off **4** σταυρουν τον παλαιον ανθρωπον] *Greek,* crucify the old man **5** ενδυεςθαι τον καινον ανθ.] *Greek,* to put on the new man **5** σταυρουν την σαρκα] *Greek,* crucify the flesh **5** τας πραξεις του σωματος] *Greek,* the works of the body **6** ἡ καινη κτιςις] *Greek,* the new creation **6** αποκυειν] *Greek,* to give birth **6** γενηθηναι ανωθεν] *Greek,* to be born from above **8** επιστρεφεςθαι απο σκοτους εις φως] *Greek,* to turn from darkness to light **9** εγειρεςθαι εξ υπνου] *Greek,* to awaken from sleep **9** ανοιγειν τους οφθαλμους] *Greek,* to open the eyes **9** αποθεςθαι τα οπλα] *Greek,* to take off the weapons **10** εργα του σκοτους] *Greek,* works of darkness **10** ενδυεςθαι τα οπλα του φωτος] *Greek,* to put on the weapons of light **14** το πνευμα αγιον . . . πιςτεως] *Greek,* the Holy Spirit of faith, by faith

62 Chrn. virtue is set forth as the ultimate aim of Xnty and as characterizing those who confess it.

So, therefore Chrn. disciples should be known by the fact that they love one another, that they fulfill God's commandments, that they 5 imitate Chr., that they are holy like God, that they do not live for themselves but for him: Mt 7:21, 12:50; Jn 15:14–17; Rom 6:13–22; 2 Cor 5:14; Gal 1:4; Eph 1:4, 2:10; Titus 2:14; 1 Jn 1:7. This is made clear indirectly, in that those whose conduct does not correspond to their conviction are described as deniers of Chr.: αρνειϛθαι τον 10 χριϛτον τοις εργοις. Titus 1:16. βλαϛφημειν το ονομα του θεου: Rom 2:24; 1 Tim 6:1; Titus 2:5. εχοντες μορφωϛιν ευϛεβειας. 2 Tim 3:5. αγαπαν γλωϛϛῃ 1 Jn 3:18.—Jas 2:16. Because attaining the aim of Chrnty is to fulfill God's plan for the world, every Christian is exhorted to make his contribution to the furtherance of God's King- 15 dom. Rom 2:6; Mt 25:34; Rom 8:1–13; 1 Cor 6:9; 2 Cor 9:7; Eph 5:5; 2 Tim 4:7–8; Heb 12:14; Jas 1:27; Jn 3:21, 4:17.

§ 59.

As a result of Chrn. faith becoming increasingly confused with blind submission to Chrn. dogmatic pronouncements, teaching 20 about the value and power of faith lost its meaning in the Chrn. Ch. Consequently, there followed a regression to the old world's superstition concerning the power of works and penitential practices, and it was in the interests of the hierarchical system to strengthen the significance of these. In the doctrinal ideas put forward by the 25 Catholics at the time of the Reformation in which justification itself, as a moral change in the hum. being, coincided with sanctification while faith was only regarded as a preliminary condition of this and works as a means of augmenting righteousness and earning salvation, the deviation from the evangelical teaching might 30 seem less essential because it did not become so much more visible on account of the practical abuses that found their natural support in this theory.—

Trident. Conc. 6th Sessio: justificatio non est sola peccatorum, sed et santificatio et renovatio interioris hominis, renovamur spiritu mentis 35 nostræ, et non modo reputamur, sed vere justi nominamur et sumus, 63 justitiam in nos recipientes unusquisque suamsecundum naturam, quam sp. s. partitur singulis prouti vult et secundum propriam cujusque dispositionem et cooperationem.—

9 αρνειϛθαι τον χριϛτον τοις εργοις] *Greek,* to deny Christ by works **10** βλαϛφημειν το ονομα του θεου] *Greek,* to blaspheme the name of God **11** εχοντες μορφωϛιν ευϛεβειας] *Greek,* having the outward form of godliness **12** αγαπαν γλωϛϛῃ] *Greek,* to love in word [with the tongue] **33** justificatio non est sola peccatorum . . . cooperationem] *Latin,* justification is not only [forgiveness] of sins, but is also the sanctification and renewal of the inner man. We are renewed in the spirit of our mind, and we are not only reckoned as but are truly called and are righteousness, receiving in ourselves each of us according to the nature that the Holy Spirit gives to each, according to his proper receptiveness and cooperation.

As regards the relationship between faith and justification, it says: [“]disponuntur homines ad justitiam, dum fidem ex auditu concipientes libere moventur in Deum, credentes, vera esse, quæ divinitus revelata et promissa sunt, et dum a divinæ justitiæ timore ad considerandam Dei misericordiam se convertendo in spem eriguntur, et moventur adversus peccatum per poenitentiam.” The Council declared itself against faith being the sufficient condition, but only the preliminary condition: “fides, nisi ad eam spes accedat et caritas, non unit perfecte cum Chr., si quis dixerit, sola fide impium justificari, et nulla ex parte necesse esse, eum suæ voluntatis motu præparari et disponi, anathema sit.”

Concerning the relation in which works stand to faith and justification, it says: “licet in hac vita quantumvis sancti et justi in levia saltem et quotidiana peccata cadant, non propterea desinunt esse justi. Si quis dixerit, justitiam acceptam non conservari, aut etiam non augeri per bona opera, sed ipsa opera fructus solum, et signa justificationis esse, vel justificatum bonis operibus non vere mereri augmentum gratiæ (vitam æternam et ipsius vitæ æternæ consecutionem) atque gloriæ augmentum, anathema sit.[”]

2 disponuntur homines ad justitiam . . . per poenitentiam] *Latin,* human beings are disposed toward righteousness, when, conceiving faith through hearing of it, they move freely toward God, believing to be true what has been divinely revealed and promised, and when from fear of divine justice they turn to consider the mercy of God, they are raised to hope and turned against sin by means of penance. **10** fides, nisi . . . anathema sit] *Latin,* faith, unless hope and love are added to it, does not perfectly unite [us] to Christ. If anyone will say that an impious person is justified by faith alone and that it is no way necessary that by the action of his will he prepares himself and [directs] his disposition, he is to be anathematized. **15** licet in . . . anathema sit] *Latin,* even those who, in this life, never so holy and just, commit small day-to-day sins, do not on this account cease to be just. If anyone will say that an impious person is justified by faith alone and that it is in no way necessary that by the action of his will he prepares himself and [directs] his disposition, he is to be anathematized. If anyone will say that the righteousness that has been received is not preserved or even is not increased by good works, but that the works themselves are the only fruit, and the sign of righteousness, or that those who are justified by good works do not really merit the increase of grace (eternal life and even the attainment of eternal life), and the increase of glory, let him be anathematized.

§ 60.

In contrast to the ideas, the ruinous consequences of which were plain to see in the Cath. Ch., the most important and meritorious work of the Reformers was to call back to life the biblical teaching concerning justification as a state of grace for hum. beings, not based on the merit of hum. works but on God's infinite grace and Chr.'s merits, or, from the hum. side, through faith or the clear and firm confidence in deliverance through Chr., and concerning the inevitable consequences or effects of this faith[:] voluntary obedience to God's law and diligence in good works, which are thus the touchstone of faith and, for all their imperfection, well-pleasing to God. The correct interpretation and application of this teaching is assured only by enlightened Chr. understanding and lively religious feeling. The misunderstandings, which already appeared in the Reformation period, show how damaging are the effects of all one-sided polemics, and the woeful manner in which this teaching is often used in the evangelical Ch. so as to oppose works to faith and elicit the empty appearance of devoutness, urges upon us a conscientious solictitude, especially in popular exposition.—

In their opposition to the Cathol. the Reformers especially emphasized the practical side: Conf. Aug: "olim vexabantur conscientiæ doctrina operum, non audiebant ex evangelio consolationem, quosdam conscientia expulit in desertum, in monasteria, sperantes, ibi se gratiam merituros esse per vitam monasticam. Alii alia excogitaverunt opera ad promerendam gratiam et satisfaciendum pro peccatis; ideo magnopere fuit opus, hanc doctrinam de fide in Chr. tradere et renovare, ne deesset consolatio pavidis conscientiis. Tota hæc doctrina ad illud

[b]In confessio augustana 20th Article justificatio and remissio peccatorum are used. In the apologia confessionis it says: consequi remissionem peccatorum et justificari. In the Formula of Concord: vocabulum justificationis significat justum pronuntiare a peccatis et æternis peccatorum suppliciis absolvere.—In the confessio aug.: deus non propter nostra

26 olim vexabantur . . . certamine intelligi potest] *Latin,* in the past, consciences were made anxious by the doctrine of works, and they did not hear the consolation of the gospel. Some were driven by conscience out into the desert, into the monasteries, hoping to make themselves worthy of grace by the monastic life. Others thought up other works as a means of earning grace and making satisfaction for sins. Therefore it was a greatly important work to present and renew this doctrine of faith in Christ, lest the anxious consciences be without consolation. All of this doctrine is to be referred to the struggles of an anguished conscience [without which it certainly cannot be understood].

2 justificatio . . . remissio peccatorum] *Latin,* justification . . . the remission of sins **4** consequi . . . justificari] *Latin,* to gain the forgiveness of sins and to be justified **6** vocabulum justificationis . . . absolvere] *Latin,* the word "justification" means to declare to be just and to absolve from sins and from the eternal punishments for sins. **10** deus . . . in gratiam recipi] *Latin,* not on account of our merits but on account of Christ, God justifies those who believe that they have received grace on account of Christ.

erita sed propter Xstum justificat hos, qui credunt se propter Chr. in gratiam recipi.—Faith has as its object remitti nostra peccata propter Xstum.

[c]necessitas meriti and necessitas debiti. and it is remarkable that the formula concordiæ sought to relate indifferently to both parts by declaring itself to be against both the nec. of works and their harmfulness.—

[d]Schleiermacher makes rebirth the point of departure for a section consisting of two parts: conversion re. life, justification re. God.

certamen perterrefactæ conscientiæ referenda est, neque sine illo certamine intelligi potest."

§ 61.

In order to make visible the progressive development of the Christian's new spiritual life according to psychological laws, the figurative expressions of scripture have been used in the theological system in such a way that various acts of a so-called ordo or oeconomia salutis have been abstracted from them. This determinate differentiating and grading has, however, contributed to the religious life being forced into unnatural restrictions, as in the pietistic schools, which have not made a distinction betw. sci. abstraction and application in real life.—

A hint of this is found in Luther's Little Cat.: ["]Sp. s. me per evangelium vocavit, suis donis illuminavit, in recta fide sanctificavit et conservavit." In later dogmatic wrtngs, the terminology became more defined. The first moment is 1) *vocatio*. 2) *illuminatio* Jn 14:21; 1 Cor 2:13; Eph 1:17. This illum. was called mediata, in order to distinguish it from immed. or inspiration. 3.) *conversio* or *poenitentia.* Conf. Aug: "Constat poenitentia

4 remitti . . . propter Xstum] *Latin,* our sins forgiven on account of Christ **5** necessitas meriti] *Latin,* the necessity of merit **5** necessitas debiti] *Latin,* the necessity of debt

8 ordo . . . oeconomia salutis] *Latin,* order . . . economy of salvation **15** Sp. s. me per evangelium vocavit . . . conservavit] *Latin,* The Holy Spirit has called me through the gospel, enlightened me with its gifts, sanctified and upheld me in the right faith. **19** vocatio] *Latin,* calling, vocation **19** illuminatio] *Latin,* illumination, enlightenment **20** mediata] *Latin,* mediate **21** immed.] *Latin,* (abbreviation for) immediate, unmediated **21** conversio . . . poenitentia] *Latin,* conversion . . . penance **22** Constat poenitentia duabus partibus . . . in melius] *Latin,* Penance consists of two parts; the first is contrition or terrors affecting conscience when sin is recognized; the second is faith, which is either conceived through

duabus partibus, altera est contritio, sive terrores incussi conscientiæ, agnito peccato, altera est fides, quæ concipitur ex evangelio seu absolutione, et credit propter Chr. remitti peccata, et consolatur conscientiam, et ex terroribus liberat. Deinde sequi debent bona opera, quæ sunt fructus poenitentiæ, hoc est, mutatio totius vitæ ac morum in melius."—The 4) fourth moment is *santificatio* αγιαζμος. 5) unio mystica. Jn 14:23; 1 Jn 4:12; Eph 3:17.

Second Main Section
2nd Part.
On Grace.

§ 62.

Just as we praise Chr.'s being sent into the world, the accomplishment of God's fatherly grace toward the hum. race, so too is the relation to Xt into which the individual hum. being enters, into the spiritual goods bestowed by Xt, into the blessedness won by Xt., a work of God's almightily working grace. Scripture characterizes this relationship with the names: calling (which most precisely describes the communication of Chr.'s gosp.) and election (which expresses the believing reception of the gosp. and the state of piety and obedience, joy, and peace with God resulting therefrom). The figurative expressions used to speak of how God or the H. S. effects, completes, and preserves the good in hum. beings contain a warning against wanting to fathom the nature and means of this activity, while both by specific statements as well as by the whole spirit of Xnty we are both directed to a humble 66 recognition of the good that is in us, brought about by the blessing of the Most High, and exhorted to use the intimations and promptings of grace by means of our own powers and abilities.

κλητος is used of Christians: Mt 20:16, 22:14. In the epistles καλειν, κλησις, κλητος are used either absolutely of Christians or used with other terms, e.g.,

the gospel or through absolution, which believes that sins are forgiven on account of Christ, consoles the conscience, and frees from terrors. Then good works ought to follow, which are the fruits of penitence, that is to say, the transformation of the whole of life and of the habits for the better. **7** santificatio] *Latin,* sanctification **8** αγιασμος] *Greek,* sanctification **8** unio mystica] *Latin,* the mystical union **35** κλητος] *Greek,* called **36** καλειν] *Greek,* call **36** κλησις, κλητος] *Greek,* call, calling

[e]by a holy calling. 2 Tim 1:9.

with God's Kingdom εις την κοινωνιαν του X:, εις ζωην αιωνιον: Rom 8:30, 9:24; 1 Cor 1:9; 1 Thess 2:12; Eph 4:4; 1 Tim 6:12; 1 Pet 1:15; Heb 3:1. In a more abstract sense κλησις occurs in relation to the place taken by the individual hum. being in the community as a whole: 1 Cor 7:15,24. The word εκλεγεσθαι has the same meaning as the Heb. בחר. καλειν and εκλ. are sometimes used as synonyma, but κλησις refers in a more precise sense to the proclamation or communication of the gosp.; εκλεγεσθαι to the acceptance found by the gosp.: 1 Cor 1:27ff.; Jas 2:5; Eph 1:4; 2 Thess 2:13; Mt 24:22,24,31; Rom 8:33; Col 3:12.

When Christians are thus said to be called and chosen, how is the assistance of the div. grace by which the calling is said to be brought about described? In many places these workings are conditioned by Chr. teaching in such a way that this is depicted as the vehicle, the organ by which God works on hum. beings. Here both faith and conversion, as effects of the gosp., are thus only indirectly referred to God's grace: *Rom 8:2, 10:14,17*; Jas 1:18,21; 1 Tim 4:16; 1 Pet 1:23; 2 Pet 1:3. Here, then, it is only God's activity working through Chrn. teaching that is discussed, and this by no means works in any other way than every other teaching (at least, there is no specific difference); although a certain receptivity, capacity, and will on the part of hum. beings is called for. These conditions too are attributed to God or God's grace in H. Scrip. God makes, as it were, hum. beings disposed to receive the teaching. Thus scripture says that a sense for truth, which must precede conversion and faith, is given by God: *1 Cor 3:6* ; 1 Cor 1:4–5; 2 Cor 4:6; *Eph 1:17* ; 2 Tim 2:25. Faith is further said to be brought about by God, without whose action, it is said, no one can come to Xst. Jn 6:44. Finally, the fruits 67
of faith are also said to be brought about by God: *Rom 15:13*; *1 Cor 1:8*; 2 Cor 1:21; *Eph 3:16*; Phil 1:6, 2:13; *1 Thess 3:12*; 2 Thess 2:17; 1 Pet 1:5, 5:10.

§ 63.

In answer to the question of how the fact that [Christianity] has not been communicated to all hum. beings can be reconciled with the purposes of the gosp., scrip. refers us to the same unsearchable wisdom that only let the light dawn on the races of earth after thousands of years had run their course and that will, in the fullness of time, lead all to a saving knowledge of the truth. The same answer must emerge when the question is put as to why the gosp. is so often proclaimed and yet is often proclaimed without finding an entrance or manifesting its power. To go into the more precise inter-

1 εις την κοινωνιαν του X:] *Greek,* into the fellowship of Christ **1** εις ζωην αιωνιον] *Greek,* to eternal life **5** εκλεγεσθαι] *Greek,* to choose, select, elect **6** בחר] *Hebrew,* to choose, select, elect **6** εκλ.] *Greek,* abbreviation for εκλεγεσθαι **7** synonyma] *Latin,* synonyms

mediary causes here would necessitate the idea of the unity of div. grace and hum. freedom as equally necessary and inconceivable, and insofar as Paul explains the reason why one person is worked upon by Xnty and another is not by referring to div. governance (election, decree, predestination) and at the same time places the strongest emphasis on the hum. being's capacity for self-determination, he indicates this unity, but also the incomprehensibility of the mystery from the point of view of reflective thought, and he closes down the path to any conclusion derived from pursuing the one proposition or the other one-sidedly.—

The purpose of Chr.'s being sent is to save all: 1 Tim 2:4; Jn 3:16; Rom 3:29–30, 10:12; 2 Cor 5:14; 1 Jn 2:2; Titus 2:11. The propositions adduced in the § now seem to conflict with this. Xnty is spoken of as μυστηριον σεσιγημενον, αποκεκρυμμενον προ χρονων αιωνιων, φανερωθεν εν τω πληρωματι του χρονου: Rom 16:25–26; 1 Cor 2:7; Gal 4:4; Eph 3:9; 2 Tim 1:9–10; Titus 1:2–3. The two phenomena discussed in the § are depicted as based on God's unsearchable will: Eph 1:9; Eph 3:3; Col 1:27.

Paul depicts the working of the gosp. manifested in the individual as the working of God's foreknowledge: προγινωσκειν, προόριζειν, ταττειν, εκλεγεσθαι, αιρειν: Rom 8:29–30; Eph 1:4,5,11; 68 2 Thess 2:13; 1 Pet 1:2; Acts 13:48. But, on the other hand, faith and conversion are depicted as effected by hum. beings' own self-determination: Mt 4:17, 7:13; Rom 12:1; Eph 6:10; Phil 2:12.

§ 64.

Scrip. reassures us re. the consequences of the gosp.'s continuing limited effect, for when it depicts div. grace not as being produced by Xnty, but the latter as the full revelation of everlasting grace operating under different forms—then it cannot be thought of as limited to those who at a certain point in time are called to a share in Xnty. It further follows that the div. purpose in fulfilling salvation through Xnty must be thought of as in itself one, universal, encompassing all. Expressions such as election, rejection could therefore only characterize a transitional state, a differentiation according to the different relations to the gosp. that occur at a given time, but which, along with its consequences, will pass away.—

On the damnation of the heathen.

14 μυστηριον σεσιγημενον . . . του χρονου] *Greek,* the mystery that was kept secret, which has been hidden from before eternal times, revealed in the fullness of time
20 προγινωσκειν, προόριζειν, ταττειν, εκλεγεσθαι, αιρειν] *Greek,* to know beforehand, to decide from the beginning (i.e., to predestine), to arrange (i.e., to be destined), to select, to take (i.e., to choose or to select)

§ 65.

The Augustinian theory of hum. nature's complete corruption and incapacity must have the immediate consequence of leading to a rigorous opposition between nature and grace and therewith to a succession of misunderstandings and exaggerations. When all freedom to do the good is thought to be extinct, 1) conversion and faith must be thought of as derived from a supernatural, *irresistibly* working grace, that 2) *was limited to Christians*; and the reason for 3.) *the scope and workings of grace must be sought in an eternal and unconditional predestination*, by which some are set free from the gen. damnation, and led by God's grace to faith and blessedness. The rigorous consistency of this doctrinal construction, together with the way in which it directs a hum. being to seek his comfort only in confidence toward God, led [it] to overlook the one-sidedness that put it in conflict with scrip. and with the requirements of the Chrn. life. After having been the object of several debates in the Middle Ages, the core of Augustine's system was adopted by *all the Reformers* as their private opinion; only in a part of the Reformed Ch. and as a result of the authority of Calvin did the doctrine become dominant. In the Catholic Ch. rigorous Augustinianism was renewed by the Jansenists in the face of preponderant opposition.— 69

Gotschalck went further and proposed a doctrine of prædestinatio gemina electorum ad requiem—reproborum ad mortem (he was opposed by Rabanus Maurus and Hincmarus Rhemensis).

§ 66.

Just as ideas about free cooperation with God's grace by hum. beings and about div. predestination as based on God's foreknowledge were gen. accepted until the time of Augustine, so has the Greek Ch. remained ever faithful to these ideas. In the Latin Ch., after Pelagianism was anathematized, these ideas became the basis for the semi-Pelagian system that can be seen as having been dominant in the Middle Ages and was finally sanctioned in the Cath. Ch. as Ch. teaching and maintained in several dogmatic controversies. In the

[f] *Melanchton* changed his position somewhat. In the beginning he was a predestinarian, saying in loci theol. 1st edition: quandoquidem omnia, quæ eveniunt, necessario juxta prædestinationem divinam eveniunt, nulla est voluntatis nostræ libertas.—*Calvin*: "æternum dei decretum, quo deus apud se constitutum habuit, quid de unoquoque homine fieri vellet. Non enim pari conditione creantur omnes, sed aliis vita æterna, aliis damnatio æterna præordinatur." —"non ideo deum elegisse quosdam, quod prævidit illos futuros esse sanctos, sed sanctos factos esse, quia elegit illos."—

Supralapsarii—Infralapsarii.

[g] *Michael Baius*: condemned by a bull of Pius V in the year 1567.—*Ludwig Molina—Leonhard Lessz.* Clement VIII appointed congregationes

4 quandoquidem . . . Infralapsarii] *Latin,* because everything that takes place, indeed takes place by necessity as a result of divine predestination, we have no freedom of will. [—Calvin:] God's eternal decree, whereby God has of himself determined what he wills to happen to every single human being. All are not therefore created in the same condition, but some are preordained to eternal life, others to eternal damnation. —Not that God therefore chose some because he foresaw that they would be holy, but they are made to be holy, because he elected them.—Supralapsarians—Infra lapsarians. **22** congregationes . . . gratiæ] *Latin,* congregations [of cardinals] on the means of grace

28 prædestinatio gemina electorum . . . ad mortem] *Latin,* the double predestination of the elect to rest—and the rejected to death

Lutheran Ch. synergism found defenders among Melanchthon and his school, and the Augsburg Confes. limits itself to demonstrating the necessity of God's grace for conversion without more precise positive definitions. On the other hand, the Formula of Concord, with Augustine, insists on the complete powerlessness of hum. nature, but it rejects predestination as found in Augustine, as it indeed depicts grace as univrsl, but also as resistible by hum. beings. In this respect it became the foundation for later Lutheran dogmatics, which has sought in vain to cover up the inconsistency of the system by making hairsplitting distinctions. In the Reformed Ch. the strict Calvinistic doctrine met with resistance, both in several particular symbolic books as well as among the Arminians in the Dutch Ch., and the major part of recent theology. On the other hand, the Prot. Churches have been at one in rejecting mystical enthusiastic ideas about supernatural and immed. workings of grace, just as, until recent times, it was generally taught that saving grace was limited to those who confessed Xnty.

Confession Aug. 18th Article: humana voluntas non habet vim sine sp. s. efficiendæ justitiæ Dei seu justitiæ spiritualis; sed hæc fit in cordibus, cum per verbum sp. s. concipitur.—"Damnant Pelagianos, et alios, qui docent, quod sine sp. s. solis naturæ viribus possimus Deum diligere super omnia, item præcepta facere quoad substantiam actuum." 5th Article: ["]*Sp. s. fidem efficit*, ubi et quando visum est Deo, in iis, qui audiunt evangelium."—20th. Art: *"per fidem efficitur sp. s."*

de auxiliis gratiæ. 1597–1611. *Cornelius Jansen*, Bishop of Ypres pub.: Augustinus sive doctrina Augustini de humanæ naturæ sanitate, ægritudine, medicina adversus Pelagianos et Massilienses.—*Paschasius Quesnel* prepared a French translation of the Bible with moralizing notes.—

[h] *Synergism* (Melanchton?). 1555. Pfeffinger against him: N. Amsdorff and in Jena Flaccius, Museus, Wigandt.

[i] In *the dogmatic textbooks* a mass of definitions and distinctions can be found: gratia præveniens; g. operans; g. cooperans. (universalis; resistibilis; amissibilis)—benevolentia universalis [s. prædestinatio late sic dicta] s. idealis and benevolentia specialis s. prædestinatio stricte sic dicta s. realis.

[j] *The universalists*. hypothetici; (Johan Cameron and Moses Amurand; Johan Dallæus and Ludvig Capellus); absoluti.

[k] Anabaptists. Schwenkfeldians. Weigelians. Böhmists. Quakers and Methodists. (1 Jn 1:6; 2 Pet 1:4; Heb 3:14, 6:4; 1 Jn 2:20,27.)

[l] The Formula of Concord teaches: 1) that the Holy Spirit effects the entire work of conversion in a pers.: Sp. s. operatur in nobis illud velle et perficere. It rejects the doctrine:

22 humana voluntas . . . per verbum sp. s. concipitur] *Latin,* without the help of the Holy Spirit, the human will does not have power to practice the righteousness of God or spiritual righteousness; unless this is in the heart in which the Holy Spirit is conceived through the Word [i.e., of God: scripture]. **25** Damnant Pelagianos . . . substantiam actuum] *Latin,* They [the reformers] condemn the Pelagians and others who teach that without the assistance of the Holy Spirit, [or] by the powers of nature alone, we are able to love God above all things, that is, [that we are able] to do what he commands according to the substance of the acts (i.e., perform the substance of what is commanded, and not merely the outward form). **28** Sp. s. fidem efficit . . . qui audiunt evangelium] *Latin,* The Holy Spirit . . . brings about faith in those who hear the gospel, where and when God wishes. **30** per fidem efficitur sp. s.] *Latin,* the Holy Spirit is effected by faith.

14 gratia præveniens . . . s. realis] *Latin,* prevenient grace; (abbrev. for *gratia operans*), operant grace; (abbrev. for *gratia cooperans*), cooperant grace, the universal good will or predestination in a broad sense or the ideal, the special good will or predestination in the strict or real sense **15** universalis; resistibilis; amissibilis] *Latin,* universal; resistable; irrevocable. **20** hypothetici] *Latin,* (abbrev. for *universalistae hypothetici*), hypothetical universalists **23** absoluti] *Latin,* (abbrev. for *universalistæ absoluti*), absolute universalists **31** Sp. s. operatur . . . perficere] *Latin,* The Holy Spirit works in us both to will and to perform.

liberum arbitrium Deo occurrere aliquo modo, etsi parum et languide ad conversionem suam conferre, eam adjuvare, cooperari, sese ad gratiam præparare et applicare, eam apprehendere, amplecti, evangelio credere. (Synergism) 2) that grace is offered by Chr. to all, without exception: X. omnes peccatores ad se vocat et serio vult, ut omnes homines ad se veniant, et sibi consuli et subveniri sinant. 3) that there is a difference between the elect and the rejected according as to whether the grace that is offered is rebuffed or accepted: ut Deus in æterno suo consilio ordinavit, ut Sp. s. electos per verbum vocet, illuminet et convertat atque omnes illos, qui X. vera fide amplectantur, justificet et in eos æternam salutem conferat, ita in eodem suo consilio decrevit, quod eos, qui per verbum vocati illud repudiant et Sp. s. resistunt et obstinati in ea contumacia perseverant, indurare, reprobare et æternæ damnationi devovere velit.—

It is clear that while the Tridentine Counc. remained at the halfway point betw. semi-Pel. and August., the Formula of Concord went deeper into a wilderness from which it was unable to escape.—

1 liberum arbitrium . . . credere] *Latin,* that the free will is able to meet God, and to some limited extend contribute to salvation, helping, cooperating, and preparing a person for grace, apprehending it, appropriating it, believing the gospel **8** X. omnes . . . sinant] *Latin,* Christ calls all sinners to him and seriously wishes that all people should come to him, and let themselves be advised and assisted by him. **15** ut Deus . . . devovere velit] *Latin,* that God in his eternal counsel has decreed that the Holy Spirit shall call the elect by means of the Word, and shall enlighten and convert, and shall justify all those who accept Christ by a true faith, and bestow eternal life on them; [and] likewise by the same counsel has decreed that he will harden, reject and give over to eternal damnation those who are called by the Word, if they repudiate it and resist the Holy Spirit and obstinately persevere in contumacy

71 **On the Ecclesiastical Society**

1st Section.

On the Church's Essence and Purpose.

§ 67.

The object of Chr.'s activity is not the individual hum. being but the hum. race, whose woes and well-being are those of every individual hum. being. And the nature and attributes of the society that Xt founded on earth are indicated in Xt's life and teaching. Div. revelation does not unite hum. beings for a common striving toward temporal goals, but in order to unite them with God by means of knowledge of a common truth, a common faith, and fear of God. This aim is independent of the external conditions that hold for all other sorts of cooperation, and the inclusiveness of the Xn Church, like Xt's teaching, is thus elevated above every national limitation, as its existence is elevated over every change in hum. affairs. Its distinctive character is therefore designated by the name the Kingdom of God.—

The universalism of Xnty is indicated at: Jn 3:16, 8:12; Acts 10:34; Eph 2:16; Col 1:19; Mt 28:19.—The Ch.'s continuance: Mt 16:18, 28:20; 1 Cor 15:25.

§ 68.

In order to achieve its purpose, the Chrn. Ch. presupposes unity in faith, without which spiritual cooperation collapses, and freedom for the individual to independently develop his own convictions. The Ch. encounters resistance in both directions, but where Chr. is in truth the head of the Ch. and the foundation of faith, power will not be lacking to overcome this resistance, for the universal Chrn. spirit develops out of this relationship, preserving the unity of faith in the bonds of peace, while protecting its freedom against the bonds of coercion. This spirit, to be thought of as permeating all things and as the active principle in all things, characterizes the Ch.'s ideal, distinct from the visible Ch. of any age, as the 72 society held together by the gosp. and the sacraments, by means of which it works under God's guidance toward its goal.—

Chrns. are exhorted to be as one: ομοφρονειν, το ἓν φρονειν. Rom 15:5; Phil 2:2; 1 Pet 3:8. This unity is specifically characterized as unity in faith: Eph 4:5,13; Gal 3:28. If one further asks what is understood by this unity in faith, an answer is found in Jn 17:3; Heb 6:1.

35 ομοφρονειν, το ἓν φρονειν] *Greek,* to be of the same mind, intending one thing

On the other hand, the apostles often discuss differences in spiritual gifts as necessary and beneficial: Rom 12:3–6; Eph 4:7; 1 Cor 12:4. Similarly, that Chr. is the Ch.'s only Lord and Master, so that hum. beings are not to acknowledge any other Lordship in the things of faith: Mt 28:8; Jn 13:13. Chr. freedom emerges thus: 2 Cor 3:17. This relationship of unity and freedom is most clearly indicated in the metaphor of the Ch. as a body: 1 Cor 12; Col 1:18; Eph 1:22, 4:15–16; 5:23,30.

§ 69.

Quite early in its history, the idea of the Ch. was distorted by a misunderstood striving toward unity, which put tradition in the place of scripture, creed in the place of faith, and brought to completion the organization of the hierarchy. Thus the idea of Catholicism developed into the concept of the Ch. as a society whose unity, universality, holiness, and apostolic origin was immed. given by the historical connection with Chr., and thus also infallibility with respect to every dogmatic pronouncement and ecclesiastical arrangement. This failure to appreciate the relation betw. the striving and the perfected Ch. necessarily led to the abolition of all chrchly freedom and a system of compulsory belief.—

§ 70.

The Protestant Ch. defines the mark of the Chrn. Ch. in accordance with Chr.'s spirit. It distinguishes between the invisible and the visible Ch., as the difference between the attaining of the lofty purpose and the striving after it, and it acknowledges that in the [ecclesiastical] society, no less than in the case of the individual, spiritual one-sidedness and error can be avoided. But, as the instrument established by Chr. for attaining this purpose, the association of believers, despite its imperfection, is to be regarded as the one 73
true Ch., and the way to approach the goal is the free and independent cooperation of all individuals.—

2nd Section.
On the Work of the Church.

§ 71.

The aim of the Ch. allows for no kind of action other than the exercise of spiritual influence as in the model of Xt and the apostles. The means for this are provided in the word and the sacraments. Scrip. teaches that the efficacy of these in furthering the victory of-

God's Kingdom over its enemies is assured by the continuing association with Xt, as the congregation's Lord and Protector. The sacs. do not work immed. ex opere operato, but only insofar as these are used and applied with a believing mind.

Comment. This faith in Xt excludes the Cath. Ch.'s invocation of the saints' intercessions, although, on the other hand, binding the Ch.'s past with its present by the contemplation, remembrance, and veneration of lofty exemplars of faith and Chrn. virtue cannot but serve to enliven and guide the development of a true Chrn. life.—

These means are: verbum divinum, sacramentum, potestas clavium. These means are also to be connected with their purpose, for Xt exists in constant union with the Ch. Xt himself promised this; the apostles have made the principle effective by portraying Xt as the Lord of the Community, King, Shepherd of the faithful: 1 Cor 15:25; Heb 13:20; 1 Pet 2:25, 5:4.—Xt is portrayed as sitting at God's right hand: Mk 16:19; Eph 1:20; Heb 8:1; Rom 8:34; 1 Pet 3:22.

§ 72.

Xt's activity was reproduced and continued inasmuch as the Ch., in accordance with the instructions contained in H. Scrip., made the free proclamation and many-sided development of the div. word the central point of its activity.—

§ 73.

The whole thrust of Xnty, as well as scrip. utterances about a priesthood common to all Xns, is to exclude any hierarchy from the Ch. as incompatible with the believers' relation to Xt. On the other hand, it is in the nature of society, and it is expressed in the arrangements made by Xt and the apostles, that, in addition to free communication by all, the proclamation of the Word and the activity of such proclamation were assigned to individual members in accordance with the variety of their spiritual gifts. The subsequent Church situation entailed that a certain kind of formation and education had to become a necessary condition for this activity, and thus a clerical class arose, as the organ by which Xt, by the power of his word, was to act.—

Comment. The Catholic teaching on the nature of ordination and the clergy's relation to Xt and to the congregation is immed. derived from the doctrine of the Ch.'s essence.—

3 ex opere operato] *Latin,* by the power of the work done **10** verbum divinum, sacramentum, potestas clavium] *Latin,* the divine word, sacrament, the power of the keys

§ 74.

As the visible exposition of the gosp., having authority and efficacy in common with the div. word, the sacraments rest on their being instituted by Chr. The Prot. Ch. therefore rejects the Cath. Ch.'s teaching that there are 7 sacraments, just as it declares itself to be against any way of regarding the two sacs. that makes them into either magically effective conjuring tricks or merely metaphorical symbols. Dogmaticians have found sacraments in the O. T. in a typological sense.—

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9 The Bible is thus normative for the Church. This is the view stated by the Reformers.—*biblical theology*—the historical element is basically dominant here and the Church does not mediate the content of its faith in a continuing sequence as the Catholic Ch. does through its *tradition*. It tries to gaze back on it as an ideal. The concept of tradition was developed[1] more specifically (curial—episcopal view).—But nevertheless, doesn't the Protestant Ch. in a way develop a tradition in its analogia fidei.—and in *the Symbols*.[2] (norma docendorum, norma credendorum). (norma normata) and in the meaning that has been attributed to the various scholarly achievements in the Church.—

accomodatio formalis—realis.
negativa positiva.
(Concealment)

Theology.

God's Nature and Properties.—

God is a Spirit. Jn 4:24; Heb 12:9 πατηρ των πνευματων. *invisible* Col 1:15; 1 Tim 6:16;—*living* Acts 14:15; 1 Tim 6:16 and in Heb; eternal, incorruptible Rom 1:23; 1 Tim 6:16; *omnipresent* Acts 17:27,24; *blessed* 1 Tim 6:15; Acts 17:25 ουκ προςδεομενος τινος; he has not left himself without witness.—his existence can be proved—his properties. (nominalism and realism.)

God *is almighty* 2 Cor 6:18 παντοκρατωρ; Jn 10:29 μειζων παντων; 1 Tim 6:15 βασιλευς των βασιλευοντων. (the possible—Mt 19:26 παρα τω θεω παντα δυνατα.)

[1]In the most ancient Ch. tradition was especially employed against heretics. This sheds light on the use made by the Reformers of the Bible *in* the Church.

[2]ratio fidei ad Carolum V. by Zwingli; confessio tetrapolitana (Strasburg, Cossnitz, Memmingen, Lindau); confessio Basiliensis 1532; confessio prior Helvetica 1536 (by Bullinger, Leo Judæ); conf. secunda Helvetica, 1566. Consensus Tigurinus 1549; Cathechismus Genevensis 1545. — — in Denmark. 1530 the 43 Articles 1537. 1569: articuli pro peregrinis, 1574 on the occasion of the crypto-Calvinist disputes; 1625 "the professors"; 1651, the Royal Law.—

8 analogia fidei] *Latin,* the analogy of faith **8** norma docendorum, norma credendorum. norma normata] *Latin,* norms of teaching public doctrine, norms for the confession of faith. the norms subject to normativity **12** accomodatio formalis—realis] *Latin,* formal—real accomodation **14** negativa positiva] *Latin,* negative positive **18** πατηρ των πνευματων] *Greek,* the Father of spirits **21** ουκ προςδεομενος τινος] *Greek,* not lacking anything **24** παντοκρατωρ] *Greek,* ruler of all **24** μειζων παντων] *Greek,* greater than all **25** βασιλευς των βασιλευοντων] *Greek,* king of kings **26** παρα . . . δυνατα] *Greek,* all things are possible for God.

omniscient. omnipresent. (indistantia, or adessentia.) 78

Love. φιλανθρωπια. Titus 3:4 and the more specific expression ελεος, etc.—σωτηρ in the pastoral epistles.—(Love is a predicative attribute, it is the expression for personality.)

all-wise μονος σοφος Rom 16:27; 1 Tim 1:17.—Rom 11:33.—1 Cor 1:25 (the foolishness of God is higher than hum. wisdom) Jas 1:5 (whoever lacks wisdom is to pray to God for it.).—the whole actualization of Christ's becoming manifest is attributed to God's wisdom.—

holy τελειος Mt 5:48; αγαθος Mt 19:17; αγιος 1 Pet 1:15; αγνος 1 Jn 3:3; Eph 4:24: the new person is created in the image of God in the righteousness and holiness of truth.

just δικαιοσυνη. δικαιοκρισια. (Rom 2:5); μισθαποδοτης. Heb 11:6. Punishment and reward. Mt 25:31. Jn 3:36.—ουκ εστι προζωποληψια Rom 2:11; Eph 6:9.—he judges τα κρυπτα του ανθρωπου.

Justice must not be interpreted one-sidedly—upbringing—but one ought nevertheless not remain stuck on it.—

The ancient dogmaticians called holiness justitia interna, righteousness justitia externa.—

positive and natural punishment. Does one's worldly external state thus stand in a necessary relation to a person's ethical conduct.—

the teleological moment. the world's development.—

Proofs for the existence of God.

Hilary: a deo discendum est, quid de deo intelligendum sit, quia non nisi se auctore cognoscitur.

Augustine: deus sine qualitate bonus, sine quantitate magnus, sine indigentia creator, sine forma præsens, sine loco ubique totus, sine tempore sempiternus, sine commutatione mutabilia faciens.

via negationis, via eminentiæ, via causalitatis.

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1 indistantia . . . adessentia] *Latin,* without distance . . . being near **2** φιλανθρωπια] Greek, (φιλανθρωπια), love toward human beings **2** ελεος] *Greek,* compassion **3** σωτηρ] *Greek,* savior **5** μονος σοφος] *Greek,* only wise **10** τελειος] *Greek,* complete, perfect **10** αγαθος] *Greek,* good **10** αγιος] *Greek,* holy **10** αγνος] *Greek,* pure **13** δικαιοσυνη. δικαιοκρισια] *Greek,* justice, righteousness. righteous judgment **13** μισθαποδοτης] *Greek,* the avenging, the rewarding **14** ουκ εστι προζωποληψια] *Greek,* there is no partiality. **15** τα κρυπτα του ανθρωπου] *Greek,* what is hidden in a person **19** justitia interna] *Latin,* inner righteousness **20** justitia externa] *Latin,* external righteousness **26** a deo discendum est . . . auctore cognoscitur] *Latin,* one is to learn from God what is to be understood of God, because he is not known unless he himself allows it. **28** deus sine qualitate bonus . . . faciens] *Latin,* God is good without quality, great without quantity, creates without needing to, is present without form, is everywhere without place, is sempiternal without time, makes what is mutable without being moved. **31** via negationis, via eminentiæ, via causalitatis] *Latin,* the way of negation, the way of eminence, the way of causality

attributa immanentia, quiescentia, metaphysica
attributa moralia, operantia, transeuntia.
intellectus intuitionis, i.e., sine discursu et sine ratiocinio
intellectus simultaneus verissimus distinctissimus.
scientia necessaria, libera, media. (de futuribilibus). voluntas necessaria, libera, media.—
(Tertullian: "Nihil incorporale, nisi quod non est, ergo est anima corpus sui generis." "invisibilis licet videatur, incomprehensibilis, licet per gratiam repræsentetur, inæstimabilis, licet sensibus humanis æstimetur.[″] Justin M. ανωνυμος, ανωνομαστος.—Gregor Nanz. υπερουσιος., Dionysius the Areopagite: ανουσιος.—Origen: μονας.—)

79 *Creation*.

ὁ κοσμος και παντα εν αυτω. Acts 17:24; τα παντα. 1 Cor 8:6; ὁι αιωνες. Heb 1:2, 11:3; θεος εποιησε ουρανον και γην και θαλασσην, και παντα εν αυτοις. Acts 14:15—by his word ρημα Heb 11:3; 2 Pet 3:5; *from nothing* Heb 11:3; Rom 4:17.

The teaching about this in the O. T.—
It is the teaching in Genesis that is referred to in Mt 19:4; Acts 17:26?; Heb 4:4.

God's word. The purpose of creation.—Schleiermacher.—
Joh. Scotus Erigena: Creatio ex nihilo, i.e., non fuit materies, non causa existentium, nulla processio seu occasio (no cooperant moment)—the scholastics. nihil negativum, i.e., negatio entitatis, nihil privativum, i.e., materia rudis, indigesta.—creatio primitiva and creatio continuata.

1 attributa immanentia, quiescentia, metaphysica] *Latin,* the immanent, quiescent, and metaphysical properties **2** attributa moralia, operantia, transeuntia] *Latin,* the moral, operative, and transforming properties **3** intellectus intuitionis . . . distinctissimus] *Latin,* intuitive knowledge, i.e., a knowledge that is instantaneously most distinctly true without discursive reasoning and without ratiocination **5** scientia necessaria, libera, media. (de futuribilibus)] *Latin,* knowing that is necessary, free, and mediate (concerning future possibles) **5** voluntas necessaria, libera, media] *Latin,* a will that is necessary, free, and mediate **7** Nihil incorporale . . . sui generis] *Latin,* Nothing is incorporeal, except what does not exist; therefore the soul is a body of its own kind. **8** invisibilis licet videatur . . . humanis æstimetur] *Latin,* invisible, although he [God], lets himself be seen, incomprehensible, although by grace he lets himself be represented, beyond grasp, though he lets himself be grasped by human senses **10** ανωνυμος, ανωνομαστος] *Greek,* without name, unnamed **10** υπερουσιος] *Greek,* supersubstantial **11** ανουσιος] *Greek,* without substance **11** μονας] *Greek,* only, alone **13** ὁ κοσμος και παντα εν αυτω] *Greek,* the world and all that is in it **13** τα παντα] *Greek,* all things **14** ὁι αιωνες] *Greek,* the worlds **14** θεος εποιησε . . . αυτοις] *Greek,* God made heaven and earth and the sea, and all that is in them. **15** ρημα] *Greek,* word **21** Creatio ex nihilo . . . occasio] *Latin,* Creation out of nothing, i.e., there was no matter, no cause of existence, no preceding cause or occasion **23** nihil negativum . . . indigesta] *Latin,* the negative nothing, that is, the denial of all being, the privative nothing, that is, raw, unordered material **24** creatio primitiva . . . creatio continuata] *Latin,* the original creation . . . continuing creation

The interpretation of Genesis. Teaching about creation was almost always allegorical. Origen—or in order to vindicate the holiness of the 7th day.—

The purpose of creation. In connection with the preexistence of the soul Origen speaks of how the spirits descended into a lower world in order to work their way back to the lost perfection, and he accentuates the *καταβολη* του κοςμου., and the word ψυχη (from ψυχος "cold"). This doctrine was declared heretical in 553.

The world is created in time (Methodius of Tyre)—or from eternity (Alexandr.) Augustine: mundus non est factus in tempore sed cum tempore. Symb. apost. πιστευω εις θεον παντοκρατωρα; ποιητης ουρανου και γης was added later. The Symb. Nic. adds: ὁρατων και αορατων.

Providence.

Sustaining. τα παντα εν αυτω συνεστηκε. Col 1:17; Mt 6:26,28; Acts 14:17; 1 Tim 6:17.

Sustaining the whole while the individual passes away.

Governance. Rom 8:28: all things work together for good for those who love God.

Mt 6:32, 10:29; Jas 4:15; Heb 12:5.

The sending of Xt Jn 3:16.—his resurrection.

The calling of Paul.

(Lk 23:46: Father, into your hands I commend my spirit; Jn 18:11: Should I not drink the cup that my Father gives me to drink.—) Gen 8:22: so long as the earth endures, so shall seedtime and harvest, cold and heat, etc.

Ψ 104.

more abstract and gen. ideas are to be found in the apocryphal books. Wis 1:7: The spirit of the Lord permeates all things, so it is that which sustains the whole; 11:25: How can anything remain if you do not wish it, or be preserved if it is not called by you.

a) God visits hum. beings in visible form, b) speaks with Moses invisibly c) through the prophets d) through angels. פָּקַד επισκεπτεςθαι. Wis 14:3: ἡ προνοια. 3 Macc 2:21: God the guardian of all. 2 Macc: εφορων παντα.—

anthropomorphic and *particularizing* ideas are excluded in Xnty. Providence negates a fatalistic outlook (providence, conscious of itself transparent) but also a Stoic self-elevation over all of nature.—

Evil—God *allows* evil or *brings it about*, if one thinks through every

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7 καταβολη του κοςμου] *Greek,* the foundation of the world **7** ψυχη . . . ψυχος] *Greek,* soul . . . cold **10** mundus non est factus . . . cum tempore] *Latin,* the world is not made in time, but together with time. **11** πιστευω εις θεον παντοκρατωρα] *Greek,* I believe in God, the almighty. **12** ποιητης ουρανου και γης] *Greek,* maker of heaven and earth **13** ὁρατων και αορατων] *Greek,* [maker] of what is seen and what is unseen **15** τα παντα εν αυτω συνεστηκε] *Greek,* in him all things hold together. **33** פָּקַד] *Hebrew,* seeks, visits **34** επισκεπτεςθαι] *Greek,* visit **34** ἡ προνοια] *Greek,* provision, foresight **35** εφορων παντα] *Greek,* who sees all things

thought singly it dissolves to the point at which it is impossible to make any more distinctions.—

Jn 9:3.—Rom 11:25.

It is taught that God is the effective agent in all things: it is a gift of grace. 1 Cor 7:7, 12; Phil 2:12–13.

Yet hum. beings are held accountable Mt 11:20; Mt 23:27; Phil 2:12–13.

The unity of these positions is to be sought herein, that hum. freedom subordinates itself to and gives itself over to God's freedom.—

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providentia præscientia, decretum exsecutio. re. God. re. the object. providentia universalis, specialis, specialissima (the pious.)

1. conservatio rerum simplicium, nexus cosmici. "quousque vult" terminus vitæ (length of life) is based on a decretum fundatum in causis secundis hypotheticum not on a decretum absolutum[;] in the terminus vitæ a distinction is drawn between terminus præternaturalis and naturalis.—

2. gubernatio. ordinaria and miraculosa.

3. concursus v. cooperatio, i.e., influxus in actiones et effectus accomodatus ad naturam et indigentiam uniuscujusque.— concursus et ad materiale et ad formale in good works; concursus ad materiam in evil works and this latter was also impeditio, permissio, directio, determinatio.—

Angels.

de hierarchia coelesti 1) θρονοι, Χερουβιμ, Σεραφιμ. 2) εξουσιαι, κυριοτητες, δυναμεις. 3) αρχαι, αγγελοι, αρχαγγελοι.—

apologia conf.: hæc largimur, quod angeli orent pro nobis. Articuli Schm.: tamen non sequitur a nobis esse invocandos, adorandos, hono-

10 providentia præscientia, decretum exsecutio] *Latin,* providence, foreknowledge, decree, execution (i.e., enactment of what has been decreed) **11** providentia universalis . . . specialissima] *Latin,* universal, special, most special providence **12** conservatio rerum simplicium, nexus cosmici] *Latin,* the preservation of single things, of the cosmic whole **12** "quousque vult" terminus vitæ] *Latin,* "as long as [God] wills," the term of life **13** decretum fundatum . . . absolutum] *Latin,* the hypothetical decree based on secondary causes, the absolute decree **15** terminus præternaturalis . . . naturalis] *Latin,* supernatural . . . natural term **17** gubernatio . . . miraculosa] *Latin,* governance, ordinary . . . miraculous **18** concursus v. cooperatio . . . indigentiam uniuscujusque] *Latin,* collaboration or cooperation, i.e., influencing or effecting according to the nature and need of the individual concerned **19** concursus . . . ad formale] *Latin,* collaboration both as regards matter and form **20** concursus ad materiam] *Latin,* collaboration with regard to the matter **21** impeditio . . . determinatio] *Latin,* hindering, permitting, directing, determining **24** de hierarchia coelesti] *Latin,* on the heavenly hierarchy **24** θρονοι . . . Σεραφιμ] *Greek,* thrones, Cherubs, Seraphs **24** εξουσιαι . . . δυναμεις] *Greek,* authorities, rulers, powers **25** αρχαι . . . αρχαγγελοι] *Greek,* rulers, angels, archangels **26** hæc largimur, quod angeli orent pro nobis] *Latin,* we concede this, that angels pray for us. **27** tamen non sequitur . . . idolatria] *Latin,* However, it does not follow from this that we ought to invoke, adore, honor [them] as protectors and intercessors, nor that certain forms of assistance ought to be ascribed to each of them, as the Papists teach and practice, for this is idolatry.

randos ut patronos et intercessores, et uniucuique eorum esse certa auxilia tribuenda ut Papistæ docent et faciunt, hoc enim est idolatria.

δουλεια s. προςκυνησις τιμητικη i λατρεια.

orate pro nobis. 81

Michaelmas 29th Sept.—2nd Oct. feast for custodes angeli.

(Doctrine about angels may either be thought of as deriving from a defeated polytheism or from an attempt on the part of monotheism to populate the intermediary world.)

Anthropology.

1. *Hum. beings' original perfection.*

Acts 17:29 γενος του θεου; Jas 3:9 γεγονοτες κατ' ομοιωσιν του θεου; 1 Cor 11:7 εικων και δοξα; Gen 1:26 Beselem and Kidmut.
Mt 10:28, 6:19–20.—Paul has πνευμα—σαρξ· εσω αντρωπος and εξω. 1 Cor 15:44; 1 Thess 5:23.
This likeness is to be made actual: Mt 5:48; Eph 4:24; 1 Pet 1:15.
Wis 9:15: The frail body subjugates the soul and the shelter of clay the thinking spirit.—

Protestants posited the divine image in the justitia originalis that Catholics regarded merely as an accessorium. apologia confessionis: æquale temperamentum qualitatum corporis, notitia Dei certior, timor Dei, fiducia Dei, rectitudo et vis ista efficiendi. Furthermore hominem potuisse propriis viribus diligere deum supra omnia, facere præcepta dei, et hoc quid aliud est quam habere justitiam originis. Confessio augustana does not have this.—

Cathec. Rom. God created the soul in his own image: tum originalis justitiæ donum admirabile addidit.—

Thomas Aquinas distinguishes pura naturalia (reason and will) from the proper justitia originalis, i.e., donum divinitus datum supranaturale et admirabile (immortalitas, impassibilitas, justitia originalis).

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3 δουλεια s. προςκυνησις τιμητικη i λατρεια] *Greek and Latin,* slavery, service or veneration and honoring, i.e., service, divine services **4** orate pro nobis] *Latin,* pray for us. **5** custodes angeli] *Latin,* guardian angels **11** γενος του θεου] *Greek,* the race of God **11** γεγονοτες κατ' ομοιωσιν του θεου] *Greek,* made in God's image **12** εικων και δοξα] *Greek,* image and glory **13** πνευμα—σαρξ· εσω αντρωπος . . . εξω] *Greek,* spirit—flesh; the inner . . . outer man **18** justitia originalis] *Latin,* original righteousness **19** accessorium] *Latin,* a supplement *or* in addition **20** æquale temperamentum qualitatum . . . vis ista efficiendi] *Latin,* a balanced quality of temperament and body, a sure knowledge of God, fear of God, confidence in God, right intentions and the power to put them into effect **21** hominem potuisse . . . habere justitiam originis] *Latin,* that man is by his own power able to love God above all others, to do God's commandments, and what is this but to have original righteousness[?] **25** tum originalis justitiæ donum admirabile addidit] *Latin,* thus [God] wonderfully added to the gift of original righteousness **27** pura naturalia] *Latin,* pure natures **28** donum divinitus datum supranaturale et admirabile] *Latin,* a supernatural and wonderful gift, given by God **29** immortalitas, impassibilitas, justitia originalis] *Latin,* immortality, impassibility, original righteousness

Clausen thinks that the hum. race's ideal state has been confused with hum. beings' primordial state, as described in Genesis, which should not be interpreted historically. To that extent he indeed agrees with modern views that make this primordial state into the category of pure Being, to which life itself may indeed by traced back but which is not, however, to be thought of as existing as such. [I]t is only to be had in the system.—

2. *Hum. beings' immortality*.

Mt 10:28, 6:20; 2 Cor 4:17–18; Jn 5:24 et al.: whosoever believes has eternal life; 2 Cor 5:2. The apostles wish to exchange this life for the other: Rom 8:23; 1 Cor 15:54; 2 Cor 5:2; Phil 1:23, 2:17, 3:20; 2 Tim 4:6–7; Acts 7:55 (these utterances are involuntary outbursts not dogmatic assertions[)].—Jesus' resurrection: Jn 14:1ff., 17:24; Heb 2:15; we should live with Xt: Rom 6:8, 8:11,17; 1 Cor 15:14.—1 Pet 1:3.

Resurrection: Mt 22:23ff; Jn 5:29.—Mt 10:28; Lk 16:19.

1 Cor 15.

Rom 8:11; 1 Cor 6:14; 1 Thess 4:14.

The relationship between the new and the old body: 1 Cor 15:53–54; 2 Cor 5:2,4 (identity); 1 Cor 15:37,50,51; Phil 3:21; Rom 8:23; 2 Cor 5:1 (difference).

a double resurrection: Rev 20:2–4 πρωτη αναστασις; 20:12 δευτερα ανασταξις.

Something similar: Jn 6:40; Jn 11:25–26; Lk 20:35.

against this: Jn 5:28–29; Acts 24:15; 1 Cor 15:22: those who are worthy of the resurrection.

The resurrection as occurring immediately: Lk 16:9,22; 2 Cor 5:1,8; Phil 1:23.

(Heb 4:9–11 the concept καταπαυσις.)

It is assigned to a determinate time: Jn 5:28–29, 11:25, 6:39; 1 Cor 15:52; 1 Thess 4:16. The apostles furthermore believed that this determinate time would come to pass very soon: 1 Thess 4:15; Jas 5:8; 1 Pet 4:7; 1 Jn 2:18–28; Heb 10:25–37; 1 Cor 10:11, 15:52. but the time and the hour were not fixed: 1 Thess 5:2; 2 Thess 2:2.

[3]It seems to me to be important to notice the synthesis that is found in the N. T. pertaining to every dogma, in such a way that this synthesis is only asserted from different sides, either as the div. or the hum. (God-Man—revelation.) or of succession and unity (the present and future judgment, the pres. and fut. resurrection) or of the spiritual and the bodily (the immortality of the soul—the resurrection of the body).—

21 πρωτη αναστασις] *Greek,* first resurrection **21** δευτερα ανασταξις] *Greek,* second resurrection **28** καταπαυσις] *Greek,* [place of] rest

John interprets it more spiritually.—Mt 16:27; Mt 24:29—Lk 9:27. (To what extent does this conflict with the απολυτρωσις της σαρκος that is discussed in the N. T. as counting against the resurrection of the body? σαρξ—σωμα.—)

The resurrection of the body—retribution.

Insofar as the Catholics have appealed to purgatory as proving precisely the moral seriousness and rigor of their position, it could be retorted 1) that purgatory should therefore be extended to all 2) [they should] not allow prayers for the dead to have any influence.—

Just as "the resurrection of the body" is Chrnty's way of making concrete the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, so too is "the judgment" the Chrn. way of making concrete the doctrine of a continuing conscious existence.—

3. *Hum. beings' sinfulness*. 83

Although we encounter the expounding of hum. beings' sinfulness as directed for practical reasons against both Jews and pagans, yet this is done in such a way that there is constant attention to the given moment in time at which the exposition takes place; though we only really encounter the deeper exposition of the hum. basis of sin in the account of grace and faith, in the same way, indeed, that Law is never preached as rigorously as by grace.—History is always understood backward.—

Christ's sayings *re. the Jews*: Mt 10:25, 11:16–24 (they are like children in the marketplace), 12:39 (they demand signs), 23:37; Jn 15:18 the world hates me; Jn 8:44. *re. the Pharisees* Mt 5:20, 7:15; 23.

The universality of sin: Rom 1, 2, 3; Gal.

Its highest point Rom 7.

The Law and its meaning.

The univty. of sin: Rom 3:23, 5:12; 1 Jn 1:8; Jas 3:2.

also in the O. T.[4]—

Teaching about sin's univty. is illustrated in the story of the Fall of the first hum. beings.—

References to the teachings in Genesis are found in 1 Cor 11:3; 1 Tim 2:13–14; Jn 8:44 (1 Jn 3:12); Rev 12:9.

[4]Gen 6:5: The Lord saw that the evil of hmnkind was great on the earth, and all their striving, from childhood on, was evil. Job 9:2ff. A hum. being cannot stand before God, if God contends with him in court, he cannot answer him once in a thousand. Ψ 51:7 I was born in iniquity and in sin has my mother conceived me. Prov 20:9: who can say I am clean in my heart and purified from sin.

2 απολυτρωσις της σαρκος] *Greek,* the redemption of the flesh **4** σαρξ—σωμα] *Greek,* flesh—body **38** Ψ 51:7] *In NRSV and King James version,* Ps 51:5

Rom 5:12ff.

Interpretations of the teaching of Gen (it was begun among Ophitic Gnostics). The historical, mystical, allegorical.

The most ancient Ch. interpreted both sin—and freedom—an augmented sinfulness and death as resulting from Adam's sin, but not as a guilt that could be assigned (Tertullian).

Pelagius's teaching had the merit 1) of emphasizing that there had been no destruction of humnty such as to make a new creation necessary 2) of emphasizing the responsibility of the individual 3) of exhorting hum. beings to do the good by [positing] the idea of their freedom.

84 On the other hand, it renounces all progress both in historical development as well as in individual life.

When Clausen, like other dogmaticians, seeks to explain the meaning of Adam's sin for the race, he appeals to the analogy that is found in the individuality of peoples, but how exhaustive is this, or does it not remain stuck on the categories "race and type" instead of arriving at the energy of individuality.—

In reality, Augustine's system was never dominant in the Church, it hovered over it like a dark cloud, but under this darkened heaven comfort was sought in a carefree Pelagianism or with a pro and contra on the matter, which went by the name of semi-Pelagianism.—

on the concept of temptation (Baader).

Conc. Tridentinum 6th session against Pelagius: ["]totum Adamum secundum corpus et animam in deterius commutatum fuisse. Hoc Adami peccatum, propagatione non imitatione transfusum omnibus, non per aliud remedium tolli quam per meritum unius mediatoris Jesu Christi." Against Augustine: ["]liberum arbitrium minime amissum et exstinctum imo titulum sine re, sed viribus attenuatum et inclinatum. Opera omnia ante justificationem non esse vere peccata, vel odium Dei mereri."—

Even Luther says at one point: hominis essentiam esse peccatum.

Formula Concordiæ: hæreditarium malum est culpa sive reatus, quo fit, ut omnes propter inobedientiam Adæ in odio apud deum et natura filii

25 totum Adamum secundum corpus . . . Jesu Christi] *Latin,* everything in Adam, both in body and soul, had been altered for the worse. This sin of Adam transfused into all by propagation and not by imitation has no remedy other than the merit of the one mediator Jesus Christ. **29** liberum arbitrium . . . vel odium Dei mereri] *Latin,* the free will is in no way lost or extinguished, still less a name lacking content, but its powers are attenuated and weakened. [It is] not [true that] all works prior to justification are sins or deserve God's displeasure. **33** hominis essentiam esse peccatum] *Latin,* the essence of man is sin. **34** hæreditarium malum est . . . natura filii iræ simus] *Latin,* inherited evil is blameworthy or guilty, which makes us all, on account of Adam's disobedience, loathsome before God and of the nature of the children of wrath.

iræ simus.—peccatum originis non est levis, sed tam profunda humanæ naturæ corruptio, quo nihil sanum, nihil incorruptum in corpore et anima hominis relinquit. Peccatum originale non est tantummodo totalis defectus omnium bonorum in rebus spiritualibus, sed loco imaginis dei amissæ in homine intima pessima, profundissima, infinitabilis et ineffabilis corruptio totius naturæ et omnium virium inprimis vero superiorum et principalium animæ facultatum, in mente, intellectu, corde et voluntate. Homo ad bonum prorsus corruptus et mortuus, ita ut ne scintilula quidem spiritualium virium reliqua manserit. In spiritualibus et divinis rebus similis est trunco vel lapidi vel statuæ vita carenti ex ingenio et natura sua totus malus, deo rebellis et inimicus. Liberum arbitrium duntaxat ad ea, quæ deo displicent et adversantur, activum et efficax.—

Adam interpreted as caput seminale, naturale hominum.
caput foederatum.
Others appealed to scientia dei media.

evil spirits.

(in a good sense Acts 17:18—Eph 6:12; Mt 25:41; Satan: 1 Cor 7:5; Beelzebub: Mt 10:25–27, 12:24; Belial: 2 Cor 6:15 (This name is found neither in the O. T. nor in the LXX but in the testamentum duodecim patriarcharum. ὁ εχθρος: Mt 13:39; ὁ πονηρος: Mt 12:24; ὁ αντιδικος: 1 Pet 5:8; ὁ πειραζων: 1 Thess 3:5; αρχων των δαιμονιων: Mt 9:34; ὁ αρχων του κοσμου in John; ο θεος του αιωνος τουτου: 2 Cor 4:4; ὁ δραχων, ὁ οφις αρχαιος, ὁ αγγελος της αβυσσου. in Revelation.—their habitation. in the air: Eph 2:2, 6:12; in waterless places: Mt 12:43; in the graves: Lk 8:27; cast down to hell: 1 Pet 5:8; 2 Pet 2:4; Jude 6.

The devil sins απ' αρχης.

To what extent does the text of Mt 13:39 have a didactic character re. the question concerning the devil's stature and being.—

1 peccatum . . . efficax] *Latin,* original sin is not a minor but such a deep corruption of human nature, that there is nothing sound, nothing incorrupt in the human body or soul. Original sin is not merely a total falling away from all good things in spiritual matters but in place of the lost image of God there is an inward, bad, profound, infinite, and ineffable corruption of the entire nature and all powers, in particular of the highest and principal spiritual faculties, in the mind, the intellect, the heart, and the will. The human being is entirely and utterly corrupt and dead to the good so that not even a mere spark of spiritual power remains. With regard to spiritual and divine matters man is like a block or a stone or a lifeless statue, of disposition and nature entirely evil, rebellious against and hostile to God. Free will is only active and effective so as to displease God and oppose him. **14** caput . . . foederatum] *Latin,* The head of the human race as progenitor, according to nature, and the head, according to the covenant **16** scientia dei media] *Latin,* intermediate divine knowledge **21** ὁ εχθρος] *Greek,* the enemy **21** ὁ πονηρος] *Greek,* the evil one **21** ὁ αντιδικος] *Greek,* the opposer **22** ὁ πειραζων] *Greek,* the tempter **22** αρχων των δαιμονιων] *Greek,* the prince of demons **22** ὁ αρχων του κοσμου] *Greek,* the prince of the world **23** ο θεος . . . τουτου] *Greek,* the god of this world **23** ὁ δραχων . . . αβυσσου] *Greek,* the dragon, the old serpent, the angel of the abyss **27** απ' αρχης] *Greek,* from the beginning

NOTEBOOK 2

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89

1 *Faust und D. Juan, Tragoedie in fünf Akten. v. Grabbe. Frankfurt. 1829. 8°*

90
2

Historisches Taschenbuch, herausgegeben von Friedrich v. Raumer. Fünfter Jahrgang.
Leipzig 1834.
pp. 128–210.

Has Faust actually existed? (ob faustum in rebus peractu difficillimis succesum)—Yes. Manlius.—born in Kundlingen in Würtemberg; studied magic in Cracow.—Del Rio. (Wier). Conrad Gesner. *Begardi.* Others make his birthplace somewhere in Weimar near Jena; others Soltwedel or Sandwedel in Anhalt.—That as a boy he went to live with his cousin in Wittemberg and took a doctorate in Ingolstadt—All this is much too bound up with myth, just as with the story of his dog, in which an evil spirit is supposed to have lurked.—He had also studied the classics.—Faust's stay in Prague, Wittenberg? in Erfurt he lectured on Homer, and at the students' instigation conjured up the heroes, also the one-eyed Polyphemus. At a merry party in another city, he had a vine grow forth at the guests' prompting, and when the guests were about to pluck the grapes they had found themselves with knives in their hands and held one another by the nose.—In other places, which he visited in the company of Cornelius Agrippa, he tricked innkeepers, etc.—He was in Leipzig and there are 2 engravings in this connection. They are reproduced in v. Raumer. Under one is written:

Vive, Bibe, Obgregare, Memor[a]
Fausti hujus et hujus
Poenæ. Aderat claudo hæc
Ast erat ampla gradu 1525.

Under the other is written:

Doctor Faust zu dieser Frist
Aus Auerbachs Keller geritten ist,
Auf einem Faß mit Wein geschwind,

1 [a]various explanations can be found in *Leipziger Tageblatte* for the yr. 1833. Nos. 22, 23, 25.

5 ob faustum in rebus peractu difficillimis succesum] *Latin,* so that he will have good luck and success with things that were very difficult to accomplish **27** Vive, Bibe . . . gradu] Live, drink, and join our party, but remember the well-known Faust and his punishment. The punishment came slowly, but it was very great. **32** Doctor Faust . . . empfangen davon] Doctor Faust has just now ridden out of Auerbach's cellar at high speed, on a barrel of wine, seen by many. He did so by his artful powers and earned the Devil's pay in doing so.

Welches gesehen viel Mutterkind.
91 Solches durch seine subtile Kraft hat gethan,
Und des Teufels Lohn empfangen davon.
1525.

Faust is supposed also to have been a writer, though his work was published only after his death. "Fausts Höllenzwang," published by among others Christoph Wagner, his amanuensis.

I shall note only some of the literature. There is a very comprehensive list to be found in v. Raumer.—

Neumann et *C. C. Kirchner,* auctor et respondens, dissertatio historica de Fausto præstigiatore. Wittemberg 1683. 4º 1742, 1743, 1746.

Bouterwek: Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit vol. IX, p. 422.

Ueber Calderons wunderthatige Magus ein Beitrag zum Verstandniß der Faustischen Fabel. v. Dr. Rosenkrantz. 1829. 8º—

Schriften über Göthes *Faust.*

1. *Ueber Göthes Faust und dessen Fortseßung nebst einem Anhange vom ewigen Juden.* Leipzig. 1824. 8º

2. *Aestetische Vorlesungen uber Göthes Faust, als Beitrag zur Anerkennung wissenschaftlicher Kunst Beurtheilung.* Herausgegeben von Dr. H. F. W. Hinrichs. Halle 1825. 8º

3. Vorlesungen von Wolf über Göthes Faust, 1829 in Jena gehalten. nicht gedrucht.

4. *Vorlesungen uber Gothes Faust* von K. E. Schubarth. Berlin 1830.

5. *Heroldstimme zu Göthes Faust, ersten und zweiten Theils mit besondre Beziehung auf die Schlußscene des ersten Theils* v. C. F. G. G—l. Leipzig. 1831. 8º

6. L. B. (Bechstein) *die Darstellung der Tragödie Faust*
92 *von Göthe auf der Bühne. Ein zeitgemäßes Wort für Theater Directionen, Schauspieler und Bühnenfreunde.* Stuttgardt 1831. 12º

[b]In the so-called *Dr. Joh. Faustens Miracel, Kunst und Wunderbuch* we are told how Faust came in contact with the devil and [how] it was not until after the devil Aziel arrived and answered Faust's about how quick he was—as quick of hum. thought—

that [Faust] got involved with him. It is also this that Lessing exploits when he has the spirit say that he was as quick as the passage from evil to good.—

See von Raumer p. 161.—
See Lessing's correspondence on the latest literature pt. 1, p. 103 and in *Analecten für die Litteratur* pt. 1 p. 210. also in the second part of his *theatralischem Nachlasse.*—

7. *Ueber Erklärung und Fortseßung des "Faust" im Allegemeinen und insbesondre über "Christliches Nachspiel zur Tragoedie Faust"* von K. Rosenkranz. Leipzig. 1831.

8. *Vorlesungen über Göthes Faust* von F. A. Rauch. Büdingen. 1830.

9. Sehr treffende Bemerkungen und Erlaüterungen über Göthes Faust gibt Falk in seinem Buche: *Göthe aus näherem Umgang dargestelt.*—

Erzählungen.

Doctor Faust, eine Erzählung von Hamilton, frei überseßt v. Mylius. Im zweiten Bande der Bibliothek der Romane. Das französische Original führt den Titel: *l'enchanteur Faustus.*

Fausts Leben, Thaten und Höllenfahrt in fünf Büchern v. Klinger.[c]

Faust v. Mainz, Gemälde aus der Mitte des funfzehnten Jarhunderts v. J. M. Kamarack Leipzig 1794.

Der umgekehrte Faust oder Frosch's Jugendjahre. v. Seybold. Heidelberg 1816.

Fausts Lehrling eine kleine Erzählung v. Gerle. Im dritten Theile von des Verfassers *Schattenrisse und Mondnachts Bilder.* Leipzig 1824. 8°

Faustus ein Gedicht in lyrischer Form v. Ludvig Bechstein. Leipzig 1832. 4°—[d]

[c]Is in the Student Union library.

[d]Is in the Atheneum. See the catalogue for 1834. p. 156.

Opern.

Dr. Fausts Mantel ein Zauberspiel mit Gesang in zwei Akten. v. Adolph Baüerle. Wien. 1819. 8°

Faust Trauerspiel mit Gesang und Tanz v. Julius v. Voss. Berlin 1824. 8°

Faust Oper in vier Aufzügen v. Bernard. Musik v. Spohr.

Fausto, opera seria, *in drei Akten in Paris zum ersten Male gegeben im März. 1831.* Die Musik v. Fräulein Louise Bertin.

93

It is certainly a matter of interest that the legend has provided Faust with a dog in which the devil conceals himself (see v. Raumer p. 133). It seems to me that **3**

what the legend would suggest in this way is that for someone like Faust, for whom all relations in life were completely askew, and who had himself also adopted such a skewed attitude toward everything, that for him, I say, the dog, this man's otherwise so faithful companion, here surely retained its character as faithful but became also an evil spirit, which, being faithful, never left him.

16th March 35.

4 Herder, *Zerstreute Blätter*

5 Schleiermachers *vertraute Briefe über die Lucinde*

94

There is presumably something odd about Faust's "collar" because so much emphasis is laid on it in Harro Harring's "Faust im Gewande der Zeit" and in [']Fausts Mantelkrage." It appears to have something to do with the costume of the time, see v. Schreiber p. 121. "wenn Leute mit *Kragen* und Brillen"— **6**

Also of interest is the fact that Faust (whom perhaps more appropriately I assign to the third standpoint as the more mediate) embodies both D. Juan and the Wandering Jew (despair).— **7**

Nor must it be forgotten that D. Juan must be grasped lyrically (therefore with music); the Wandering Jew epically. and Faust dramatically.—

Dec. 35.

Heiberg says somewhere in *Fly. Post* that Faust is an immediate drama. To what extent rightly— — —. **8**

Hoffmanns Schriften vol. 10 "Meister Floh" p. 287. **9**

> "Wie? sprach er zu sich selbst, ein Mensch, der die geheimsten Gedancken seiner Brüder erforscht, bringt über den diese verhängnißvolle Gabe nicht jenes entsetzliches Verhältnitz, welches den ewigen Juden traf, der durch das bunteste Gewühl der Welt, ohne Freude, ohne Hoffnung, ohne Schmerz, in dumpfer Gleichgültigkeit, die das caput mortuum der Verzweiflung ist, wie durch eine unwirthbare trostlose Einöde wandelte?"

in Sept. 35.

The legend of the Wandering Jew is fully told in: *Ein Volksbüchlein" München 1835.* **10**

(The Student Union has it.)

This legend, which has an altogether Christian tinge, can be separated out from this religious-ascetic aspect, just as has happened with Faust.— 95

13th Oct. 35.

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5 wenn Leute mit Kragen und Brillen] *German,* when people with collars and spectacles **16** Wie? sprach er zu sich selbst . . . trostlose Einöde wandelte?"] *German and Latin,* What? He said to himself, a man who can discover the secret thoughts of his brothers—does not this disastrous gift bring upon him the appalling situation encountered by the Wandering Jew, who wandered through the most varied bustle of the world as through an inhospitable, dreary desert, without joy, without hope, without pain, in the dull indifference which is the death's-head of despair?

11 As far as the literature on the Wandering Jew is concerned, there are some really good things in *Ein Volksbuchlein* München 1835 pp. 267 ff.

12 *On the Wandering Jew.*
(Ahasuerus. Shoemaker. Cartophilus. Doorkeeper.)
see *General Light Reading in Denmark and Norway* by Nyerup. Cph. 1816.

Literature:
Especially theses: one by Prof. *Christoph. Schulz* in Königsberg. 1689. one by Prof. *Carl Anton in Helmstad 1755.* These are in the University Library and also: *en sub præsidio Gotfried Thilonis de Judæo immortali.* Witeb: 1672. One under *Prof. Sebastian Niemanns Præsidium de duobus testibus vivis passionis dominicæ.* Jena 1668; the third, kept at Regensen College, by *Casp. Kildgaard Hafniæ 1733: "de Judæo non mortali. ."*—

13 (The Wandering Jew seems to be modeled on the fig tree that Chr. bids wither away)

28th March 35.

14 One hears people talk so often of someone being a Don Juan, or Faust; but not so readily of him being the Wandering Jew. Yet are there not individuals of that kind, who have taken upon themselves too much of the Wandering Jew's nature?—Is it right when Sibbern has the hero in *Gabrielis's Posthumous Letters* say that he would rather roam about like the Wandering Jew? How inherently correct is that, i.e., to what extent is it to be preferred to the life his 96 hero leads—and to what extent is it appropriate in this hero's character, or doesn't it contain a contradiction?

28th March 35.

NOTEBOOK 3

NOTEBOOK 3

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Text source
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99

1 **Herder** *"Zerstreute Blätter." Dritte Samlung. Gotha 1787.*

pp. 102 and 3. "Jedes Sylbenmaas sogar, jeder Ton des Liedes schatirt die Bilder der Phantasie auf eigne Weise, es wird sich selten aus Einem ins andre ein Gemählde volkommen übertragen lassen. . . . . Wie schlecht sieht es altso mit aller knechtischen Nachahmung, mit jedem gelerhten Diebstal fremder Allegorien und Bilder, endlich gar mit jenem poetischen Blumenlesen und Vorratsschränken aus, in denen man sich fremde Lappen für zukünftigen Gebrauch sammelt. Unselige Uebung für Jünglinge, die zu solcher Bieldkrämerei gewöhnt werden.["]

[a]What is this actually about? *And to what extent can I here be said precisely to have made myself guilty of the same mistake Herder criticizes*—?

2 **Schleiermacher** *"Vertrauhte Briefe über die Lucinde. Mit einer Vorrede v. Karl Gutzkov.*["] *Hamburg 1835.*

These letters are written about a book, *"Lucinde,"* published earlier by F. Schlegel. It isn't certain that the book is by Schl., but Gutzkov challenges anyone to prove that it isn't. Surely upon criteria interna alone it is indubitable: Schl.'s characteristic dialectical-polemical voice is unmistakable throughout it, including, for example, in "Versuch über die Schamhaftigkeit." It ought to be a template for a review and also an example of how a review can be highly productive. Going beyond the book, he constructs a number of personalities himself and as he illuminates the work through them, he also illuminates their individuality; instead of being confronted with various points of view presented by the reviewer, we become engaged with

[a]cf. in *Maanedskrift for Litteratur* 8th edition p. 140. an essay by P. Møller.—

Feb. 36.

3 Jedes Sylbenmaas ... gewöhnt werden] *German,* Indeed, each rhythm and each tone of the song shadows forth its own image in the imagination; it seldom happens that translating from one to another allows a picture to be perfected. . . . . Thus how terribly does all servile imitation, all learned theft of someone else's allegories and images, and finally every poetical selection and inventory (in which one accumulates someone else's odds and ends for future use) appear. Such is fatal practice for youths who become accustomed to such rummaging around. **19** criteria interna] *Latin,* internal criteria

diverse personalities that represent these various points of view—but as complete beings, so that we are granted a glimpse into each person's individuality and, on the basis of many judgments that are, admittedly, only relatively true, we are allowed to fashion our very own ultimatum. In this sense, it is a true work of art.—

in Octbr. 35.

On some contemporary German poets. **3**
(Karl Gutzkov, Wienbarg, Laube, Mundt.)

100

4 *Goethes Werke, 18 Band. Stuttgart und Tübingen 1828.—*

Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre 1stes Buch. 2 und 3 Buch.

p. 51. Where Wilhelm, on account of the suspicion that had awakened in him of Mariane's infidelity, in despair destroys all his previous efforts—and then Werner, as the true business speculator, attempts to prevent him: "Verzeih mir, sagte Wilhelm lächelnd, Du fängst von der Form an, als wenn das die Sache wäre, gewönlich vergeßt ihr aber auch über eurem Addiren und Ballanciren das eigentliche Facit des Lebens." *p. 175. p. 191.* Where in the conversation about actors the question comes up about natural talent and gift (Naturell): Das Erste und Leßte, Anfang und Ende möchte es wohl sein und bleiben; aber in der Mitte dürfte dem Künstler manches fehlen, wenn nicht Bildung erst aus ihm macht was er sein soll, und zwar frühe Bildung; denn vielleicht ist derjenige dem man Genie zuschreibt übler daran als der, der nur gewönliche Fähigkeiten besißt; denn jener kan leichter verbildet und viel heftiger auf falsche Wege gestoßen werden, als dieser? *pp. 221 and 20. p. 226.* Where Wilhelm, seeing the Stallmeister give satisfaction to little Frederick for his relationship to Philine, himself admits how much he would have enjoyed using a serious weapon against the man with whom he was fencing. How, meanwhile, he does not offer Philine a glance, but hurries to his room where he is beset by very different

8 Verzeih mir . . . Lebens] *German,* "Forgive me," said Wilhelm smiling, "you begin from the form, as if it were the matter, but usually in your adding and balancing you forget the actual essence of life." **14** (Naturell) . . . als dieser?] *German,* natural: The first and last, beginning and end it may well be and remain, but in the middle the artist is deficient in much, if the culture, and indeed early culture, has not made him what he ought to be; for perhaps he to whom one ascribes genius is worse off in this way than one who only possesses ordinary capabilities, for the former can more readily be misinformed and more violently pushed on to a false path than the latter.

thoughts: "Er erinnerte sich der Zeit, in der sein Geist, durch ein unbedingtes, hoffnungsreiches Streben empor geheben wurde, wo er in dem lebhaftesten Genusse aller Art wie in einem Elemente schwamm. Es ward ihm deutlich, wie er letzt in ein unbestimtes Schlendern gerathen war, in welchem er nur noch schlürfend kostete, was er sonst mit vollen Zügen eingesogen hatte; aber deutlich konte er nicht sehn, welches unüberwindliche Bedürfniß ihm die Natur zum Gesetz gemacht hatte, und wie sehr dieses Bedürfniss durch Umstände nur gereizt, halb befriedigt und irre geführt worden war.["]

Lehrjahre 4tes Buch. 5tes und 6tes

Especially to be noticed here is the entire investigation of "*Hamlet* and its performance." *pp. 73ff.* and *90ff.—255ff:* on Emilie Galotti. Serlo was supposed to play Marinelli, and he expressed many 101
good thoughts about this performance. "Der vornehme Anstand ist schwer nachzuahmen, weil er eigl. negativ ist, und eine lange anhaltende Ubung voraussetzt. Denn man soll nicht etwa in seinem Benehmen etwas darstellen, das Würde anzeigt; denn leicht fällt man dadurch in ein formliches stolzes Wesen, man soll vielmehr nur alles vermeiden, was unwürdig was gemein ist; man soll sich nie vergessen, immer auf sich und Andere Acht haben, sich nichts vergeben, Andern nicht zu viel nicht zu wenig thun, durch nichts gerührt

1 Er erinnerte sich . . . worden war] *German,* He recollected the time when his spirit rich in hope with boundless aims was raised aloft, when he floated in the liveliest enjoyment of every kind as in his proper element. It was clear to him that he had now got into an indefinite wandering, in which he now only tasted in sips what formerly he had quaffed in full draughts; but he could not clearly see what irresistible want Nature had made for the law of his being and how this want by the circumstances of his life had been only irritated, half satisfied and misdirected. **15** Der vornehme . . . diesem Anstande gelangen] *German,* "Good behavior," he said, "is difficult to imitate, because actually it is negative and presupposes a long, continuous practice. One should not in one's behavior exhibit anything which betokens dignity, for in this way one is likely to fall into a formal and haughty manner; one should rather avoid everything which is unworthy and vulgar. One should never forget oneself, one should have a careful regard for oneself and others. One should forgive nothing in one's own conduct, in that of others, neither too much nor too little. One should not appear to be affected by anything nor disturbed. One should never be in a hurry, should know how to keep oneself composed and thus maintain an outward equilibrium, though inwardly one storms away as much as one likes. The noble character can at times give way to his feelings, the well-bred never. The latter is like a well-dressed man; he will not lean on anything, and everyone will be careful not to rub against him. He is distinguished from others and yet he many not remain apart, for as in every art, so too in this, the most difficult thing must at length be done with ease, and so the well-bred man, in spite of all separation, must always seem united with others, never stiff, everywhere at home. He should always appear the first, and never insist on so appearing. Therefore it seems that a man, in order to appear well-bred, must really be so. This is why women on the average are better able to have the air of breeding than men, and why courtiers and soldiers come to it most quickly among men."

scheinen, durch nichts bewegt werden, sich niemals übereilen, sich in jedem Moment zu fassen wissen, und so ein äußeres Gleichgewicht erhalten, innerlich mag es stürmen wie es will. Der edle Mensch kann sich in Moment vernachlässigen, der vornehme nie. Dieser ist wie ein sehr wohlgekleideter Mann: er wird sich nirgends anlehnen, und jedermann will sich hüten an ihn zu streichen; er unterscheidet sich von andern, und doch darf er nicht allein stehen bleiben; denn wie in jeder Kunst, also auch in dieser, soll zuletzt das Schwerste mit Leichtigkeit ausgeführt werden, so soll der Vornehme, ongeachtet aller Absonderung, immer mit andern verbunden scheinen, nirgends steif, überall gewandt sein, immer als der erste erscheinen, und sich nicht als ein solcher aufdringen.— Man sieht also daß man um vornehm zu scheinen, wirklich vornehm sein müsse, man sieht warum Frauen im Durchschnitt sich eher dieses Ansehn geben können als Männer, warum Hofleute und Soldaten am schnellsten zu diesem Anstande gelangen." "Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele" are full of the finest observations throughout.

Lehrjahre 7tes Buch. und 8tes.

This follows the development and loosening of all of the knots that were tied earlier.—

Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre oder die Entsagenden.
1stes Buch.

On his travels Wilhelm meets up with Jarno, who is traveling under the name of Montan, and who is a student of geology, something little Felix has continually shown an inclination toward. Wilhelm thus desires to learn enough to be able to teach Felix. Montan refuses out of hand *p. 49:* "Es ist nichts schrecklicher als ein Lehrer, der nicht mehr weiß als die Schüler allenfals wissen sollen; wer andere lehren will, kann wohl oft das Beste verschweigen was er weiß, aber er darf nicht halb wissend sein." At Wilhelm's question 102 about where one is to find such teachers, he points to how one learns a language by standing in the midst of those who speak it. When Wilhelm later speaks of the usefulness of a multifaceted edu-

28 Es ist . . . wissend sein] *German,* There is nothing more dreadful than a teacher who knows no more than what his students should know. He who wishes to teach others may often well keep silent about the best that he knows, but he must not be half educated.

cation, Montan answers: Vielseitigkeit bereitet eigl. nur das Element vor, worin der Einseitige wirken kann, dem eben jetz genug Raum gegeben ist. Ja es ist jetzo die Zeit der Einseitigkeiten; wohl dem, der es begreift, für sich und Andere in diesem Sinne wirkt. Bei gewissen Dingen versteht sich's durchaus und sogleich. Uebe dich zum tüchtigen Violinisten und sei versichert, der Capellmeister wird Dir deinen Platz im Orchester mit Gunst anweisen. Mache ein Organ aus Dir und erwarte, was für eine Stelle dir die Menschheit im allgemeinen Leben wohlmeinend zugestehen werde." *p. 52:* "Nun aber gehörte zu den sonderbaren Verpflichtungen der Entsagenden auch die: daß sie zusammentreffend, weder vom Vergangnen noch Künftigen sprechen durften, nur das Gegenwärtige sollte sie beschäftigen." *p. 55* Jarno again speaks of Wilhelm's striving to become so much in all directions: ["]ich sehe dich an wie einen Wanderstab, der die wunderliche Eigenschaft hat in jeder Ecke zu grünen, wo man ihn hinstellt, nirgends aber Wurzel zu fassen.["]—

If I were to say in a few words what I actlly regard as masterful about Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, I would say that it is the well-balanced governance running through the whole of it, the whole Fichtean moral world order immanently present in the totality. The novel itself develops this in a more doctrinaire fashion, gradually leading Wilhelm to the point which, if I may say so, is given in the theory. It does so in such a way that, at the end of the novel, the worldview which the poet has brought to bear now comes alive in him just as it existed prior to and beyond Wilhelm. This accounts for the consummate total impression the novel makes, perhaps more so than any other; it is really the entire world conceived in a mirror, a true microcosm.

March 1836.

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1 Vielseitigkeit ... beschäftigen] *German,* Many-sidedness really only prepares the element in which the one-sided man can work, for whom there is then sufficient room. Yes, it is now the time for one-sidedness; it is good for him who comprehends it and works in this sense for himself and others! In certain things it is completely and at once obvious. Practice to be a capable violinist, and be assured the director of an orchestra will offer you your place with favor. Make an organ of yourself, and await the kind of position mankind, in general well meaning, will grant to you. p. 52: But now it belonged to the singular obligations of the renouncers that on the meeting together they were not to speak of the past nor the future; they were only to be occupied with what was present. **14** ich sehe ... fassen] *German,* I look upon you as a pilgrim's staff, which has the remarkable property of growing green in every corner in which it is put, but nowhere takes root.

103

6 *Goethe aus näherm persönlichen Umgange dargestellt. Ein nachgelassenes Werk von Johannes Falk. Leipzig 1832.*

I Goethes Mutter. p. 1 "Schon öfter ist die Bemerkung gemacht geworden, die sich vielleicht im Nachfolgenden nicht unangenehm wiederholen wird, daß große und ausgezeichnete Männer, was sowol Character als Anlagen des Geistes und andre Eigentümlichkeiten betrifft, immer zur Hälfte in ihren Müttern vorgebildet sind." He introduces as an example a certain shyness about every more violent impression and a natural wit and sense of humor.

II. Allgemeiner Umriß von Goethes Character, als Mensch und Künstler. p. 8. He lost himself in the object to which he was devoting his attention, whether it was a human being, an animal, a bird, a plant. He wished therefore to hear nothing of other topics as long as he was concerning himself with one thing. One can see this in his "Metamorphose der Pflanzen" and "Farbenlehre"; in his biographies of Wieland and Voss. Yet to the exact extent to which this talent has been recognized, to that same extent he has been faulted for a certain "Lauheit in sittlichen Gesinnungen." p. 13

3 Schon . . . vorgebildet sind] *German,* Although the observation has often been made (and perhaps not inappropriately later repeated) that, with respect to what touches upon character, intellectual gifts and other characteristics, great and exceptional men are always half prefigured in their mothers. **18** Lauheit . . . Gesinnungen] *German,* lukewarmness in ethical views

"die angeborene ruhige Betrachtung aller Dinge, wie sie Goethe eigen ist, konnte in ihm jenen sittlichen Enthusiasmus unmöglich aufkommen lassen, wie ihn die Zeit forderte, und den sie nur allzubald als den einzig beneidenswerthen Vorzug der menschlichen Natur anerkannte.—"

1 die angeborene . . . Zerstörung schafft] *German,* The innately calm contemplation of things, such as was unique to Goethe, simply could not produce that ethical enthusiasm that the times, which altogether too quickly acknowledged this as the only enviable privilege of human nature, demanded. Goethe was born to make things his own, not for the things themselves. From the very moment the times sally forth passionately against an evil that is actually present or only presumed, then they [the times] occupy themselves very little or not at all with a consideration of the good sides, for such consideration in fact looks upon this evil with calm, offering it an unbiased eye. Thus Goethe, according to the deepest preference of his own nature, was caught in a powerful contradiction with his time. Goethe wanted to contemplate, his age wanted action. . . . p. 20 According to his entire nature, Goethe neither can, ought to, nor will take a single step that would require him, without further ado, to quit the realm of experience on which he has happily planted his feet and into which he has put down roots for more than half a century. All syllogisms, observations, teachings, opinions and articles of faith have worth in his eyes only to the extent that they link back to this realm he was so fortunate to have conquered. The blue horizon that limits this realm, which human beings so love to paint, does not concern him much. He even flees it, because he knows from experience that it is there where all the ghosts live and all the phantoms of dark superstition, which he hates, make their abode. p. 22 Goethe did not really like to concern himself with investigations into time, space, spirit, matter, god, immortality—not that he denied that there was a being higher than us, not at all; it is just that such things remained foreign to him, because they lie outside the realm of experience which, true to his principles, remained the exclusive object of his interests. The movement away from the supersensuous started with him. And who among us would be so bold [as to suggest] that he desired to instigate border conflicts with nature? Had Goethe been a Leibniz or a Kant, then we might have received a meaningful metaphysics instead of *Iphigenia* or *Faust.* However, because he was in fact Goethe, then we ought, in fairness and by all accounts, to allow him to be and to remain Goethe. As he himself once beautifully remarked to me in conversation: "in the great diversity of creatures through which the creative power of nature becomes visible, the human being is, so to speak, the first conversation nature has with God." And yet one could still say about his own person that, with his stubborn insistence on the realm of experience, he set forth the final product of plastic nature that, with its secrets, simultaneously divulges the two directions that from eternity had lain hidden within it [nature] and that, despite all apparent contradictions, make up the one true, total, complete world and nature. This is a view of things that, it must be allowed, is not a poor definition of that which we call genius in nature. For as soon as the genius, from that moment when he breaks from nature, wanders out upon the most unpleasant paths—whereupon he not infrequently encounters ghosts and phantoms—he nevertheless still shares with nature those two great directions: on the one hand, the quiet domain of ethical customs and laws, where, in pleasant calmness and self-contemplation, he thus marks out an invisible series of quiet images; and on the other hand, by contrast, the violent movements of storm-winds, of lightning and earthquakes—the mother of all things—who contains within herself inevitable contradictions that, at first, appear to be completely without order, but that at bottom are shown as lawful as the contradictions are quickly removed. [Such movements] create destruction out of life, and life out of destruction.

"Goethe war geboren sich den Dingen, nicht aber die Dinge sich anzueignen. Von dem Augenblicke an, wo eine Zeit gegen das wirklich vorhandene oder auch nur vermeinte Böse leidenschaftlich in die Schranken tritt, befaßt sie sich wenig oder gar nicht mit Untersuchung der guten Seiten, die dies namliche Böse mit Ruhe betrachtet, einem unparteiischen Auge etwa darbieten mochte."

"Somit war Goethe und zwar eben durch den eigensten Vorzug seiner Natur selbst mit seiner Zeit in einen heftigen Widerspruch gerathen. Goethe wollte betrachten, seine Zeit wollte handeln ...." p. 20. "Goethe kann, darf und will seiner ganzen Natur nach keinen einzigen Schritt thun, der ihn das Reich der Erfahrungen, wo er freudig festen Fuß gefaßt und über ein halbes Jarhundert gewurzelt hat, plotzlich zu verlassen zwänge." "Alle Schlüsse, Beobachtungen, Lehren, Meinungen, Glaubensartikel haben in seinen Augen
104 nur Werth, insofern sie sich an dieses von ihm so glücklich eroberte Reich anknüpfen. Der blaue Horizont, der dieses Reich begrenzt, den sich der Mensch so lieblich bemalt, kümmert ihn wenig. Er flieht ihn sogar, weil er aus Erfarung weiss, daß dort die Hirngespinste wohnen und alle Phantome eines dunkeln Aberglauben, den er haßt, ihren Siß haben." p. 22. "Mit Untersuchungen über Zeit, Raum, Geist, Materie, Gott, Unsterblichkeit mochte sich Goethe nur wenig befassen; nicht etwa, daß er höhere Wesen, als wir sind, ableugnete. keinesweges; nur bleiben sie ihm fremd, weil sie außer dem Reiche aller Erfahrung liegen, das ihn, seiner Maxime getreu ganz ausschließend anzog und beschäftigte. Die Flucht des Übersinnlichen war mit ihm geboren; und wer unter uns ist so kühn, daß er Grenzstreitigkeiten mit der Natur anzetteln wollte? Wäre Goethe ein Leibnitz, ein Kant gewesen so hätten wir freilich statt der "Iphigenie" und des "Faust" eine sinnreiche Metaphysik erhalten, jetzt aber, da er eben Goethe geworden ist, sollten wir ihm auch billig und zwar in allen Stücken erlauben Goethe zu sein und zu bleiben. Wie er selbst einmal im Gespräche mit mir sehr schön bemerkte: "in der Reihe so mannichfaltige Producte, wodurch die schaffenden Kräfte der Natur sichtbar würden, sei der Mensch gleichsam das erste Gespräch, das die Natur mit Gott halte"; ebenso könnte man von ihn selbst sagen, daß bei seinem eigensinningen Beharren im Reiche der Erfahrung er gleichsam das leßte Product der plasstischen Natur darstelle, das mit ihren Geheimnissen zugleich die zwei Richtungen ausplaudere, die von Evigkeit in ihr verborgen liegen, und die trotz allen scheinbaren Gegensäßen doch erst beide zusammengenommen die eine wahrhafte, ganze, vollständige Welt und Natur ausmachen; eine An-

sicht der Dinge, die keinen verwerflichen Beitrag zur Definition dessen, was wir Genie in der Natur nennen, abgeben dürfte. Denn sowie das Genie von dem Augenblicke an, wo er sich von der Natur lossagt, auf die unerfreulichsten Abwege geräth und nicht selten den Hirngespinsten und Traumgeburten zu verfallen pflegt, ebenso theilt es mit der Natur jene beiden großen Richtungen: die eine in das stille Reich der Sitte und des Geseßes, wo es alsdann in lieblicher Ruhe und Selbstbeschauung eine unabsehbare Reihe stiller Bildungen ausprägt; die zweite dagegen in die gewaltsame Bewegung des Sturmvindes, der Blitze und des Erdbebens, womit die Mutter aller Dinge jene etwanigen Gegensätze, die sich in ihr vorfinden, dem Anscheine nach völlig regellos, im Grunde aber doch wol gesetzmäßig schnell beseitigt und so Zerstörung aus Leben, und Leben aus Zerstörung schafft. —p. 25 he recollects that Goethe, as a peer in the realm of spirits, ought also only to be judged by peers, and likewise calls to mind the passage by Tasso:

> "—wo du das Genie erblickst,
> Erblickst du auch zugleich die Martyrkrone.["]

p. 24. [He] remarks that, though at times some wished to deny that G[oethe] had a feeling for the ethical, that was to judge him according to an alien criterion and to fail to take into account the fact that he despised turning the ethical into a kind of handicraft. "Ihm war auch hier alles nicht Ursprüngliche, alles Angelernte zuwieder, wie jede angelernte Erhebung der Seele, angelernte Philosophie, angelerntes Gebet u: s: w:."—

III Goethes Ansicht der Natur. p. 48. "Ein treuer Beobachter der Natur, wie Goethe überall ist, macht es ihm keine geringe Freude, wenn er unter seinen Münzen auf ein Gesicht stößt, dessen Züge dem Inhalte einzelner Handlungen, wie sie uns die Geschichte von diesen oder jenen Personen meldet, gleichsam zur Auslegung dienen. Bei seiner Naturaliensamlung ging er ebenso zu Werke. Wie er die Natur gleichsam auf der That ertappen möchte, auf diesen Punct waren von jeher alle seine Betrachtungen, alle seine Beschau-

17 wo du . . . Martyrkrone] *German,* where you see the genius, you also see the martyr's crown. **22** Ihm war . . . Gebet u: s: w:] *German,* Here also he detested everything unoriginal, everything done halfway, every halfway elevation of the soul, halfway philosophy, halfway prayer, etc. **26** Ein treuer . . . Vorwelt] *German,* Faithful observer of nature that Goethe always was, it gave him no little joy when among his coins he stumbled on a face, the features of which contained various stories that tell us of the actions of these and other persons and that, as it were, interpret them. He went to work in precisely this way with his collection of natural objects. He liked to catch nature in the act, so to speak, and so each and every one of his observations and examinations were directed at precisely this point. The smallest object, from this point of view, could strike him as remarkable. An altogether organic remnant of a partly vanished prior world.

ungen derselben gerichtet. Der kleinste Gegenstand konnte ihm von dieser Seite merkwürdig werden. Vollends organische Ueberbleibsel aus einer zum Theil untergegangenem Vorwelt."

IV Goethe's wissenschaftliche Ansichten. Wieland's death and burial provided the occasion for him to speak about the immortality of the soul (Monads). p. 53. "Sie wissen længst, hub er an, daß Ideen die eines festen Fundaments in der Sinnenwelt entbehren, bei all' ihrem übrigen Werthe für mich keine Uberzeugung mit sich führen, weil ich, der Natur gegenüber, wissen nicht aber blos vermuthen und glauben will." Upon Falk's question as to whether the transitions from these states would, for the monads, be connected with consciousness, he answered p. 60 "Daß es einen allgemeinen historischen Überblick, sowie daß es höhere Naturen, als wir selbst, unter den Monaden geben könne, will ich nicht in Abrede seyn. Die Intention einer Weltmonade kann und wird Manches aus dem dunkeln Schoose ihrer Erinnerung hervorbringen, das wie Weissagung aussieht und doch im Grunde nur dunkle Erinnerung eines abgelaufenen Zustandes, folglich Gedachtniß ist; völlig wie das menschliche Genie die Gesetztafelen über die Entstehung des Weltalls entdeckte, nicht durch trockne Anstrengung sondern durch einen ins Dunkel fallenden Blitz der Erinnerung, weil es bei deren Abfassung selbst zugegen war." He shows how faith can be connected to knowledge: "Damit ist aber keinesweges gesagt, daß durch diese Beschränkung unserer Naturbetrachtungen auch dem Glauben Schranken gesetzt wäre. Im Gegentheil kann, bei der Unmittelbarkeit göttlicher Gefühle in uns, der Fall gar leicht eintreten, daß das Wissen als Stückwerk besonders auf einem Planeten erscheinen muß, der aus seinem ganzen Zusammenhange

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6 Sie wissen . . . glauben will] *German,* As you well know, ideas that lack a firm foundation in the world of the senses, whatever other value they may have, carry no conviction for me, because in my dealings with nature I wish to know, not merely to surmise and believe. **12** Daß es . . . zugegen war] *German,* I have nothing against the idea that among the monads there could be a general historical overview as well as a nature higher than ourselves. The intentionality of a world monad can and will produce much from the dark recesses of its recollection—things that look like prophecy, but are in reality nothing but the dark recollection of a previous state, and thus memory. [This is] exactly as human genius discovered the table of laws governing the coming-into-being of the World-All, not through sterile striving, but rather through a lightning flash of recollection illuminating the darkness, because at its composition it was itself against it. **23** Damit ist aber keinesweges . . . ausgemittelt werden] *German,* But it by no means follows that these limitations of our study of nature also set limits to faith. On the contrary, the immediacy of divine intuitions within us is such that it may very well come to appear that our knowledge is but in part, especially here on a planet whose whole connection with the sun has been severed, and on which all philosophy must therefore remain imperfect, requiring for this very reason that faith should supplement and complete it. Provided only we start from the principle that knowledge and faith are not meant to cancel each other out but to complete each other, we shall surely be on the right road to truth in all things.

mit der Sonne herausgerissen, alle und jede Betrachtung unvollkommen läßt, die eben darum erst durch den Glauben ihre vollständige Ergänzung erhält." "Sobald man nur von dem Grundsatz ausgeht, dass Wissen und Glauben nicht dazu dasind, um einander aufzuheben, sondern um einander zu ergänzen, so wird schon überall das Rechte ausgemittelt werden." As concerns world history he conceived the origin of states as something that, just as every other product of nature, had to develop instinctually from a given seed—something to which the natural [surroundings,] mountains, climate, rivers[,] etc. contribute. No more than a human being can abandon its natural environment can a state give up its mountains and its rivers in order to satisfy a mere idea, thereby laying down for itself conditions that would annihilate its essence. He pointed out the great differences that exist between those capital cities that formed naturally as a result of a people congregating in that place around their king and those laid out according to some clever architect's plan: "Die ersten haben trotz ihren engen Straßen, immer etwas freundlich Einladendes; während die Andern, trotz aller Regelmässigkeit, nach dem ersten Eindrucke etwas Erkältendes und Eintöniges."

Zweiter Anhang. Uber Goethes Faust. Ein Fragment zur Erlaüterung des obigen Gartengespräches.

1. Vom Universalleben der Natur, wie es, durch Goethe aufgefaßt, besonders im Faust erscheint. He begins with a couple words about the prosaic manner in which our poets understand nature and uses Schiller's words to describe them:

> Unbekannt mit ihres Schöpfers Ehre,
> Gleich dem trägen Schlag der Pendeluhr,
> Dient sie knechtisch dem Gesetz der Schwere
> Die entgötterte Natur.

shows how this does not apply to Goethe and how precisely his objectivity lies in the way in which he penetrates into nature. 107

17 Die ersten . . . Eintöniges] *German,* Despite their narrow streets, the former always have something friendly and inviting; whereas the latter, despite all their orderliness, have on first impression something cold and boring. **27** Unbekannt . . . entgötterte Natur] *German,* Unacquainted with their Creator's honor, like the sluggish strike of the pendulum clock, slavishly they serve the laws of gravity, nature stripped of the divine.

7 *Goethes Leben von Dr: Heinrich Döring zweite ergänzte Ausgabe Weimar 1833.*

p. 161. "Mehrere poetische Pläne von größerem Umfange beschäftigten damals die Seele des Dichters, aber die Lust zur Ausführung fehlte. Dahin gehörte der Gedanke, die Geschichte des ewigen Juden, die sich Goethen schon früh durch die Volksbücher eingeprägt hatte, episch zu behandeln, *und an diesem Leitfaden die hervorstechenden Puncte der Religions und Kirchengeschichte darzustellen.["]* [a]??? 1

Also here on p. 459ff. there is a complete chronological bibliography of Goethe's writings as well as a complete listing of the authors who have written on Goethe.

3 Mehrere . . . darzustellen] *German,* At that time the soul of the poet [i.e., Goethe] busied itself on several poetic planes of more extensive reach, but the desire for execution was lacking. It thus occurred to Goethe to treat the history of the Wandering Jew, which had influenced him from early on through folk literature, epically, and in this manner to present the most striking points of the history of religion and the Church.

Addenda to my previous excerpts of Falk. p. 79 and ff.: "Wie Goethe **8**
nach Obigem, alles An und Eingelerhnte nicht liebte, so behauptete
er auch, alle Philosophie müsse geliebt und gelebt werden, wenn
sie für das Leben Bedeutsamkeit gewinnen wolle. Lebt man denn
aber überhaupt noch in diesem Zeitalter? fügt er hinzu. Der Stoi-

1 Wie Goethe . . . zu keinem Resultate] *German,* Just as Goethe had no love of halfway knowledge and rote learning (as said above), so too he also claimed that all philosophy must be loved and lived if it were to acquire significance for life. And yet, he added, does anyone in this time know what it means to live? The Stoic, the Platonist, the Epicurean—each in his own way had to be quit of the world. This is precisely the task of life, which no one, whatever school he may belong to, can avoid. The philosophers, for their part, can present nothing to us except forms of life. How we adopt these, whether we, by way of our nature or abilities, are able to fill these in with the necessary content—that is our affair. We must test ourselves and with the utmost care investigate everything that we take into ourselves from the outside; otherwise, either we get lost in philosophy or philosophy goes to ruin in us. Strict moderation, e.g., Kant's, required a philosophy that was suited to his innate temperament. If you read about his life you will soon find how cleverly he trims up and arranges his stoicism—which in fact constitutes a sharp contrast to social relations—to put it in equilibrium with the world. Each individual has, by means of his inclinations, a right to first principles that do not destroy him as an individual. Here or nowhere one is to seek the origin of philosophy. Zeno and the Stoics were present in Rome long before their writings came into being. It was the Romans' crude manner of thought that, teaching them to scorn all pain and every sacrifice, paved the way for their great heroes and military deeds. That same manner of thought had to create fundamental principles that imposed such demands on human nature as well as to awaken the inclination and willing response amongst them. Each system succeeds, even Cynicism, as soon as the real hero appears within it having forsaken the world. Only what is mediocre in human nature trembles at the contradiction. The one born to it knows how, everywhere, to create access for himself and not infrequently conquers his contrary with the most fortunate result. Hence it is no wonder that Wieland's delicate nature could be both drawn toward the aristippitic philosophy and, on the other hand, quite legitimately declare its decisive aversion to Diogenes and all Cynicism—and that he could do so for the same reason. A mindset such as Wieland's, born with a sense of the fragility of all forms, cannot possibly find satisfaction as a system in the continual violation of the same. We must first be in accord within ourselves before we are in a position, if not to eliminate, then at least partially to smooth out the disharmonies that impinge on us from the outside.

I maintain that eclectics will arise even within philosophy; and where eclecticism comes forth from the inner nature of the human being, it also is good, and I shall make no objection against it. It is often the case that human beings, according to their innate tendencies, are half Stoics and half Epicureans! It would thus be no surprise to me at all if such people took up within themselves the fundamental principles of both systems—indeed, sought to reconcile them with one another if possible. Something else, however, is that spiritlessness that, out of a lack of any of its own determination, carries back to the nest, like grackles, whatever it may chance upon to find, thereby setting itself outside all living relation to a whole as something dead from the start. None of these philosophies are good for anything in the world because they do not proceed from results and thus neither do they lead to a result.

ker, der Platoniker, der Epikuräer, jeder muß auf seine Weise mit der Welt fertig werden; das ist ja eben die Aufgabe des Lebens, die Keinem, zu welcher Schule er sich auch zähle, erlassen wird. Die Philosophen können uns ihrerseits nichts als Lebensformen darbieten. Wie diese nun für uns passen, ob wir, unserer Natur oder unseren Anlagen nach, ihnen den erfoderlichen Gehalt zu geben im Stande sind, das ist unsere Sache. Wir müssen uns prüfen und Alles, was wir von Außen in uns hereinnehmen, wie Narungsmittel auf das sorgsamste untersuchen; sonst gehen entweder wir an der Philosophie, oder die Philosophie geht an uns zu Grunde. Die stränge Mäßigkeit, z. B: Kant's, foderte eine Philosophie, die diesen seinen angeborenen Neigungen gemäß war. Leset sein Leben, und ihr werdet bald finden, wie artig er seinem Stoicismus, der eigl. mit den gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen einen schneidenden Gegensatz bildete, die Schärfe nahm, ihn zurechtlegte und mit der Welt ins Gleichgewicht setzte. Jedes Individuum hat vermittelst seiner Neigungen ein Recht zu Grundsätzen, die es als Individuum nicht aufheben. Hier oder nirgend wird wol der Ursprung aller
108 Philosophie zu suchen sein. Zeno und die Stoiker waren längst in Rom vorhanden, eh' ihre Schriften dahin kamen. Dieselbe rauhe Denkart der Römer, die ihnen zu großen Helden- und Waffenthaten den Weg bahnte und sie allen Schmerz, jede Aufopferung verachten lehrte, mußte auch Grundsätzen, die gleich verwandte Foderungen an die Natur des Menschen aufstellten, bei ihnen ein geneigtes und williges Gehör verschaffen. Es gelingt jedem Systeme, sogar dem Cynismus, sobald nur der rechte Held darin auftritt, mit der Welt fertig zu werden. Nur das Angelernte der menschlichen Natur scheitert meist am Widerspruche; das ihr Angeborene weiß sich überall Eingang zu verschaffen, und besiegt sogar nicht selten mit dem glücklichsten Erfolge seinen Gegensatz. Es ist sonach kein Wunder, daß die zarte Natur von Wieland sich der aristippischen Philosophie zuneigt, sowie auf der andern Seite seine so entschiedene Abneigung gegen Diogenes und alle Cynismus aus der nämlichen Ursache sich sehr befriedigend erklären läßt. Ein Sinn, mit dem die Zierlichkeit aller Formen wie bei Wieland, geboren ist, kann unmöglich an einer beständigen Verletzung derselben als System Wohlgefallen finden. Erst müssen wir im Einklange mit uns selbst sein, ehe wir Disharmonien, die von Außen auf uns zudringen, wo nicht zu heben, doch wenigstens einigermaßen auszugleichen im Stande sind."

["]Ich behaupte, daß sogar Eklektiker in der Philosophie geboren werden; und wo der Eklekticismus aus der innern Natur des Men-

schen hervorgeht, ist er ebenfalls gut, und ich werde ihm nie einen Vorwurf machen. Wie oft gibt es Menschen, die ihren angeborenen Neigungen nach, halb Stoiker und halb Epicuræer sind! Es wird mich daher auch keinesweges befremden, wenn diese die Grundsätze beider Systeme in sich aufnehmen; ja sie miteinander möglichst zu vereinigen suchen. Etwas Anderes ist diejenige Geistlosigkeit, die aus Mangel an aller eigenen innern Bestimmung, wie Dohlen, Alles zu Neste trägt, was ihr von irgend einer Seite zufällig dargeboten wird, und sich eben dadurch als ein ursprünglich Todtes außer aller Beziehung mit einem lebensvollen Ganzen setzt. Alle diese Philosophien taugen in der Welt nichts; denn weil sie aus keinen Resultaten hervorgehen, so führen sie auch zu keinem Resultate."—

It is also quite remarkable that Goethe was not entirely free of a **9**
kind of superstition. cf. *Anhang zu J. W. Goethes Leben von H. Döring.*
Weimar 1833. It says that he died on March 22, 1832, and then [it 109
says] the following on p. 28: "Jenen Tag, an welchem sieben Jahre früher das Schauspielhaus in Weimar abgebrannt war, hatte Goethe immer für einen tragischen und ungluckssschwangern Tag gehalten; and then in the note: Goethe bekannte sich überhaupt zu dem Glauben an ein Vorhereintreten kleiner Unglücksfälle vor einem größeren. Als auf einer Reise mit seinen Freunde, dem kürzlich verstorbenen Hofrath Meyer, nicht fern von der Stadt Baden, der Wagen auf ebener Straße umschlug, und der Begleiter verletzt wurde, kehrte Goethe zugleich zurück, und brachte den Sommer in dem kleinen Badeorte Tennstädt zu. Durch diesen Glauben geleitet gieng er zuweilen bis in das scheinbar Kleinliche. In seiner Stube hieng ein gewönlicher Wandkalender, welcher durch ein Futteral von Pappendeckel gegen Verunreinigung geschützt war. Er würde großes Bedenken getragen haben, an einem Tage, dessen Stelle auf diesem Kalender beschmutzt war, etwas bedeutendes anzufangen."—

17 Jenen Tag . . . anzufangen] *German,* That day, on which the theater in Weimar had burned down seven years earlier, Goethe had always regarded as a tragic and unlucky day. And then in the note: Goethe professed above all the belief in the importance of small accidents over large ones. When on a trip with his friend (the recently deceased Hofrath Meyer), not far from the city of Baden, his wagon overturned on a level street, injuring his companion, he immediately turned back and spent the summer in the small resort town of Tennstädt. He sometimes got carried away with this faith to the point of triviality. He kept a calendar hanging on the wall in his room, which he protected from becoming soiled by means of a pasteboard sheath. He would harbor grave suspicions that something of significance was going to begin on any day whose spot on the calendar had become dirtied.

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10 *Baggesen's Collected Works.*

5th volume p. 472. ("The Ghost and Himself")

"Did even Odysseus see more diverse peoples and places,
and rare scenes, and strange customs,
Playing about on his comrade's grave,
Than did Cook from pole to pole upon the world's wide ocean?
Each age has its struggles, its victories, its heroes,
Its epos within itself. In the standard of the Cross
A Tasso sees the muse's magic belt,
Soon the Middle Ages also have their Homer—
The goddess is always the same;
But the belt she enthralls the heart with,
By which she alone can enkindle our whole soul,
Must bear the mark of the song's time and place."

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11 There is a quite remarkable passage from a medieval poem, one I have never read or seen referred to, but merely heard of. It was called "the dance of the dead" or something like that. In it, death is represented as dancing with different people, which provides the opportunity for some dialogue to be blended in until death also comes up to a crib in which a small child lies. Death leans over the crib and offers to dance, but the child answers:

"Hr. Todt, das kann ich nicht verstahn:
Ich soll tanzen und kann noch nicht gahn."

1836.

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12 A saying that is quite remarkable; I don't know its source, but it bears the inward stamp of the sort of utterance that, as it were, issues from the mouth of an entire people: A despairing sinner awakens in Hell and exclaims, "What time is it?" The Devil replies, " "Eternity."

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23 Hr. Todt . . . nicht gahn] *German,* Mr. Death, this is something I cannot understand: I am supposed to dance, but cannot even walk yet.

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13

Volkslieder der Serben, metrisch übersetzt und historisch eingeleitet v. Talvi. Zwei Bände zweite Auflage. Halle und Leipzig 1835.

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14 *Erzählungen und Märchen herausgegeben v. Friederich. Heinrich v. der Hagen. 1ster Band. Prenzlau 1825.*

In the 2nd volume of this collection (Prenzlau 1826) *on p. 325, there is a Serbian story* titled "Bärensohn." A note points out that there are the Männer-Erzählung "die serbischen Märchen theilen sich nämlich, wie die serbischen Lieder, in Männer und Frauen-Erzählungen.["] There is a story, for example, about how some women went into the forest and one of them lost her way. She came to a cave where a bear lay, whereupon the bear pulled her into the cave and fathered a son with her. There is a striking similarity between this story and certain stories and fairy tales told here in the Nordic countries about Thor. At the age of 15 the boy had to submit to a test of his strength before he would be allowed to leave the bear for good. So he went off on a journey and distinguished himself in his travels by his talent and ability to eat. In a bet he wins some oxen and plows, but he declares that he has no need of the oxen, but conversely, he asks them to gather up the iron, which he throws on his back and takes to a blacksmith to have reworked, etc. He then meets a farmer and again seeks to enter into an eating contest. Before touching the food, however, the farmer commands him to cross himself and say 'In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.' After doing this he became full after having eaten only half of the food on hand. At this, he declares that he wishes to marry the farmer's daughter. But she is already engaged to "Großschnurbarthen," whom he then wants to kill. However, while he is still speaking, the left half of a man's moustache, containing 366 bird nests, suddenly appears with much noise and racket. Finally, Großschn. arrives and lays his head in the girl's lap "und sie fing an ihm die Läuse zu knicken" At this Bärensohn gets up angrily and strikes Großschn, but he [Großschnurbarthen] runs his finger across the spot where he had been struck and says: Du hier krabbelt ein Laus." Bärensohn strikes him again on the skull, but Großschn says again to the girl: "you are blind, the louse is biting me here." At this the girl makes him aware that it was no louse, but rather a man; he then pounces up and chases after him. Bärensohn flees and comes to a river but thinks that it is too deep for anyone to cross. So he calls out to a man
113 who was sowing wheat: tell me, how shall I get to the other side? To this the man answers: "ich will dich retten, komm nur auf meine

4 Bärensohn] *German,* Bear's Son **5** Männer-Erzählung] *German,* men's stories **5** die serbischen Märchen . . . Frauen-Erzählungen] *German,* Serbian fairy tales, like Serbian songs, are in fact divided into those of men and those of women. **24** Großschnurbarthen] *German,* Large Moustache **28** und sie fing . . . zu knicken] *German,* and she began to pluck lice from him. **31** Du hier krabbelt ein Laus] *German,* Hey, a louse is crawling here. **38** ich will . . . meine Schaufel] *German,* I will rescue you, just get on my shovel.

Schaufel," whereupon he threw him across to the other side. At this point Großschn. arrives and inquires after him and the man tells him he jumped across to the other side. B[ä]rensohn then comes to a large field where there is a man with a pack on his shoulders with Turkish wheat in it; the man continually casts one handful of wheat onto the ground and another handful into his mouth. He then hides Bärensohn in his pack, but soon forgets him, so that that he gets thrown into his mouth with the handful of wheat. Bärensohn then attempts to escape by creeping into a cavity in the farmer's tooth. When the sower arrives back at home he asks his wife to bring him a toothpick after which she brings a large iron rod and they pluck him out. And thus ends a little narrative about how the farmer had gotten this cavity in his tooth.—

It is a unique, completely naive and childlike tone that permeates the whole story, something that can be seen especially in the many contradictions relating to the determination of the sizes of the different persons who appear in the poem. Beyond that, as said, it has a striking resemblance to the Nordic [folktales], which can perhaps be saved for a later time.

1 [a]cf. Mag. Hamerich on Ragnarok p. 93. note.

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15 aesthetic miscellanies.

No. 2.

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cf. previous notebook.— **16**
In the first of the volumes discussing *Erzählungen,* there are also a number of Arabic (pp. 1–48) and Italian (pp. 48–66) stories, etc. a very interesting ghost story titled: "Der heilige Drei Königs Abend"; one more morally oriented "Erkenne Dich selbst, so erkennen Dich die Andern." Really interesting is a story about "Virgilius der Zauberer." There are two plays relating to him, one following an old manuscript, the other (pp. 156–209) from an old Dutch folkbook.

In the second volume there are also a number of Arabic stories, many of which are already known, but one of which I wish to highlight, namely, "Harun Arreschyd und die beiden Bettler,["] one of the most enjoyable little stories I have read in a long time and which contains a fine irony upon the person who does not trust in providence but rather in hum. beings, and therefore initially seems to win, but later loses. After this there is a long novel with the title "Geschichte des Prinzen Kalaf und der Prinzessin Turandokt," which really bored me with its strange contrast btw. an excess of action, set alongside overly drawn-out, boring, and trivial dialogue. Even in the particulars I found nothing of interest to me. And yet there was one really interesting situation to report. The horrible princess (T.) has made it a condition for every would-be suitor that he shall solve a riddle, or lose his head. A very young prince has just been executed, and at this very execution Kalaf meets a man who is in complete despair over it. This man is the prince's butler who, in his despair, casts away the image, the image of the terrible beauty, which Kalaf naturally picks up. However, because he unfortunately gets lost and it is dark, he has to wait the entire night, burning with desire to see this beauty.—Beyond this, in all of this collection there is actlly nothing very noteworthy that relates to my project. The whole of it is altogether too insignificant and there isn't much of that excellence that expresses the life of a people in a specific direction.

Viel Lärmen um Nichts. von Joseph Freiherren v. Eichendorff und: **Die mehreren Wehmüller und ungarischen Nationalgesichter v. Clemens Brentano. Zwei Novellen. Berlin 1833.** **17**

The first of these novellas belongs to that movement, headed by 117 the Schlegels, which began as the effort to bring back the medieval

4 Der heilige Drei Königs Abend] *German,* Twelfth Night **5** Erkenne Dich . . . die Andern] *German,* Know Yourself and You Will Know Others **6** Virgilius der Zauberer] *German,* Virgilius the Magician **11** Harun . . . Bettler] *German,* Harun al-Rashid and the Two Beggars **15** Geschichte . . . Turandokt] *German,* Story of Prince Kalaf and Princess Turandokt

age of chivalry. Because this tendency began by abandoning actual life in order to dream itself back into a vanished one, the situation [it produced] became even more closed up and anxious (rather than refreshing and strengthening life, as it sought to do) because at the time it stirred a counter reaction such that the attempt to remove oneself from the world became even stronger, initially with a tendency that aimed to forget the present, but that nevertheless felt the pressure of the times. What is also very remarkable is the irony permeating the whole, which mocks particular individuals, or larger groups of individuals, wherever a certain sentimentality is found; [or,] wherever some external circumstance, in all its prosaic plainness, calls forth a comic contradiction. It is the sort of humor that Hoffman has developed to such a high degree [when he], with such mercilessness, exposes the nullity hiding behind sentimentality. As an example of this in the present text, I can straightaway point to the beginning where Prince Romano travels incognito and arrives at [Mr.] Publicum's castle, where he is surprised by a large display of fireworks. He turns to his traveling companion with the remark p. 3: "Meine Nähe und unser Entschluß hier einzusprechen muß auf dem Schlosse verrathen sein." (Irony) The whole thing is a mistake, the fireworks are in honor of Aurora. cf. p. 3. where a golden lyre appears in the fireworks surrounded by a laurel wreath, at which point the prince bursts out, "Zart-sinnig," thinking of himself. (Irony). At this point the prince presumably assumes the posture to deliver his solemn procession speech, when all of a sudden his horse takes fright and takes off running, throwing him right in front of Mr. Publicum's feet, etc. Also where Faber and Leontin show up, whom Romano engages in order to serenade Aurora, and the window opens and a large fat person (Mr. Publicum) appears, yawning, to thank them. Also the long beautiful story of his life that Willibald gives to great acclaim. In this, the first irony is that this angel, this constant supernatural beauty, who plays the principal role, is herself personally present, without Willibald suspecting it. The second [irony] is that when he has finally come to the end of his story the guests have fallen asleep at precisely the point at which he believes he has expressed something of the deepest part of his existence. And also the whole happening at Count Leontin's castle, etc. Something else that gives the novella is its unique characteristic is the simultaneous tearing away from actual life and then again the continuous conflict with actual [life]; it strikes me as a great piece in which the surrounding world suddenly breaks into a life spent living in the imagination and looking back to the past, like the

19 Meine Nähe . . . verrathen sein] *German,* My proximity and our decision to spend the night must have been made known in the castle. **23** Zart-sinnig] *German,* delicate

chorus in Shakespeare, or, like a dance of elves in the moonlight, where the silence is suddenly broken by a drowsy farmer's "giddy up!"

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18 *Lectures on Contemporary Danish Poetry, by Molbech. 1st Part. Copenhagen, 1832.*

They begin with Evald. After some general remarks on the relation between poetry and folklife and related observations on our Danish poetry. When on p. 18 he suggests that poetry ought to be stamped significantly by folklife, whereas art by contrast should not be: "Works of art .... everywhere are equally accessible for anyone who has an eye gifted with artistic taste. When standing in front of an Apollo in Belvedere, a holy family by Raphael, or a landscape by Claude Lorrain, no one asks whether the one looking is Spanish or English."

And yet this does not seem to be the case. For even if a person could perfectly speak a language in which some poetic work was written, but had never lived in the nation from which it sprang forth, he would always lack something—[namely], the individual character of the folklife which had fructified it. Similarly, in art one could very well look at an artistic piece, but the unique impression, the inward understanding of, for example, a Raphael, which we may imagine his contemporary generation possessed, we shall never receive. With respect to us, as viewers, a certain historical side becomes more and more relevant—one thinks things were a certain way for those people; and yet one can certainly imagine varying degrees concerning "the extent to which" it is possible to enter into that nationality. But one will never acquire an impression as full and adequate as those who have imbibed the ideas that make up that nationality with their mother's milk. Therefore it seems rather narrow-minded to apply this insight only to poetry as a function of language because it follows, as a matter of course, that if one is to understand the poem, one has to speak the language. That is why I immediately posited that one could speak the language.

p. 220. Where he comments on "the fishermen," where he calls attention to the weakness of the objection that Evald's fishermen do not speak like normal men. For it was not just the particular bold and noble deeds of Hornbeck's fishermen that Evald wanted to represent on stage, but rather the total condition, whose activities and way of life are already tinged by a more poetic quality than that of a farmer or craftsman. His drama also contains the idea for a poetic representation of the Danish sailor, his undaunted courage in the face of all dangers, even death itself in its most threatening form; his

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bold courage that scoffs at every obstacle in the struggle with his wild element; his good-natured, unselfish love for his fellow hum. being, alongside the carefree contempt for possessions, which for the sailor usually is accompanied by need and want. This image, which here is tied to the more local presentation of scenes from the lives of the fishermen that the poet had come to know through his frequent stays along the coasts of Øresund, had a poetic purpose that could only have tuned Evald's spirit, filled with a glowing love of fatherland, to a higher lyrical enthusiasm than what is required by a subject that is merely idyllic and moving.

p. 228. "The Ballad of 'Little Gunver'["] is a crystal-clear portrait of a melancholic, desirous, erotic lyrical mood—and yet, it is also a poem of bare, objective nature, which is such a rare phenomenon in Evald's poetry. The ballad's delightful fancy lies no less in its simple nobility than in that objective naturalness that the poet knew how to put together with his own unique stamp of originality." A parallel is drawn in this regard between it and Goethe's "der Fischer."

p. 247. [There] are some remarks on how to utilize the prose of bourgeois life within a poetic representation[:] "one has either adopted a standpoint from which to look down upon the life of the common person with a certain superiority and haughtily mocking glance (the citizens in Goethe's *Egmont*. Farmers or other village people and so-called boors in Kozebue's farce)" .... or one "has tried to emphasize the nobler side of the peasant's life, the pure nature, the rustic innocence, with its uncorrupted customs and ingenuous simplicity, in order thereby to present them in a morally compelling contrast to the upper classes, whose lives are corrupted by vice and plagued by worries and cares."—

p. 262. "In that year, 1764, when Evald's poetic activity had for the first time really been awakened, Jens Imanuel Baggesen was born to a life that, more than any other Danish poet, was so stirring, so rich, so manifold and romantic in content, so remarkable in its composition, so changeable in its forms. A veritable Proteus was B. in his poetry, the basic tone of which is precisely a continual hovering at the border between seriousness and irony. Thus, one can also say that his life and destiny was an eternally fluctuating movement without rest, a ceaseless sinking and rising a continual contrast between the high and the low, the light and the dark, between shin-

ing good fortune and the tedium of bitter sorrow and bad fortune that were woven into this.

Lectures by Molbech 2nd Part.

March. 1836.

NOTEBOOK 4

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1 *Rheinwald Repertorium vol. 17*

p. 113 "Quaestionum scholasticarum specimen 1, quo doctorum scholasticorum placita de gratia et merito examinavit[″] F. G. Rettberg. Gottingae 36.4^{to}. The scholastics were semi-Pelagians, notwithstanding the fact that they differed from Cassian, inasmuch as they taught that div. grace initiated works (Cassian the reverse) but then [they] divided the work of renewal rather equally between God and hum. beings. Augustine, by contrast, ascribed everything to God alone; Pelagius, to hum. beings. The unbiblical aspect of his [Pelagius's] teaching was to call the hum. share not merely freedom, but also merit. The task of scholasticism was to reconcile merit and grace. Grace had to be partly gratis data, partly gratum faciens, and merit partly meritum de congruo, partly de condigno. The process of salvation then becomes the following: 1) gratia gratis data 2) meritum de congruo 3) gratia gratum faciens 4) m. de condigno.

#

2 The Alexandrians' teaching on δικαιοσυνη σωτηριος as that in which God's justice includes grace, where freedom from sin and from punishment coincide.—(same volume p. 105, line 13 from bottom)

Benecke *der Brief Pauli an die Römer* Heidelberg 1831.—

3 *Lectures on the Introduction to Speculative Dogmatics*
by
Marthensen.
The Winter Semester. 37 & 38.

1st Lecture

Nov. 15

126 A previous age (the Middle Ages) demanded that the theologian, as theologian, should be a philosopher; [and] the philosopher, as philosopher, a theologian. Later separated. Now again united.—spec[ulative] d[ogmatics] is Christian metaphysics—the actl core knowledge and vision of the depths of God—the other theological standpoints are peripheral.—it is theology par excellence. it is the

12 gratis data . . . de condigno] *abbreviations; see next footnote* **14** 1) grata gratis data . . . 4) m. de condigno] *Latin,* 1) grace given gratis (i.e., freely, for nothing in return) 2) merit in accordance with agreement, reasonable merit 3) grace that saves 4) appropriate, fully deserved merit **17** δικαιοσυνη σωτηριος] *Greek,* saving justice

unity of speculation and tradition—it is faith's highest consciousness—it is the living concept of the theologian.—

Is it possible? Initially, it is shown negatively that other standpoints do not satisfy:

a) *the biblical-ecclesial*. (Protestants and Catholics) end in a circle. One must believe the Church or the scriptures by virtue of inspiration; and one must believe the inspiration by virtue of the scriptures or the Church.—in the end the testimonium sp. Sancti is called upon; yet this proof remains purely personal, and the positive element in this standpoint ends in pure subjectivity.

b.) *The standpoint of faith*. (it immediately becomes aware of this difficulty and, unlike what preceded it, it starts from the positive in that standpoint, depending upon it [the positive] securely, until it [the positive] is reduced to subjectivity.) suffers from the same mistake

c) *vulgar rationalism*. denies all objective knowledge. *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*.

Objections against speculative d[ogmatics] are made from these three standpoints:

a) Xnty is positive and historical. lacks spirit.

b.) Xnty is a matter of faith, of the heart and of life
c.) human knowledge is purely subjective.
} lacks: Father and Son

(Marheinecke).

2nd Lecture. **4**

Nov. 17, 37.

a). Chr[istianity] is positive and historical. it must be adhered to as such. The truth is altered with the advent of knowledge. Here we encounter the same question that is treated within auth[entic] philosophy under the title of the relation betw. the subjective and the objective.—it is the question of whether the truth remains altogether indifferent to the knowing subject. Without light the eye would not exist; but also without the eye light would not exist. One acknowledges that the good exists only to the extent that one does it; but similarly, the truth exists only to the extent one has knowledge of it *(Baader)*. An unknown God would be no God. Something of this standpoint is perhaps also recognized in the doctrine of the kingdom of heaven—for this standpoint of course requires not only Christ's presence at one specific point in time, but also that "he 127

8 testimonium sp. Sancti] *Latin,* testimony of the Holy Spirit

be born into the heart of every believer," something that requires his ubiquity in the Church. But this ideal presence of Christ is supposed to pertain only to faith—not to knowledge, with respect to which one remains indifferent.—

Note: It is this difference betw. the understanding[s] of the object that is at the basis of the separation between Catholics and Protestants. The object is the same (the articles of faith, etc.) but the former do everything to keep the object outside the subject. (Inspiration—Pope); the latter seek to penetrate into it.—

With this, however, the objection turns into the second standpoint

b) Xnty is a matter of faith and of the heart. not a matter of knowledge. This standpoint has a negative relationship to dogma—e.g., the Trinity—the sacrament of communion—the union rlly derives from such an indifferentism.—This standpoint therefore acquires an infinite multiplicity of nuances.

c). The whole of hum. knowledge is merely finite. At bottom a contradiction, for the infinite is the boundary of the finite, and thus I must know something of the infinite.

A Propaedeutic.

A phenomenology.—. (this is what *Rosenkrants* calls Daub's last writing: *die Selbstsucht etc*.)

Protagoras "man is the measure of all things."—
(Hegel. also *Oedip*.).

"the measure you give will be the measure you get."

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5 3rd Lecture.

Nov. 22

Phenomenology is thus the presentation of the development of science insofar as its goal is self-consciousness. The relation betw. subject and object, but the object here is Xt. Now, from the standpoint of faith one could perhaps say here: yes, Xt is the goal everything tends toward (here is the absolute identity of revelation and self-consciousness). Yet this Xt must again be taken up and translated in us. Here one immediately encounters the difficulty: Which is the absolute Xt[?] [J]ust as art gives us different images of Xt, so also does knowledge. Here indeed lies the difference between Catholics and Protestants. They are in agreement on the rlly factual elements, on the articles of faith, also on the third [article] concerning

"the Spirit" insofar as it is considered as the third person in the div[ine]; but as soon as it becomes a question of appropriation, they diverge; but the Spirit is indeed precisely the subjective principle whereby the objective is translated into concrete consciousness— the same thing can also be seen in lesser instances, a Xt in the spirit of an Anselm is different from that in the [spirit of] a Böhme. (the first more purely historical; the latter much more ideal, conceived much more in his infinite historical and ideal ubiquity.).

To the extent that its goal is self-consciousness, a theological phenomenology is thus the development of theological knowledge.

(One could also take phenomenology in a broader sense to encompass the totality of history because it concerns not merely the intellectual, but also, e.g., the ethical consciousness. Hegel referred to the first edition of the *Phenomenology* as his initial circumnavigation of the world.—later he restricted himself only to scientific consciousness.)

it is not C[hurch] history that develops the concrete manifestations of Xn freedom, not history of dogma that occupies itself with the content itself, not symbolics that develops the controversies, even though the latter two based themselves upon it.

Quicquid cognoscitur cognoscitur per modum cognoscentis. 129

1 [a](Baader.)

(Hence the significance of the different religious standpoints, the necessary stages of self-consciousness.—

[b](Baader.)

the meaning of accommodation—anthropomorphisms. Anthropomorphism has fundamentally the same dialectic as theological phenomenology. To every anthropomorphism there is a corresponding theomorphism.)

Daub's last writing superbly develops supernaturalism and rationalism and pietism.

Phenomenology

1st Stage.

the apostolic C[hurch], where faith and the object of faith converge, its paradisiacal condition.—Yet in the next

27 Quicquid . . . cognoscentis] *Latin,* Everything that is known is known according to the mode of the knower.

stage of development, as in every subsequent one, we have only Xt reflected through the self-consciousness of the apostles into our own [self-consciousness]. Then doubts arise as to whether one also has gotten it right, and the only way one can assure oneself—because at this point the scriptures, which have been subjected to interpretation, are insufficient—is a living, continuous communication with the apostolic Church, which can answer every question at every moment immediately and without reflection:

this is the Catholic Church

But then the doubt arises as to whether the Church really has the object (Reformation), and the more the Church develops the categories of the Church the more it distances itself from its object.

2nd Stage

The Reformation, which gets wind of the fact that the Church does not have the object. Because the living communication has been interrupted, it becomes natural to return to the original.—the Bible—But how shall it be interpreted? through itself, the Reformers answer, forgetting that they themselves brought with them an entire dogmatic system and that they thus move in a circle[:] faith is acquired through the Bible and the Bible is to be interpreted through faith, which is acquired through the Bible. Thus the door is opened to every interpretation and in this way the Reformation implies rationalism.—

> The attempt [to deal] with the Apostles' Creed does not help, because even if one could procure historical certainty, a multitude of interpretations would emerge, and one would thus merely [be] back at the point prior to the historical separation.

3rd Stage.

Xnty is sought within self-consciousness.

[c] I assume it happens because the Church begins to reflect upon itself and, as always happens initially with every reflection, it thereby loses its object. K.

[d] The Bible must be interpreted, and every principle of interpretation has its presupposition. Erdmann.

Lecture 4. **6**

Nov. 24th

The truth is to be sought through an objective medium; but in itself, by means of an infinite ingress, it is rlly a complete putting into practice of the old Protestant testimonium sp. s. This is infinite subjectivity and depends on the fact that the truth is not merely subjective, but also objective; or, in dogmatic language: there is not merely Father and Son, but also Spirit. We have the Spirit in its first form in apostolic inspiration (concerning which it is remarkable that, though the truth was purely objective for the apostles—was palpable, so to speak—they did not understand it; only when it was subjectively translated in consciousness [did they understand it]—*Daub*—*Grundtvig*.) later it was in inspiration, in the Church, in the pope, in councils, etc., but limited to individuals and only present for a time. Finally it is encountered in testimonium sp. s., but this took on the character of a private, personal proof. Hence they are doctrines of the same speculative thought, except that they adopted the wrong attitude with respect to the idea. (In the Middle Ages the Church did not have Spirit, but clergy. *Daub*.). In Protestantism it took on a contingent, personal character. Speculative dogmatics therefore does not break the thread; on the contrary, it acknowledges the complete necessity of the previous stages and furnishes the authentic concept of the tradition.

Method.

Through the content's own dialectic. 131

It must not be said that a standpoint contains something true and something false, for every relative standpoint is just as true as it is false; it contains both itself and its antithesis, is a two-faced Janus.—

It is the third stage that will rlly be the object of these lectures; it is therefore necessary to go through all the phases of self-consciousness.

1 [a]Dogmatics therefore assumed a completely different position in Catholicism than in Protestantism; there were various dogmaticians, 5 just as there were various popes and yet, per successionem *(Daub)*, there was only one pope. in Protestantism each new system had a new horizon.

6 per successionem] *Latin,* successively

6 testimonium sp. s.] *Latin,* testimony of the Holy Spirit

7 5th Lecture.

Nov. 29

Kant.

Cartesius †1650 he said cogito ergo sum and de omnibus dubitandum est and thereby set forth the principle for modern Protestant subjectivity. With the latter proposition, de omnibus dubitandum est, he gave the actual watchword, for by this he indicated, not at all a doubt of this or of that, but of everything; everything was to be set wobbling, not in order to remain in this state of fluctuation, but so that in this way what is finally certain as such would remain[;] thus cogito ergo sum became the absolute identity of thought and being. cogito ergo sum.

this ergo must not be conclusive, for then the proposition would be an imperfect syllogism lacking its major premise omne quod cogitat est; ego cogito; ergo sum. This proposition would therefore be a new presupposition and as such is, in any case, reducible to the latter; ergo is copulative; I think and exist as thinking. This is the only certainty I retain; whereas, with all other thinking, the object of thought can remain external to me, the thinking in which I think myself is absolutely identical with my own being.

Nor is this an empirical "cogito," analogous to ["]I feel,["] ["]I am walking,["] etc., for that would not yield a speculative principle at all.

132 This proposition certainly does not contain much content;—for indeed, in the end nothing remains other than pure, universal, thinking subjectivity; yet this contains the seed of an entire system as well as the first moment of a life-view that posits freedom and self-consciousness in place of tradition and authority. Therefore this proposition has the same dialectic as that which says that man is the measure of all things. It takes nothing into itself other than what coincides with the categories of its own self-consciousness. Yet in so doing there arises the danger of enclosing oneself in the pure thinking of the cogito ergo sum and thereby losing the object. this principle can be expressed differently, e.g., in a spiritualism as, e.g., in Kant and Fichte; in a crude materialism; in mysticism, e.g.,

4 cogito . . . dubitandum est] *Latin,* I think, therefore I am [and] that everything is to be doubted **17** omne . . . ergo sum] *Latin,* everything that thinks exists; I myself think; therefore I exist.

Jacob Böhme; in short, it can range between Faustian haughtiness and the free thinking of God's children.

English Philosophy.

Baco Werulam. It might seem strange that modern English philosophy, which naturally was also deeply influenced by the modern turn toward subjectivity, could to such an extent become an empiricism. Yet this is also a consequence of [that turn]; for human beings, as it were, desired to see with their own eyes and hear with their own ears, which was also a contrast to the tradition.

Locke, who in this way represented the authentic Protestant principle, now made thinking itself into an object of thought; [he] denied all a priori intuitions and traced everything back to experience.

Hume developed this with greater acuity and answered the question of how it was possible to have representations that were generally valid and necessary by saying that this was [the result of] habit and imagination. If one says, e.g., that the sun will rise tomorrow or that human beings are mortal, it may well be probable that the sun will rise and that hum. beings will die, yet one still cannot by any means say this with certainty. If a bullet is fired and an animal falls, one could indeed know both facts, the shot and the fall, and one could also say that it was reasonable that this would happen; one could not, however, say that it was necessary. (The connection is of course inaccessible to experience); yet by denying universal validity and necessity, reason's actual categories, he basically abolished all thinking. 133

1 [a]"The soul is like a tabula rasa; all knowledge is a product of experience."

6th Lecture. **8**

Dec. 1

Then Hume developed a complete skepticism; the most one could achieve with respect to all things was probability; and [he] also carried through this conception of life with respect to morals, which thereby collapsed into convention, and in religion, where Xnty was thus especially to be rejected both because its history,

1 tabula rasa] *Latin,* blank slate

which lay in the past, was improbable (as with all history, the further back one goes, the more difficult it is to verify it and thus the more improbable it is) [and] in part because its reports of miracles, etc. contradicted everyone's experience to the highest degree. Hence he denied the reality of universal validity and necessity, and thus launched an assault upon all truth.
It is to this Humean denial of causality that Kant is historically tied; and in his *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* he raises the question of the extent to which there are synthetic judgments a priori.

With respect to previous metaphysics, Kant is of undying historical significance. The former assumed that one only needed to think the truth, whereas Kant thought that one must first investigate the instrument with which one is to apprehend the truth. This was a discovery similar to that of Copernicus.

He distinguished between analytic and synthetic judgments a priori. The former were those in which the predicate contains only a development of what was already contained in the subject, e.g., all bodies have extension; the latter were those in which the predicate contained something different, e.g., all bodies have weight, or all bodies have a cause.

Such s[ynthetic] j[udgments] a priori could be found within the natural sciences. E.g., that everything has a
134 cause. Every natural scientist must presuppose this, and no experience taught him this. The whole of mathematics depends upon it. Because one begins from a point that is not an object of experience.

the question of the extent to which there is a priori knowledge or the extent to which there is a science thus transforms itself into these three [questions]: to what extent is there a mathematical science[?] to what extent is there a natural science[?] and to what extent a metaphysics[?] (these correspond to sense, understanding, reason).

Mathematics.

When I am to consider a purely logical category of thought, there is nothing given for the senses or intuition; in mathematics, by contrast, there is something

given for intuition and the senses, although not for immed. experience, for nowhere do I experience a pure circle. Mathematical figures are indeed objects for the senses and yet they are not objects for the senses, they are external and yet not extrnl; m[athematics] is the doctrine of the sensible/nonsensible or the nonsensible/sensible. Yet because these nonsensible objects are also sensible, are extrnl, I must have a medium through which I apprehend them, a medium that is sensible and yet not sensible—this is pure space and pure time. These a priori intuitions thus form the basis of all mathematics, but also of all sensing; everything that I apprehend I apprehend through space and time. These are my own categories of thought, the spectacles through which, necessarily, I see the thing; every thing that I apprehend I apprehend through time and space. Thus, K. did not deny the object, but asserted only that my conception of it was conditioned by time and space, which were my own categories of thought and not something that pertained to the thing. His standpoint therefore is idealism, i.e., that thinking determines everything, for what the thing is "an sich," I do not know. It [this thinking] is also transcendental, i.e., it acknowledges its limits. He said, that is, that the claim to know how the matter rlly stands, was transcendent, i.e., it transgressed the necessary boundaries of knowledge; by contrast, the claim to know 135 how we must necessarily represent the thing was transcendental. Thus we have 3 elements: 1) the a priori intuition 2) the a posteriori experience, for K. indeed did not deny the whole world lying outside of us 3) the unknown quantity x, i.e., "or der Ding an sich," which runs throughout the whole system.

7th Lecture. **9**

Dec. 13th

the foregoing dealt with sensibility, or what Kant also called the "rational aesthetic," taking this phrase in a broader sense than is customary, i.e., [in] the doctrine of the beautiful. He also called his system "criticism" in contrast to dogmatism, meaning by the latter, every

22 an sich] *German,* in itself **32** der Ding an sich] *German,* the thing in itself

doctrine that claimed to be in possession of the thing "an sich."

Understanding.

how is a science of experience possible?

By experience K[ant] understood an observation elevated to universal validity and necessity, and hence not every experience. He then answered the question in the same way as the previous [one], by reference to something a priori and constitutive.

Hence, the categories; a percept (understood in the lowest sense) without a concept, he said, is blind; and a concept without a percept is empty. The categories are the univrsl determinations of thought, the omnipresent universals. However, although these must certainly be apprehended in their necessity, if we are to avoid becoming guilty of transcendence they must also be apprehended in their purely hum. subjective necessity.

Quality; Quantity; Relativity; Modality.

Unity.	Substance
Plurality.	Cause
Totality.	Reciprocity.

136 He then developed the corresponding forms of judgment.

The great significance of the categories (an Ode by Marthensen, one of the worst he has delivered so far, a forced cleverness[)] .... they are the necess. bonds for all thinking, the atmosphere of thinking, etc., from this the significance of language, the possibility of translation from one language to another, the significance of the prepositions. E.g., in the NT: "in him we live and move and have our being["]; it is the category of substantiality; in order to avoid pantheism, others understand it to be [the category of] causality. His view of the categories is basically the old Aristotelean one and not the Hegelian one, [which views them] within their own immanent dialectic.

The question now is how one is to conceive them, as objective or subjective; K. did the latter.

A difficulty is how to explain how it is that the phenomenon corresponds to the category; one could answer this question either by seeking out a higher unity or by denying all objectivity (Fichte).

Reason.
how is metaphysics possible?

the doctrine of ideas, i.e., the necessary concepts whose object lies beyond experience, is developed here.

1) soul, i.e., the thinking I's necessary unity.

2) world, i.e., the totality of all phenomena.

3) God, i.e., the possibility of all existence as such.

They are different from the categories and the intuitions of space and time, because these stand in a necessary relationship to the phenomenon.[a]

This division basically corresponds to the older one that had four parts: a) ontology (which was the doctrine of the categories) b) rational psychology (K.['s] first idea—the soul) c) rational cosmology (K.['s] second idea—the world) d) rational theology (K.['s] third idea—God).

1 [a]they constitute the basis of all knowledge, but the phenomenon and the category belong to it; and der Ding "an sich."—

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8th Lecture. **10**

Dec. 15th

By means of these three ideas K then shows that the older philosophy made itself guilty of a transcendence in its treatment of them [i.e., these three ideas] because it wanted to know something about them with objective certainty.

5 [a]1. 1) The soul, as K. also concedes, is thus the unity of the thinking "I." But if one wished to conclude on this basis, as the older [philosophy] did, that the soul is an indivisible substance and thus immortal; for if I want to conceive the "I," I cannot do so except by means of the categories, and to that extent I have not come any further. These ideas are therefore purely regulative because I must posit them as the limits of everything relative; the well-known γνωθι σεαυτον therefore has no meaning, any more than does the question about immortality; for I have nothing other than the catego-

35 γνωθι σεαυτον] *Greek,* know thyself

ries, and these exist only in relation to the world; and thus I lack, so to speak, the organs for another world.

Yet here K. was basically not idealist enough, for it is precisely the meaning of cogito ergo sum that thinking is the one real thing and that thought and being are identical. But the soul came to stand as an object and so it naturally became impossible to apprehend, as one wanted to apprehend the soul, in a way, outside the soul, and with this we return to the subjective meaning of the truth. Otherwise one says that I can certainly think it [i.e., the soul], but it does not therefore exist; yet this pertains only to the subordinate spheres; but in the ideas it is not like this; to the same degree that I think freedom—and with the same energy that I think it—I am also free.

2) The world. here, in K['s] opinion, the older philosophy got caught in antinomies because, with equal right, it had to ascribe contradictory [or] opposite predicates to the same thing. The proof of this is conducted apagogically, because in order to demonstrate the correctness of the one, the unreasonableness of the other is demonstrated.

138 1) The world did not come into being in time.

and

the opposite.

2) Matter consists of atoms.

and

it is infinitely divisible.

3)

4) there is another kind of necessity than that of causality, i.e., freedom

and

the opposite.

[b]3.

3.) God.

Here K. runs up against the so-called proofs of God's existence which would continue to have great significance as indicating something like the thought-paths by which hum. thought elevated itself to God.

a) the cosmological, e contingentia mundi. this proof seeks to show that in order to think the finite I must think the infinite; for how could I think the finite if I did not have a representation of the infinite[?]

Spinoza took great pleasure in this proof, inasmuch as precisely by adhering to the thought of the transitory nature of all things, his conviction of the infinite was strengthened.

b.) the physico-theological or the teleological, which starts from the representation of all the harmony and wisdom there is in the world, and in so doing elevated itself to the notion of the absolute goal, which is already one stage further on (because with the previous proof we arrived only at the absolute substance[)], just as the individual also becomes [something] more and enters the category of the "means," whereas before it was the merely finite as opposed to absolute substance.

Even if K. disapproved of this proof, he nevertheless said that it was based on a beautiful thought and that it was of great importance, especially in popular 139 presentations. The whole doctrine of providence indeed depends upon the categories of the means and purpose.

c) the ontological. It is notable that the above proofs were also known in the ancient world, but this one first appeared in the Xn world. Anselm. the highest I am able to think must exist; for if it did not exist, then I could imagine it; and if I could imagine it as existing, but it was a higher thought, etc. it was later set forth by Leibnitz and Wolff: the highest essence must possess all qualities; it must possess blessedness; but to this belongs being, ens, cujus essentia existentia.

[c]it is not thereby said that because I think God, God therefore exists, but that because the idea of God is in me, I therefore think God.

6 e contingentia mundi] *Latin,* from the contingency of the world
38 ens . . . existentia] *Latin,* a being whose essence is to exist

11 9th Lecture.

Dec. 21st

The thinking subject thus sought to mediate itself to "God" via two paths. Through the object or through the subject[.] Along the first path emerged the cosmological and teleological proofs, which sought to show that the world would be unthinkable without God; along the second path [it emerged] that all thought would be impossible if, within thinking itself, an object [or] a being were not contained; that self-consciousness would be impossible if it did not also posit itself as God's consciousness. It is finally this last proof that supports the first two, for if one were not to investigate the very essence of thought, then of course the God that emerged [from the other proofs] might indeed be a mere thought-thing, without reality. Therefore K. primarily concentrated his powers on this last proof. He tried to show that all the power one ascribed to this proof depended upon a confusion of thinking with knowing. The principal target of his opposition was the proof as it had been formulated by Spinoza, i.e., that the highest essence must be in possession of all qualities, and that being is also a quality. Then K showed that "being" was an altogether indifferent category with respect to its concept, that it was a category pertaining only to the subject. He gave the well-known example of the 100 thalers. I may certainly think of them, but it does not at all thereby follow that they exist. Nonetheless K. did not reject the idea of God, but conceived it "regulatively," as an ideal that the hum. being ought to realize in the whole of his life, but that he could never attain.

Semi-Kantianism.

Rationalism different from naturalism.

Another path opened up for K., however—that of the practical. K. thought that everything that interested a hum. being could be formulated by three questions: What can I know, What ought I to do, and For what may I hope. The first question has now been answered. But with the second, a relative "an sich" appeared, i.e., an interior infinity, a circle turning back upon itself. I

become conscious of a law that commands absolutely (categorically); but if this law is to have reality I must be able to fulfill it, i.e., I am free. With this begins the moral [realm], which requires consistency and acting in accordance with general rules. But this was about as far as K.'s morality got. All the more precise categories of morality became mere formalisms without content; he did not arrive at the moral idea as the creative force in history. It is one thing, e.g., to develop the concepts of love, honor, and so forth; it is another to point out the full significance of these, e.g., in the Middle Ages, where these concepts manifested themselves differently than in contemporary times. His system of morality therefore came to be nothing but outlines. Yet what do we achieve by means of it? K. answers: by means of my philosophy, one is permanently liberated from the fantasies of dogmatism (his Socratic not-knowing), and we are referred to morality; every system that teaches "materialism, naturalism, fatalism[″] is forever superseded.—

In another sense as well K. was close to the truth, because he developed the doctrine of the beautiful, which was where he believed he had found the point of repose at which the ideal, as it were, reconciled itself with the sensible—where, in a sense, we encounter a new relative an sich.

The same was also the case with his infinite or int[ernal] teleological conception (not finite teleology, where one explains how it is that a certain class of plants exists in order to feed a certain kind of 141
animal, etc.), but where he explained the significance of organic life, where indeed we again encounter precisely this intern. infinity.

But all this remained simply where it was, because he so quickly denied that these ideas could have any objective significance and reality.—

10 Lecture. **12**

Dec. 23rd

Thus with K. philosophy had become bankrupt in a theoretical sense, and then it was only a question of whether there was anything that could be rescued in the area of the practical. K. develops this in his *Religion innerhalb* etc. He begins by supposing a law, an ethical law, that commands with absolute validity. But, he continues, the efforts to which it summons one must be truly real to the same degree that this law is real. We must therefore postulate a being who would be able to realize hum. strivings; for in this world, where virtue must simply fight its way forward, if the highest good

cannot be attained, it is not simply because human immorality puts hindrances in the way; rather, it is because the entire world is, in a way, cleft into a dualism, for nature goes its necessary way unconcerned about the moral law; I would thus contradict my ethical consciousness if I were not to assume [the existence of] such a being. This is K['s] (moral) proof of God's existence. (This has been attacked by those who say that K. confused blessedness and happiness, inasmuch as he postulated this highest good, inasmuch as virtue is blessedness.) Fundamentally, K. indeed proves—something he himself feels—merely the necessity of believing in a God, but not God's existence. In the same manner he proves the soul's immortality as a necessary, continued existence in order that the command of the moral law—which indeed has absolute reality—be realized. Thereby, K[] thought, we also gain for ourselves the advantage that instead of appealing only to the validity of the moral law, we could appeal to this command as God's command.

142 In this way the concept of "faith" also appeared in K., but with him began a volatilization of this concept, as [was] also [the case] later with Jacobi. K.'s concept of faith is related to the (Protestant) Church's in the way his metaphysics is related to the older [metaphysics]. In the older m[etaphysics] there was an identity of thought and being: thought contains the object. In faith there is the immed. identity of thought and being. Faith is the deepest act in the hum. being; it is freedom's genuine act. It is I who grasp faith, but on the other side, God is also present; it is grace; without the spirit no one can believe; in faith I have God; how else could faith involve blessedness? Just as in conscience—which at root is simultaneously the most subjective and the most objective—it is I myself, it is the better "I" within me, that speaks; and on the other hand there is a power in its [the conscience's] utterances, a holiness in its command, so that, in addition, it is God [who speaks].

But this is not how it is with K. I postulate God, for otherwise I come into contradiction with my ethical consciousness. But what kind of contradiction is it? What kind of ethical consciousness? The practical is once and for all separated from the theoretical by a chasm; the fundamental principle of this contradiction must therefore not be accorded any objective character; the same holds true for the ethical consciousness. it is the mere "I" that is afraid of contradicting itself; it is the mere "I's" ethical consciousness that postulates God. this is therefore the I's egoism. And what therefore does it act[ually] do? It merely reduplicates itself; it conceives itself as something that finds itself in strife and, in addition, imagines a high-

est point for this, an ideal. It is a God that it itself posits for itself ([“]and this God is rlly nothing other than the I itself”) and that it in turn incorporates into itself. Just as one who wants to breathe in a vacuum first exhales and thereafter inhales his own breath—a kind of ventriloquism. This appears also with reference to religious ritual, where worship is supposed to appear; in prayer, where the subjective loses itself in the div., and the div., as it were, breathes its life into it [the subjective]; indeed K. even thinks that one can pray without being convinced that God exists, because for K. prayer is indeed nothing more than a means of keeping moral ideas alive 143
within us. While K. finds fault with the prevailing fantasy in the common expressions about God, he himself becomes guilty of something similar—the anthropomorphism of the understanding: none of the attributes of God have objective reality; I merely imagine him thus because he must be thus in order to be the ideal that can fulfill the postulates of my ethical consciousness. The Xn, on the other hand, is conscious of himself, [knowing] that when he names the triune God, it is not a name he has given him, but one that God has given himself. K. therefore may well have freedom, but lacks grace.—

145
13 **Erdmann**.

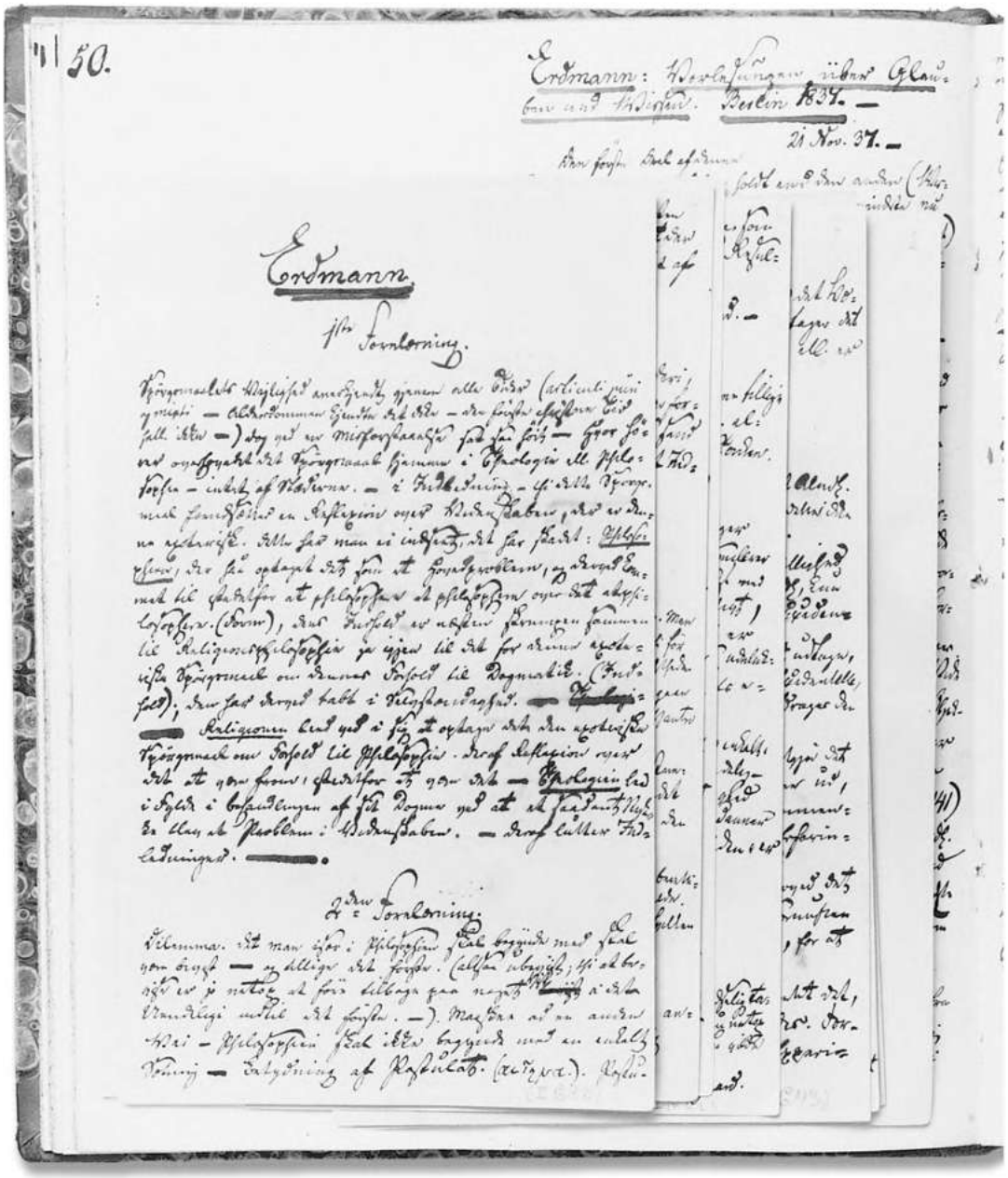
1st Lecture.

The importance of the question has been recognized throughout all ages (articuli puri and mixti—antiquity did not know of it—nor did the first Christian era—) yet with a high degree of misunderstanding—Where in fact does the question belong, in theology or philosophy[?]—in neither place.—in the introduction—for this question presupposes a reflection upon science, which is exoteric to it. This is something people have not realized; it has caused harm: *Philosophy*, which has taken it up as a fundamental problem and thereby, instead of philosophizing, has come to philosophize about philosophizing. (Form), its content has almost shrunk to the philosophy of religion or even to this exoteric question of its relation to dogmatics. (Content) it has thereby lost in independence.—*Religion* suffered by taking up within itself the exoteric question concerning the relation to philosophy. Hence the reflection about being pious rather than being pious—*Theology* suffered the most in its handling of its dogma to the extent that this sort of thing became a problem in science.—Hence nothing but introductions.—

14 2nd Lecture.

Dilemma: that which, especially in philosophy, one ought to begin with must be demonstrated—and this includes the first (hence, undemonstrated, for to demonstrate is precisely to lead back to something certain, ad infinitum, back to the first.—). Perhaps by another path—philosophy must not begin with a single proposition—significance of the postulate. (αιτημα.). The postulate is realized; whether it is realized depends upon our will; but if it is realized, there can be no talk of a missing proof. The significance of the postulate in modern philosophy—its large role—Fichte *Wissenschaftslehre*—thereby a certain similarity with mathematical
146 construal, yet not the arbitrary—the arbitrary element that remained in F[ichte] disappeared in Hegel['s] "thought"—relate yourself thinking—this, in addition, as the essential determination of the hum. being—producing—reproducing—not genetically—evolving—dialectically—conceiving—(though in the genetic the thing is certainly allowed entstehen; it is not seen in its necessity.)—

4 articuli . . . mixti] *Latin,* pure [and] mixed articles **27** αιτημα] *Greek,* postulate, demand **37** entstehen] *German,* to arise, to emerge



Notebook 4:13–40
Excerpts from Erdmanns's lectures, written on twelve loose leaves placed between pages 50 and 51 of Kierkegaard's notebook.

A description of this method of course cannot be given; it is the content's own dialectic.—

15 3rd Lecture.

We call the *immediate* consciousness *of reconciliation* faith.—Thus faith is not a lesser degree of certainty—nor is it merely treating the content as something indifferent, in which case the content of faith and faith [itself] would come into an external relation to each other.—Faith therefore actually belongs only in religion and indeed actually only in the Chr. religion. The Church also teaches this: "Faith is blessedness." But one who has experienced the sting of sin can only represent blessedness as being at peace with God; hence, faith is consciousness of reconciliation with God. But does this immediate certainty exist in the world[?]—

16 4th Lecture.

The truth must reveal itself as fact, as something of which one can immediately become conscious.—It must reveal itself in the form of facts that contradict one another.—The identity of God and the hum. being as immed. certainty is faith; as immediate truth it is dogma.—Faith and its object absolutely do not diverge from one another. Innocent faith is believing as verbum neutrum.

Faith is thus a consciousness of reconciliation with God—a *reattained* unity. Faith is a blessedness that is preceded by a misery. On the other hand, every believing subject has moments when his reconciliation with God conceals itself from his consciousness, and he falls back into the previous unhappiness. If
147 moments of blessedness then follow, consciousness of the previous misery is also posited. Thus both aspects are present in consciousness at the same time and are placed in relation to one another. a comparing consciousness—a reflecting consciousness.

17 5th Lecture.

But whether the individual in the blessed moment becomes conscious of the previous misery or in the [moment of] misery feels the absence of that blessedness—both aspects nevertheless stand in an essential relation to this [blessedness]; but that which stands in an essential relation to the subject and is not

20 verbum neutrum] *Latin,* a verb unconnected with a direct object

[the subject] itself is called the object; but this object, in turn, is blessedness, which, according to what has been said above, was religion in an objective sense, and thus untested faith becomes faith in something believed, fides, qua creditur and fides, quæ creditur.

6th Lecture. **18**

Dogmatism.

7th Lecture. **19**

superstitious Dogmatism.

Tertullian: Credibile est quia ineptum, verum, quia impossibile est. *F. H. Jacobi*: Ein gewußter Gott ist kein Gott. Harms, who with an allusion to Nebuchadnezzar puts his reason out to pasture.

Hence nothing is spoken of so much as God's incomprehensibility and it is thereby forgotten that the statement that God is incomprehensible only expresses what he is not (comprehensible); and further, that this is not rlly an attribute of God, but only a characteristic present in the knowing-willing subject.—a practical error is thus united with this: that it is best if a hum. being wills nothing at 148 all.

In philosophy a certain tendency (Sengler) that defines itself not so much by its polemic against the logical as with its own *alogical* conduct. Sengler: "Philosophy begins in the irrational, and so does truth."—

In addition to Fichte, the religious Malebranche [also] spoke of the arrogance implicit in instantly extending the weakness of one's reason to the whole of the hum. race.—

8th Lecture. **20**

We have now come to the point that the true is determined as the opposite of the "I" and that it must be the true simply because it is the opposite of the "I." Every other determination of the truth is contingent; the only essential one is that it is the opposite of the "I." But in this way, that which makes the truth into truth is nothing other

4 fides . . . quæ creditur] *Latin,* the faith that is believed (i.e., the contents of faith) [and] the faith with which (something) is believed. **10** Credibile . . . est] *Latin,* It is credible because it is unreasonable; it is true because it is impossible. **11** Ein gewußter . . . Gott] *German,* A God known is no God.

than the "I itself." And the truth has for its content only what the I gives it.—Thus it reverts into the opposite.[1]—

the coinciding of religious superstition with the opposite, [which is] precisely the I's dominion over the content of what is believed, can be empirically demonstrated. Here there appears a hovering between the greatest superstition, and hence slavish fear, and the greatest arbitrariness and independence (fetishism).

[1]The reason it is so difficult to get people to see this dialectical movement—and why the phenomenological analogies that Erdmann cites appear much easier to them—is that such a transition seems to involve the incommensurability *of life*, which is inaccessible to the abstract dialectic that develops itself through the tangled thoughts of necessity.—

Kierkegaard. Nov. 7, 37.

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21 9th Lecture.

Up until now the truth has resided on the side of the object.—Hence, if the I wanted to participate in the truth, it would simply be a matter of giving itself up and accepting the object.—first, such acceptance took place without reflecting on it—next, [such acceptance took place] with consciousness of the fact that such a correspondence between the I and the object was a matter of indifference—finally, with the knowledge that the object is the opposite of the "I."

But if the relation is like this, if the truth is merely posited by the "I," then it follows that sheer objectivity is not yet the truth; rather, it is [true] only because the "I" has made the object true or has posited it as true. Thus with the "I" the question arises as to whether it [the object of thought] is also true, i.e., whether it is posited by the "I" and is in agreement with it.

Consequently the object must first legitimate itself with respect to the subject; this legitimation consists in demonstrating the object's identity with the "I." That which I know to be identical with my I (inseparably bound to it), is that of which I am certain; then the question thus arises as to whether the object is certain, and its truth depends upon its certainty. Previously, the certainty was identical to its (the object's) givenness; or if it was otherwise, no importance was ascribed to it. Hence, with the object the question arises as to whether it is certain.

10th Lecture. **22**

Religious nihilism—the counterpart of dogmatism. For d[ogmatism] the truth was only on the side of the object—for n[ihilism] the object as object contains no truth whatsoever.—For d[ogmatism], whether or not the object coincided with the I did not matter at all, but only that it [the object] was given, positive.—for n[ihilism], by contrast, this is inessential; the only thing that matters is that the "I" is in agreement with itself.—For d[ogmatism] it might also be that the positive doctrine is determined as being in agreement with the I, 150 but in that case, this is not the basis on which it is to be believed.— Here the content could, e.g., be a positive fact, but this would not be a basis for regarding it as true.—For d[ogmatism] the essential thing was that the truth was posited by an authority—for n[ihilism] the essential thing is that the I is completely independent of every authority.—Religious irony appeared in the most extreme form when almost an entire people adopted this standpoint and decreed that there was a God, thus making the content of the faith identical with what the faith itself decreed.—

11 Lecture. **23**

Consciousness seeks to posit the truth in nothing other than the circumstance that every objective content, because it is objective, is rejected. That standpoint, at which consciousness knows itself to be true and is satisfied because, and simply because, it banishes all content—we call that unbelief.—

Superstition—Unbelief.—

12 Lecture. **24**

Unbelief must thus necessarily pass over into superstition. But by no means do we therefore stand at the same point as before; for previously one could very well have remained in the position of superstition, because consciousness came to it [i.e., to superstition] without having undertaken the experience needed in order to go further. Unbelief therefore reverts to superstition, superstition to unbelief, and so on ad infinitum.—

the infinite process appears every time two opposing determinations are supposed to be posited simultaneously and where con-

sciousness, instead of doing this (for whatever reason), alternately maintains the one and then the other.—

The tendency is thus the consciousness of two mutually opposed and equally justified determinations. Because both mutually annul and evoke one another, they indicate—as the endpoint of the tendency—a union in which the oppositions disappear.

151

25 13 Lecture.

The fact that the one factor [i.e., the "I"] refers to the other [i.e., the object of belief] has made clear the necessity of uniting both [the "I" and the object of belief]—a necessity particularly [emphasized] by what we call the religious tendency. Yet this unification cannot, of course, consist in the subordination of the one to the other, for both are equally justified. Nor can it be a unification in which a change is made to both sides, for then they would be treated as if they did not contain the truth. Hence, what is necessary is a change in which both remain entirely what they have been up till now.—

A connection of things that are not in and for themselves identical, [a connection] that is not brought about in such a way that both of the things connected are not modified, but in which they remain what they were before the connection: this we call a violent or mechanical unification. Therefore, if these two do not undergo any change or modification in the connection, we will call the intuition that asserts that the I and the object are truth a mechanical or violent connection of both sides of the opposition.

Mysticism.—

Hence, the unio mystica is identification and therefore is correctly called ενωσις and not ενωτης. They [i.e., faith's consciousness and mysticism's consciousness] therefore relate to one another as the immed. (and normal) identity of the embryo with the mother is related to the artificially produced [identity] of the sleepwalker with the physician.

[1]To my way of thinking, Erdmann gives an especially fitting definition of the concept of mysticism on p. 104. [“]The object must remain what it was, that is, something gegenüberstehendes the I; and the I must remain what it was, that is, the particular I relating to itself.” For the mystic indeed takes leave of society and has indeed polemically secluded his I; and yet with this isolated “I” he seeks to enter into a relation with that which is universally valid.—

Nov. 13, 37. Kierkegaard.

27 unio mystica] *Latin,* mystical union (i.e., of God and humanity) **28** ενωσις . . . ενωτης] *Greek,* union [and not] unity **35** gegenüberstehendes] *German,* existing vis-à-vis

The scholastics allowed the separation betw. the "object" and the "I" to become ever greater, inasmuch as in their labyrinthine investigations of Church doctrine, they made into their main subject something that did not bear upon what was really necessary to them, or they considered only the pure determinations of thought rather than the object of faith. (a separation that later reached its high point in the principle that something that was false in the teachings of reason could be true in theology). 152

14th Lecture. **26**

We have the "I" and the "object," and the I is not modified, but is just as it is, the individual I as such.—

It has become apparent that both were excluded from one another, and consciousness has not forgotten this experience; yet when they exclude one another, the truth is not in the unification, but in the separation. Thus, this is a contradiction, for the principles— that the "I"s are bound to the object, and that the "I"s and the object are not bound together—are contradictorily opposed to one another. If they are to be united, it must thus happen such that the two principles limit one another in—extent.—Some "I"s are united with the object, others are separated from it.

Obviously only the former participate in the truth. All of these are in the truth, for those that are not, belong to the others—they are *completely* in the truth, for the "I's" unification with the truth did not pertain to a particular part of the "I," but to the "I" as such.— Yet if they are *totally* in the truth, they are so in their immediacy—We call the I in its immediacy "feeling."—this feeling would be common to all of these individuals—the standpoint from which truth is conceived as the exclusive possession of the shared feeling of certain individuals, we call *mystical separatism*. (religious fanaticism.)— Signs:

a) Some are in the truth, others not
b.) the individuals are[1] totally in the truth
c) the shared feeling is the criterion of the truth.— 153
Because I feel something, I merge with it and it is as certain as I am; yet it does not become my possession by means of reasons or that sort of thing, but totally immed.—

[1] the emphasis there is therefore placed on particularities and chance events.—

27 15th Lecture.

If it is the case that everything that corresponds to feeling is truth, then a) everything is truth—On the other hand, if truth is only that which is in agreement with the *feeling of all*, then b) there is no truth; for because, as noted, no content gets excluded from feeling, then nothing is more characteristic of feeling than anything else; then it also follows that there is nothing that must necessarily be present in the feeling of everyone. If this were the case, then this content would belong to feeling in precedence over all other content, and feeling would no longer be a neutral vessel for every possible content. Therefore nothing is felt by all—for tot capita tot sensus, mystical separatism thus contradicts itself.

The first principle (a) can be seen in the practical sphere in the overevaluation of chance events—the second (b) in the absence of all objective standards of measure.—

But just as mysticism came into contradiction with itself, the same thing happens with mystical separatism—It is the same mistake that repeats itself here, the change in the I (and it is this that is at issue here) is altogether a matter of chance—the universality achieved is the universality of reflection, which allows the particulars to subsist as particulars in such a way that the universality appears as the result of the particulars.

Universality of Reflection. Collective-Univrsl Totality.—
Universality of the Concept.

Yet the I, understood not merely subjectively, but also objectively, and not only as particular, but universally, is no longer mere I, but reason or thought.

aufgehoben (tollere—conservare—elevare.)

The I must elevate itself to a standpoint where it no longer, as before, stands "spröde" vis-à-vis the object; it assimilates itself, as it were, to the objectivity and enters into an organic connection with it. This happens when the I ceases to be merely subjective and elevates itself to a form of consciousness in which it is just as subjective as objective. Hence it will not relate itself exclusively to objectivity, because this has become its own immanent determinacy.

On the other hand, the I no longer dares to be merely "particular" but must elevate itself to universality. This is the universality of the concept.—But the I's actual universality is, as we know, its own actual substance or inner essence. The particular does not form the substantial basis in this [actual universality]; rather, "the particular" is all the more sublated into it—

11 tot capita tot sensus] *Latin,* many heads, many opinions **28** aufgehoben . . . elevare)] *German and Latin,* sublated (annul—conserve—elevate.) **30** spröde] *German,* obdurately

2nd Part.— **28**

NB. re p. 149 bottom and 150 top. It seems strange that Erdm[ann] here suddenly takes the word "to believe" in a certain vulgar sense, which was exactly what he had protested against in the earlier lectures because he only wanted to have it understood in a particular historical sense.—

Nov. 16 Kierkegaard.

16th Lecture. **29**

(Psychology.)

1) is reason univrsl self-consciousness.

If we take the universal, not in the sense of the universal of reflection, but of the universality of the concept, then, just as by the univrsl will of the people [we] understand not the common will of every particular person, but rather the substance that underlies all particular wills, so also, by univrsl self-consciousness [we] understand nothing other than the substance of consciousness, that which makes self-consciousness possible at all and constitutes its innermost essence.

NB. p. 141.

"Ist aber dies so, so ist die Frage, was denn das Allgemeine in Selbstbewußtsein gleich bedeutend mit der, wodurch sich der seiner selbstbewußte Mensch von allen andern Geschöpfen unterscheide.["]— 155

"an sich"—daß es als das, was es an sich war,
gesetzt worden ist.
δυναμει—ενεϱγεια.
potentia—actus.—

the *second* standpoint is the truth of the *first*.—

Knowledge.

empirical; historical; speculative—

In part one we dealt with the various forms of religious consciousness—here we have to consider the various theological views.—

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20 Ist aber . . . unterscheide] *German,* If this is the case, then the question, What, then, (would be) the universal within self-consciousness? is equivalent to (the question) of how the self-conscious person differentiates himself from all other creatures. **24** "an sich". . . worden ist] *German,* "in itself"—that it, as that which it was in itself, has been *posited*. **26** δυναμει—ενεϱγεια] *Greek,* according to possibility—according to actuality **27** potenta—actus] *Latin,* possibility—actuality

30 17th Lecture.

Reason, such that it differentiates the essential from the inessential in objects and takes only the univrsl, the law, as the essential, *experiences* or is a *knowing by means of experience*.

31 18th Lecture

In experiencing, reason abstracts the univrsl or the essential from the objects. But this does not appear in actuality as the universal, though it appears in many particulars.

These particulars are diverse, and this diversity is essential to them, but inessential to the univrsl, merely something external to the case at hand—i.e., the contingent, accidental.—

hence the univrsl that reason is to abstract thus appears with an addition of this accidental element; for in order to keep the univrsl pure, it must be drawn out from behind the concealing mask.

We call the course of reason, as it removes or annihilates the merely individual element in order to let the univrsl emerge, experience, and we say that reason makes experiments when it *sets forth* to have experiences.

156 Yet in order that it may become apparent how the particular is an example of the univrsl, reason must know what does not belong to it as particular, so that it is not also compelled to remove it

But that which matters, the univrsl, must also be known, first of all by means of the experiment. Thus reason must know it, yet be in need of an experiment—hence, not know it.—

Thus reason knows it, but its knowledge requires confirmation. We call such knowledge a hypothesis. Hence reason can only experiment insofar as it has or makes a hypothesis.—

Theory.

As it experiments in this way—that is, as it approaches the objects with hypotheses or theories in this manner—reason is observation or observing knowledge.—

Hence, if it is only the confirmed theory that is truth, the same thing applies to the case explained by the theory.—

1) The miracle-based proof of the truth of Christian doctrine.

2) The separation of the articles of faith into fundamentales and non fundamentales inasmuch as they are organic constituents of “summa fidei.”

35 fundamentales . . . non fundamentales] *Latin,* fundamentals [and] nonfundamentals **37** “summa fidei”] *Latin,* “principal points of faith”

19th Lecture. **32**

The dogmatic interest asks: what is true
—dogmatic ..... : what has happened
—historic ..... what has counted as truth in the past

or

what has in the past been passed on as something experienced.
(The Church needs no theology.
Thus theology differs from religion, the theological propositions from the dogmas; the latter express the truth untested: this is how it is; the former, by contrast, contain the attempt to prove them, i.e., to reconcile them to the doubting I.—)

157

20th Lecture. **33**

We have seen the necessity for reason, if it is to become truth, to find its confirmation in something univrsl so that it can be freed from the power of the particular. Yet this experience is only a testimony, and thus it becomes necessary to show that it actually is an experience. In order to demonstrate this, reason cannot of course fall back into a previous standpoint and demonstrate it by the miracle, which in turn rests upon testimonies; nor by the analogy of faith, which also rests upon these [testimonies]. Hence nothing remains except that the truth of the testimony [rests upon] another testimony; and if we do this, either we will be moving around in a circle, such as happens in many prolegomena to orthodox dogmatics, or we conceal the circle behind an infinite process, such as happens in introductions to the N. T., where they set forth the external grounds for the truth of the biblical witness.
If one is to avoid this one must fix one's gaze upon the internal properties of the testimony itself—the interior proofs of the truth of the Xn testimony; but if the same infinite process is not to reemerge here, one is led to the point of realizing what one really means by these internal proofs: that they grant reason the competence to judge the object according to its own laws.

Part Two. **34**

21 Lecture.

Reason may indeed have related itself effectively to all the developed levels of empirical knowledge set forth, yet its activity was limited because it was conditioned by an object[.] Yet reason will be unable to find the criteria of the truth elsewhere than within itself; but

its two categories were universality and objectivity; hence, from this standpoint it may determine, a priori, that only that is truth which has the character of *universality* and *objectivity*.—

158 With respect to the former, reason will thus decree that only those
5 teachings of religion that are not limited to particularities (groups, congregations, nations), but which rather appear as bearing upon everyone, may be regarded as true.

With respect to the latter, it will determine that what is true can only be that which rediscovers itself in the broader complex of ob-
10 jects; hence, what will not dare to have the character of the abnormal, as that which gives offense to every other thing.

35 22nd Lecture.

Thus we will be saying altogether the same thing if we say: Only the abstract is truth, or, Only that is true which corresponds to the
15 logical categories of thought; or, that the understanding decides what is true.

the theology of the healthy human understanding.

Reason—to the extent it moves within abstractions (the univrsl—as that which is opposed to the particular and as that which only
20 comes about by means of a negative relation to (abstraction from) the particular—is the abstract) and holds fast to the abstract as the true—that is what we call *understanding*.—

36 23rd Lecture.

The understanding can think nothing without objects, for its think-
25 ing indeed consists in abstracting from the particular within the objects, or im "Hinzutragen" its concepts[1] (as form) to the objects (as material); but neither does it think the objects as they are, for its thinking it has indeed altered them.

Naturally, what applies to every object also applies to the object of
30 religious knowledge—the truth. Because everything is altered in be-
159 ing known, it thereby follows that the truth cannot be known unaltered. Religious truth is something unknown and unknowable; it is the doctrine of the kind of knowing that we have designated the *theology of non-knowing*.

35 [1]its own concepts of universality, i.e., categories.

26 im "Hinzutragen"] *German,* in the act of setting in relation

But those who support the supernaturalist point of view would like to claim that this standpoint is the biblical one. But this is a pure fiction. For because the essence of s[uper]naturalism consists in insisting on non-knowing and in characterizing this negation with the word faith, it [supernaturalism] has precisely thereby abandoned the standpoint of the Bible, which knows nothing of such a separation. The Bible uses faith and knowledge indiscriminately and understands by them the spiritual possession of the truth.
But is not the standpoint of supernaturalism then the standpoint of Church dogmatics[?]

24th Lecture. **37**

Reason, which, as *empirical knowing*, did not live up to its concept, began to comport itself in a judging and critical way and, in the domain of theology, brought forth: *naturalism, the theology of the understanding; non-knowing*.
But the result of this non-knowing—that we are completely unable to know anything beyond the sensible domain—has nothing of a sensible character. The transcendental view thus rests upon a contradiction, which indicates nothing other than reason's instinct to go beyond that form [of knowledge].
This instinct can do nothing other than work at removing that from which, as a necessary result, non-knowing comes forth. But this is nothing other than that reason continually relates itself to the truth as to its object—to be sure, not as a foreign object (it is knowledge), but nevertheless to an object—to which it relates itself as subject.

25th Lecture. **38**

Through the previously shown contradiction, reason is led into a sphere in which reason no longer relates itself receptively to an object; where, therefore, there can no longer be talk of applying the categories, as there is no longer any object in contrast to a subject; and this is the sphere of the practical.
As practical, reason no longer concerns itself with objects—not as if it ignores them, but rather, because reason is practical, autonomous—in short, *will*—what it concerns itself with is law, *postulate*, and it has no objectivity except that which is produced. But that which reason produces is the actual subject-object.—

39 26th Lecture.

Now if the difference between the standpoint at which we have now arrived and practical idealism consists only in the fact that it [the former] conceives as "being" what the latter posits as a mere "ought," then from this standpoint the existing truth may also be viewed in a double fashion: namely, that which, until now, was first the object and thereafter the moral world order, will now be viewed as the viewing subject's existing substance; whereas, by contrast, that which first was "I" and thereafter was the willing subject, will now be viewed as that which is essentially a mere moment, an accident in relation to that substance.

intuition of the absolute
the theology of the feeling of absolute dependence

The absolute "is that which surpasses every contrast and which therefore neither can have a *contrast within itself* nor can *tolerate anything standing over against it*."

40 27th Lecture.

The truth is here conceived as being; that is, the identity of the subjective and the objective has been brought to completion. Yet it has become apparent from the previous standpoints, as well as from the most recent, that the two are different, and that the truth thus is not.
161 This difference has not received its due from the standpoint of intuition but, in a manner similar to what happened in mysticism, it has been ignored and violently negated.
But because it has merely been violently thrust aside, yet has shown itself to be justified, the two opposed determinations confront one another: that the truth *is not* and *that it is*; or the truth is an *ought* and it is a being [i.e., an *is*].
Yet if becoming is the actual unification of non-being and being, then the truth is to be conceived neither as non-being nor as being, but as becoming. Reason will thus correspond to those two requirements when it knows the truth in its becoming.
Something comes to be known in its becoming when one knows the law or the rule of its becoming. We call the law or the rule for becoming *the determination* or *the concept*. This is the being of the object, which is also an ought, and an ought, which is also a being. Thus the truth will be known when its concept is known. Yet if the

course of reason is a producing when it has to do with an ought, and an intuiting when it has to do with a being, then its relation to the truth, as something becoming, will be both [producing and intuiting]. Hence, insofar as it possesses the truth as something that becomes—or, what is the same, insofar as it knows the concept of the truth—reason will equally intuit it [the truth] and produce it. This activity of reason—which binds immed. intuition together with that which has been brought forth through its own mediating activity—we call *conceiving* or speculative knowing in the stricter sense. It contains, as a sublated moment within itself, the previously mentioned forms of knowledge.

Speculative Theology or *the Science of Religion*.

With "becoming" has one gotten further than the idealistic ought.?

What does becoming express (different from change or movement—history—?)

Is the concept the law for becoming, or the law for development?

(different from a general notion.)

Therefore we could say that the concept is the divine idea within things, or what God intends for them, that toward which God destines them— 162

to know the concept = to conceive; both moments inhere in this: 1) according to norm. linguistic usage, one has not grasped a truth until it has been shown to follow necessarily from grounds one accepts as valid. And yet it is simply the case that the concept emerges as the result of the proof and of our activity. 2) on the other hand, one is conscious that it is possible to conceive only that which actually is—hence, according to our norm. notions, the conceiving happens by producing that which is beyond our production.

The conceiving perspective therefore involves the genesis of the object. Here, however, one should not think of extrnl genesis, which is conditioned by causes foreign to the essence of that which is self-developing; rather, it contains the eternal, inner genesis and development, which is characterized most suitably by the word: "dialectic."—In this contradiction, that something is really other than what it actually is, lies the necessity of the development that is called dialectic.

Consequently, our acting is thinking; but that which is known is also thinking, and so our knowledge is, in this, identical to the object, i.e., it is speculative knowing.

Speculative Dogmatics
Philosophy of Religion

Difference
1) with reference to extent.
2) with reference to form.

finished Dec. 12, 37.

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41

Erdmann: Vorlesungen über Glauben und Wissen. Berlin 1837.—

21 Nov. 37.—

The first part of this book seems to me to be much more solid than the second (Wissen). At least right now, it seems to me that it [i.e., the latter part] begins by allowing the person (the I) to disappear completely, substituting instead a subject-object (reason—thinking), which is not justified by the development up to that point; for if it is indeed the case that the subject must stand in an essential relation to the object (the deeper basis of which would then have to be demonstrated in the eternal concentricity of both), then only by being consistent can one provisionally attain the rational I, which becomes aware of a relation of affinity with the object. In this case it is also correct that reason is cultivated to be reason, for this then means the rational I, which through a genesis now merges into the true subject-object, which is expansive enough to contain all finite subject-objects. Therefore it may well be true that reason is universal self-consciousness, but one still is not thereby justified in saying (see p. 141) that the question about what is universal in self-consciousness is equivalent to [the question] of how the self-conscious person differentiates himself from all other creatures; for reason as such transcends hum. beings.

But a similar subreption also appears from another perspective, which has become very widespread in recent times and is rooted in the fact that people neglect the historical side of Xnty. Although it is indeed true, when one looks at the development of pagan self-consciousness, that the hypothesis first finds its confirmation in something univrsl, in an experience—or, because an experiment undertaken with the help of a hypothesis is itself an experience: namely, the experience that only the experience that is confirmed by experience is truth—and thus that the concept of tradition only comes in at a later stage, then it [the concept of tradition] has already been supplied through the Chr. development; for the paradigm of the hypothesis that

6 Wissen] *German,* knowledge (literally, "to know")

164 is experimented upon is of course faith (or, in this section, the doctrine of the faith), that is, an experience (by others). In this case the error always consists in going beyond a certain traditional linguistic relativity, a going-beyond that often represents itself as being speculative. For Xnity has actually developed the concept of tradition; but then, after the fact, a corresponding pagan analogy was discovered, and what was previously a fundamental portion now becomes a subdivision—a unvrsl hmn communication that is unvrslly grounded in man's (the race's) historical aspect; naturally, since it is historical, it is a background for their ideas, which lies beyond every pers. and which is given at every instant—this unvrsl tradition then comes as a subdivision, and what is strictly speaking the tradition properly so called.

Another consideration that this book evokes in me is this, How do things rlly stand in terms of the relation between the deduction of the standpoint and the standpoint itself as historically demonstrated. In a number of places it seems to me to be nothing more than a caricature that, as such, naturally has the stamp of the accidental and bears within itself the expression of the will whereby it concludes and crystallizes itself in defiance of the necessity of thought. Now the more the deduction becomes aware of this, the more it is in danger of becoming the best possible order of the accidental concretions of life rather than of the necessary incarnation of the idea. This is precisely the yawning gulf separating abstract deduction from historical actuality: even if it can be shown that the necessity of thought marks out the basis of such an element of thought, it by no means follows that it has demonstrated its historical actuality: *cur* deus homo?—I shall illuminate this with an example I take from the 19th lecture.

When it is thus said on p. 171 that, because reason only receives by means of experiment the confirmation it needs if it is to be true, it by no means follows that the "Beglaubigende, weil das Beglaubigte von ihm abhängt gegen dieses das Wesentlichere ist" Because, for one thing, this does not apply to the particular case,

[a]Hence, although Erd. thus successfully adheres to the purely historical aspect of faith[a] as something that does not exist outside of Xnty, he does not, on the other hand, do this by means of the tradition.

[a]see the first lectures.

[b]I believe that the transition contained in lecture 19 would be better accomplished this way:
The hypothesis must find its confir-

34 cur deus homo] *Latin,* why did God become man? **40** Beglaubigende . . . ist] *German,* the witness—because that which is witnessed to is dependent upon him—is the more essential.

mation in the experiment, and yet, on the other hand, must be independent of and indolent with respect to every particular thing (for the admission that it could be an unsuccessful experiment shows the superiority of the hypothesis); and nonetheless it is dependent on it; this can only happen when the particular case is essentially related to the hypothesis, i.e., when [it] is univrsl, when the Adam of the hypothesis finds its Eve (whereas it is only to the animals, the empirically isolated instances, that he gives—names).

23rd Nov. 37. K.

[c] I see the correctness of this observation confirmed within Erd.['s] own recapitulation of lecture 20, p. 187. So sucht sie endlich aus den gegebenen Objekten das heraus was von Andern als wahr bezeugt worden ist.

[d] "Wie liesest Du?["] "so daß die Lesart Criterium der Wahrheit wird." p. 178.

for in any case where things do not come out correctly the excuse that the experiment went wrong is held 165
open (as he also discussed earlier); and thus one can say that when one speaks about a particular case, it does not apply to anything at all. Yet if one takes it in its abstract form—that in general reason must find its confirmation by means of experiment—then it may well be true; nevertheless, it is equally true that the particular case must find its confirmation by means of reason (see 166 Wenn altso nur die *bestätigte* Theorie die Wahrheit ist, so andrerseits auch nur der durch die Theorie *erklärte* Fall). If the deduction ceases at this point, then it is accidental empiricism, which holds one back. This is on the one hand. Yet if we look more closely, in actuality this is not the way things are; for even though this standpoint asserts the historical element and thus does not distinguish between articuli fundamentales and non f.—and hence does not make the truth of the content the object of its consideration, but rather, it merely asks indifferently What do the Church Fathers teach, etc., then the same question recurs, merely in an altered form; for if I must again ask What is necessary for the Church to do, Which Church Fathers teach it, i.e., How significant, etc., in short, in what manner they stood in relation to the truth[c] (for the Church, after all, does not vote on the truth in this per saturam) —then, however, on closer examination, this standpoint is not indifferent with respect to the truth; and although during its research into what the Ch. teaches, what the scriptures [teach], it attempts to forget its standpoint, its self, its interest, nonetheless these eventually reemerge and are in any case latently present. Thus both the deduction and the historical standpoint seem to be corrupted. He breaks off the deduction in order to present a caricature, and from this he takes, not the true [deduction], but a caricatured halfway thing.

Lecture No. 21. **42**

But here we encounter a new difficulty. For although one perhaps must concede to Erd. that experience is

20 So sucht . . . ist] *German,* Thus it at last seeks, from the given objects, that which the others have attested to as true. **24** Wie . . . wird] *German,* How do you read? So that the manner of reading becomes the criterion of the truth.

10 Wenn . . . Fall] *German,* Thus if only the theory that has been confirmed is true, so also, on the other hand, only the case explained by the theory (is true). **17** articuli . . . non f.] *Latin,* fundamental [and] nonf(undamental) articles **27** per saturam] *Latin,* by chance, formlessly

not nearly as passive as we are generally inclined to believe, and therefore must concede the merits of Erd.['s]
166 exposition (e.g., by noting that one says: to *undertake* experience); yet neither can one deny that, precisely in
5 his application of this idea to the Christian domain, he thereby ventures onto the most dangerous terrain. For if, as is certainly quite true, all experience usually has an awakening effect, then the Chr[istian] [experience] has a fructifying [effect], and at this point a dispute over
10 boundaries arises, for the question then becomes: To what extent can I subject Xnty to my a priori judgment in the same way [I do] every other fact[?] It is this latter that is not clearly presented when he says: so wird also die Vernunft sich damit beruhigen können,
15 dass irgend ein religiöser Inhalt durch die innere Erfahrung sich also wahr zeigt.

In a way, all of this also manifests itself when here, as elsewhere, after developing a new standpoint, he makes the transition to a more specific application of it
20 with the following words: Machen wir die Anwendung auf dasjenige Gebiet, mit dem wir es zu thun haben. But it might very well be that the relation betw. these two domains does not get a particularly close examination.

25 In spite of the way in which Erdmann limits the aforementioned standpoint (p. 196), he nevertheless still uses the expression Reason, despite the fact that, according to p. 196, it seems to me that if he wants to be consistent he should use a different, stricter expres-
30 sion. This is on the other hand. Yet when he describes naturalism like this, which he does correctly, the whole standpoint suddenly comes to seem eccentric, whereby it falls outside of the horizon indicated by *Glauben und Wissen*—if faith is to be understood in this
35 purely historical, Christian sense. Thus I find confirmation that all of those parts of the exposition that deal with "experience[''] and observation actually do not belong within the quite properly defined Christian faith that is presented here, but that the primary
40 standpoint is that wherein, not reason, but Chr. experience seeks its confirmation in another experience.

13 so wird … zeigt] *German,* thus reason can console itself that any religious content shows itself as true through inner experience **20** Machen … haben] *German,* Let us make the application to the domain that concerns us.

167

the 26th. **43**

I think I now understand what Erdmann means when he says that the eccentricity of the later standpoint is in fact conditioned by its transition to the genuinely speculative, whereby its own presupposition (faith) is pulled along into doubt, whereby one thus discovers that within the immed. there is an element that then forces the later standpoint, as an element in the totality, to come to doubt its presupposition. To this extent, naturalism belongs here, because it is a doubting of a positive standpoint and hence has this as its presupposition, while at the same time it [naturalism] has the content [of the standpoint] as the object of its doubt.

re p. 218. **44**

Here there arises a difficulty in the presentation of supernaturalism. For it is certainly true that, if K[ant] has shown that there is no theoretical knowledge, this obviously would mean that the whole sphere is an sich closed to hum. consciousness and thus neither does it enter into a hum. being through consciousness; and I would therefore gladly concede to Göschel that non-knowing logically ends in nonbelieving.—but for this reason the supernaturalist also thinks that a total alteration must take place within consciousness; a development must begin all over again, just as eternally in the idea as the first. It is thus no doubt a mistake on the part of the s[upernaturalist] to tie his faith to the non-knowing of K., for, as noted, from K.['s] non-knowing there must come a nonbelief; and the faith of s[upernaturalism] is indeed a new consciousness. Thus the error manifests itself more clearly in rationalism, which remains precisely within the limits of the same consciousness—yet without realizing that, by conceding non-knowing in K['s] sense, it can never have faith in its understanding within the same consciousness, and that the only means by which to come to faith in this fashion is [through] a deeper investigation of the nature of consciousness.—

4th Dec.

168

On the Relation betw. Kant and Fichte. **45**

1) with respect to the deduction of both these standpoints, it seems to me, the same issue is at stake. That is, reason has now found a standpoint by means of which it avoided that difficulty that the

truth, when it was an object, came to be altered at the moment the subject wanted to appropriate it. This sphere is that of the purely practical. Here, it [reason] does not have to do with objects (see p. 235 bottom of page) except insofar as these shall have been produced [by reason]. Thus it has no dogma, no doctrine, but only a postulate: to have faith in God is to realize him. But this is also the case with Fichte, and—as Erd. develops in more detail in his remarks—Kant did not always strictly adhere to his standpoint, but sometimes took the word "postulate" in a sense more like an axiom, so this of course is not taken into consideration in the deduction.

2) But from where do K[ant] and F[ichte] acquire an object without the consideration of this [object] bringing about a halt in activity (and does not what K. said about the consideration of the object also apply, once and for all, to all objects[?]); but because truth is indeed infinite approximation through activity, then truth is of course acquired through an untruth, and where do they get these ideas concerning God etc. at all[?] (even if one adheres to the idea [of God] in the K[antian] sense, so that it does not refer to theoretical knowledge, but rather to a "regulative principle.") At most these can appear as results of —the infinite development, which does not say very much—it is thus a content that has no being and about which I thus cannot say much, both because I would then have to fall into the snares of a theoretical consideration and because I do not have time for it.

What is objective indeed comes after the fact; see. pp. 244 (at the bottom) and 245 (at the top); yet if it comes after the fact and also as that which, at the same instant, is supposed to be supplanted by a new subjective goal, then I cannot see how one could arrive at it, even if this is merely called postulating it; for there would not even be time for it. And every instant used in postulating it is of course, conceptually understood, on the verge of becoming something theoretical.—

A contribution toward understanding this relation is on pp. 245 and [2]46, where he says: ["]das nämlich, was bis dahin Object gewesen war (der religiöser Inhalt, Gott) ist itzt moralische Weltordnung d. h. seyende Vernünftigkeit, also die Substants des wollenden Subjectes d. h. mit ihm identisch" Because in Kant, with the words God, etc., there still appears, however minimally, the residue of a theoretical view; whereas, on the contrary, the purely practical side—as the only aspect that matters—emerges more strongly in the phrase: moralische Weltordnung.

35 das nämlich . . . identisch] *German,* that which up to this point had been the object (the religious content, God) is now the moral world order, i.e., existing rationality, hence the substance of the willing subject, i.e., identical with him.
42 moralische Weltordnung] *German,* moral world order

What he says about Schl[eiermacher] on p. 251 is very much correct: Der Schleiermachersche Standpunkt hat daher das große Verdienst, daß er das Gefühl der bloßen Accidentalität des Einzelwesens geltend gemacht hat. Eben aber, weil es dies *specifische* Gefühl ist, welches er geltend machte, treffen ihn die Einwände, welche die Gefühlstheologie überhaupt treffen, nicht.

Further p. 253. "Es braucht aber der große Unterschied zwischen dem mystischen Gefühl der Einheit mit Gott, wo das Einzelwesen als Einzelwesen sich der Wahrheit theilhaft weiß, und dem schlechthinnigen Abhängigkeitsgefühl, wo es seine Einzelheit als verschwindend weiß, nicht mehr besonders hervorgehoben zu werden.

Further pp. 266, bottom of page and [2]67, top of page: Schleiermacher konnte auf einem Standpunkt, wo Alles als Seyn gefaßt wird, auch die Verschiedenheit nur als eine Seyende fassen; daher unterscheiden sich bei ihm die Religionen nicht nur als Stufen sondern auch als Arten. Auf einen Standpunkte, wo dagegen die Wahrheit als sich Entwickelndes gewußt wird, werden die verschiedenen Religionen zu verschiedenen nothwendigen Entwiklungsstufen der Religion überhaupt.—

12th Dec. 37.

2 Der Schleiermachersche . . . nicht] *German,* Thus the standpoint of Schleiermacher has the great merit of emphasizing the individual being's feeling of pure accidentality. However, because it is this *specific* feeling that he emphasizes, he is not confronted by the objections that generally confront the theology of feeling. **9** Es braucht . . . werden] *German,* It is no longer particularly necessary to have emphasized the great difference between the mystical feeling of unity with God, where the individual being, as individual being, knows himself participative in the truth, and the feeling of absolute dependence, where he knows his singularity as something vanishing. **17** Schleiermacher . . . überhaupt] *German,* From the standpoint at which everything is grasped as being, Schleiermacher could also grasp the difference only as something existing; hence, for him the religions are not distinguished from one another merely as stages, but also as types. By contrast, from a standpoint where the truth is known as something self-developing, the different religions become the different developmental stages necessary for religion in general.

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46

Zeitschrift für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie.

v. Dr. J. H. Fichte.

Ersten Bandes erstes Heft.

In his essay "die drei Grundfragen der gegenwärtigen Philosophie"—which is a rejoinder to *die Philosophie unserer Zeit. Zur Apologie und Erlaüterung des Hegelschen Systemes v. Dr. Julius Schaller*. Leipzig 1837–1838, Weize tries to clarify the question concerning method, i.e., the absolute method. This question and its solution, ascribable to Hegel alone, [are] an essential result of Kant's idea of a critique of reason and Schelling's immed. intuition.—Hegel leaps over a standpoint, however, which is why it is necessary to return again to the honest path of Kant. His phenomenology was rlly supposed to represent this critique of knowledge, but it cannot; on the one hand, this can be shown from H.['s] tacit acknowledgment, because he omits it in the *Encyclopedia*, or at any rate only made use of separate bits of it in different places; on the other hand because, in a way, it completes the entire system, inasmuch as its individual evolutionary developments are not the univrsl knowledge that is led to the concept of knowledge through its own dialectic, which provides the fundamental basis for the transition from univrsl knowledge to the gen[uinely] speculative, but which also contains that which has not yet emerged for consciousness; but still the object that is present an sich, and thus also the individual movements, are the determinations of this. The philosophy that, like Hegel, assumes the identity of thought and being, must necessarily begin with logic, with "being," as the first, immed. identity of both, as the individual thought immediately identical with its object. After this [Weize] develops the matter of the requirement of the absolute necessity of method in relation to the content. W[eize] requires merely a relative necessity.

18th Dec.

[a] On the significance of method. On the relation betw. logic and natural science. 1

[b] "speculative logic" according to Weize.

[c] "The methodology rests essentially on the consciousness that the method, as such, has its seat in the subject; that, consequently, it must also become justified with respect to the subject, must arise within the subject along a normative path of self-development." Weize.

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47 W[eize] thus thinks that the method requires not absolute, but relative necessity; understood in its truth, it much more requires of the contents only a relative necessity, in the form of a presupposition that formerly had to be acknowledged as a fact, or rather, as a necessity dependent upon, or yielding to, this requirement.

NOTEBOOK 5

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175

1 Fantasies for a[1] Post Horn—

Farewell, you my home

[1]I am not particularly musical and it's the only instrument I play occasionally, and when I see that people now want to replace the post horn with a regular trumpet, and that postilions are to be subjected to an examination in performance, then it is high time to take leave [of it]. What a pity the transportation authorities can't bring in birds to perform certain soulful pieces, and not this meaningless twittering and cockiness no one can make anything of, or derive any genuine and elevating satisfaction from—retired journalists and other down-at-the-heels people could also be appointed

cf. p. 28

as Echoes in the various forest districts. True enough, that would mean that it was not always just as punctual, e.g., when Echo was on a visit somewhere else, but then again one would get to hear something worth hearing; for certain formulas should be applied and then one would know beforehand what was to be performed in the particular district, so that everyone could travel according to his taste. Otherwise I don't deny that it would be a strenuous business having to leap out of bed every time some hare-brained roistering German took it into his mind to convince himself that Echo was there, just as they would also have to be very well educated so as not to be asked in a language they don't understand,—very attentive so that confusing misunderstandings would not arise and they would not all too frequently have to say, Pardon[?]—

2 Farewell, accept my greetings

Greetings to you, mighty nature, with your fugitive beauty, it is not you I want, it is the memory of you, in vain do you check me in my progress, you must yield to the mighty power of destiny which with
176 every turn of the wheel begets the fate that you cannot resist, runs on over you[1]

[1]Greetings, you village beauty, young girl, who poke your head inquisitively out of the window; fear not, I shall not disturb your peace; ah, just look straight at me so that I do not completely forget you; greetings to you, winged dweller of heaven, you who soar so easily upward to where we others strive with such difficulty—

It is this superficiality that is so typical of travels; which is why they also usually say of the postilion when he blows, that he is blowing the fat off the soup **3**

Melodrama for the Post Horn **4**

spare me however *5*
the perpetual tooting

Wake up, get up, dress in all your glory, it is not you who in your fugitive chase will rush past over our heads, you must stay, it is we who in fugitive haste glide by you **5**

There [is] no one I would rather have fall down, or have Knippelbro raised in front of, etc. than these hard pressed businessmen who have so infinitely much to get done in the world, while the rest of us, when Knippelbro is raised, find it a good opportunity to fall into a reverie— **6**

Semi-Pelagianism is no position at all, it dies out in the infinite particularity of phenomena, semper numularii instar deum computatione instruit, semper inter arma nunquam neque beatitatem pacis neque lætitiam victoriæ reportat, semper anxie,[1] it says this individual perhaps needs it, another individual perhaps does not need it; if we then ask why not, it cannot answer but simply says that is how *20* it is; if we ask why, it must also answer because that is in fact how 177 it is, or is it because a greater corruption demands it; then the question is how great this is supposed to be, but it cannot answer this either— **7**

[1]semper indagans, verbosus garrulus nunquam propositi potitus habeant, valeant vivant cum illa— *25*

Si philosophi hujus ævi jure contenderint, disputationes ipsorum et magna eorundem de ph. merita ignorare immo non in succum et sanguinam convertere non impunite licere, equidem non negaverim mihi persuasum esse, melius veritati consultum iri, si illorum vestigia non *30* **8**

16 semper numularii . . . semper anxie] *Latin,* always equips God like a broker with an account book; although always armed, it never brings either blessed peace or joyful victory; always acts parsimoniously. **25** semper indagans . . . cum illa] *Latin,* always investigating, expansive, garrulous, never reach their goal. They can keep it, and much good may it do them. **27** Si philosophi hujus ævi . . . pugnandum est] *Latin,* Even if the philosophers of our time rightly maintain that one cannot with impunity ignore their treatises and great services to philosophy,

secuti non vitam ex systemate disponere et interpretari, sed systema tandem ex experientia evadere atque prodire conamur ab utrimque enim pugnandum est—

9 Precisely because with Chrstnty an entirely new life arises in humankind, it will be impossible to decide anything about the immediacy that precedes—and will, in all eternity, precede—the mediacy and dialectic that are given through reflection; this is similar to natural birth if the soul may be thought of in a spontaneous relation to the creating deity; in this way it is apparent that it becomes a purely metaphysical question about which [one] begins, and the individual reflecting upon it must always become conscious of a relation to the divine, but precisely because spiritual birth itself lies beyond all consciousness, it has to be situated in the div., and the fact that the individual can reflect upon it shows the priority of the divine—

10 When the individual, having abandoned all efforts to find himself outside himself in existence, relations, and surroundings, now turns toward the highest after this shipwreck, he becomes aware, after this emptiness, not only of the absolute in its fullness, but also of the responsibility he feels he has

indeed, can even less refrain from putting them into active and vigorous practice, I will, for my own part, not refrain from expressing the conviction that the truth would be better served if we refrained from following their pattern, by not dividing life up and interpreting it according to a system, but permit the system finally arise from and originate from experience, for the struggle is to be waged from both sides.

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It is impossible—you say, etc— **11**

179
12 on good deeds—

Shadows—the right hand doesn't know what the left hand is doing—

180

God's fatherly love— **13**

181
14 or did you never see him, the loving father.

1) bringing up
2) effecting a deeper fellowship of love

182
those who were called at the 11th hour— **15**

183

16 Lord, our God, you know our cares better than we ourselves know them, you know how easily the anxious mind entangles itself in unseasonable and self-made worries, we would pray that you will give us insight to see through their unseasonableness and pride, to scorn them, these busy self-made cares; but the cares you place upon us, we pray that we may humbly accept them from your hand, and that you will give us strength to bear them—

184
and let us not imagine that care is more meritorious than joy, self- **17**
torment, etc.—

185

18 The view that Hegel is a parenthesis in Schelling seems to be taking hold more and more; people are merely waiting for it to be closed

19 I am always accused of using long parentheses. Reading for my examination is the longest parenthesis I have experienced.

20 The a priori character of faith can be grasped partly *from the side of knowledge*, because that is the one that has heaven, has overcome every doubt, for doubt is the demonic that lies betw. heaven and earth; *partly from the side of the deed*, because it is the assurance of victory Rom 8.

21 Hegel, in any case, deserves credit[;] the philosophy of the most recent past had almost brought to fruition the thought that language existed to conceal thoughts (because thought was absolutely unable to express das Ding an sich), whereas Hegel shows that thought is immanent in language and is developed within it; the other thinking was a constant fumbling with the Thing—

22 It is the very meaning of omnipresence that God is not just present in all places and at all times, but also that he is totally present in his presence, present in his absoluteness in each individual, wholly in each and yet in all[;] he is not as though parceled out and therefore partially present in each and totally present himself successively, that is pantheism; he is totally in each individually and yet in all[;] that is theism, personality, individuality, but having borne this in mind the organic development will also acquire its deeper and fuller validity, just as certainly as an army would not be the poorer because every soldier was a general in spirit

23 One sees from this also that faith is a more concrete qualification than immed. because from the purely human standpoint the secret of all knowledge is to think of what is given in immed.; in faith we
186 receive something that is not given and can never be deduced from the preceding consciousness, for this was the consciousness of sin

14 das Ding an sich] *German,* the thing in itself

and the other is assurance of the forgiveness of sins, but this assurance does not result in the same way that knowledge arises with internal consistency out of doubt, and everyone will surely sense the frivolity of conceiving of it in this way, or more correctly, someone who conceived it in this way does not have the preceding position (the consciousness of sin), but it is a free act. Nor is the consciousness of sin an arbitrary hum. act, like doubt; it is an objective act, because the consciousness of God is immanent within the consciousness of sin. In addition, the consciousness of the forgiveness of sins is linked to an external event, Xst's whole appearance, which is indeed not extrnl in the sense of foreign to us, of no concern to us, but ext. as *historical*.—

Somewhere in Engeland [*sic*] there is a gravestone with only these words on it: The Unhappiest Man. I could imagine someone reading it and thinking there was no one buried there but that it was intended for him **24**

The hum. race regarded under the image of the prodigal son.—[w]ho came into the world at the moment the race said to God, like the son, in the gosp., [said] to the father[:] Divide and share with us, let us receive the *inheritance* owed us **25**

Troels Lund told me that one time as a lad, when he was about to take a walk in the woods with an older relative, he wanted ardently to get hold of a pipe, was able to borrow one, and that the object of all his desires at the time became to own a pipe; 20 years later he received that same pipe as a gift—ah, how much he had wished for since that time **26**

there is a special way **27**

I am unfortunately too intelligent not to feel the pangs of knowledge, too unintelligent to feel its blessedness,—and the knowledge that leads to blessedness and the blessedness that leads to knowledge of truth have hitherto remained a secret to me. **28**

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29 nihil extra deum
nihil præter deum

30 Humor can be either religious or demonic (in relation to the two mysteries)

31 and however dizzy you become, however much thoughts confuse you, as a Xtn you are still a citizen in the realm about which we proudly say[:] there the sun never sets—

#

32 That philosophy has to begin with a presupposition must be seen not as a fault but as a *blessing*, which is why this an sich is a curse from which it can never be free—this is the dispute betw. consciousness as the empty form, as the fixed image of the transient object, a problem which has its counterpart in freedom, how the contentless Arbitrium which, like a scale, has nothing to do with the content, but as infinite abstract elasticity stays victorious and indifferent in all eternity—how this becomes positive freedom.—here, too, we encounter a presupposition, because this liberum arbitrium is never really to be found but is already given in the world's very existence—

33 It is precisely because humor wants to have the absolute without the relative that it gropes about in the most desperate leaps, always within the most awful relativity—
the one glass magnifies (a blade of grass is worth more than all wisdom) diminishes (rather hear wisdom from the mouth of a Pharisee against his will than from an apostle)—

2 nihil extra deum/nihil præter deum] *Latin,* nothing without God, nothing besides God **11** an sich] *German,* in itself **15** Arbitrium] *Latin,* judgment, will, authority **18** liberum arbitrium] *Latin,* free choice, free will, arbitrary freedom

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Nyhavn 282 the Charlottenborg side— **34**

NOTEBOOK 6

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191
1

[The Jutland Journey.]

17 July.

Kallundborg.—

The smack. How dreadfully tiresome the conversation generally is when one has to be together in this way for such a long time; just as toothless old people have to turn food over in the mouth so often, a certain remark is repeated so often that in the end it has to be spat out. There were 4 clergymen on the crossing, and although it lasted 8 to 9 hours (for me an eternity), the seasoned travelers found it unusually swift, which gave all the clergymen occasion first to remark individually that skippers usually did not like having clergymen aboard because their presence brought headwinds, and then, the truth of this assertion having been rebutted, at the end of the voyage to join in full chorus to establish it as a principle that all this about headwinds was not so. In vain I stretched the sails of my hearing organs to capture a light breeze; a dead calm prevailed. From all 4 directions all one heard tell was that skippers did not want clergymen aboard (which shows how dubious a good the dissolution of the parish boundaries is, for despite the fact that on board the smack there was complete parish freedom, and I could listen to whichever clergyman I wanted to, it did not help in the least). As each of the clergymen seemed equally interested and justified in being the owner of this story, none of them would of course grant another a privilegium exclusivum.—I had hoped I myself would become seasick, or failing that, all the other passengers. There is something special about watching people go on board for an excursion at sea. A sea voyage is like a miniature of all human life. People on board come from the most varied circumstances and occupations, but one common danger threatens them all (I am not thinking of the possible sinking of the ship): becoming seasick. This thought is the sounding board for the whole thing, the keynote that
192 resounds in everything, whether it is expressed in a certain solemn stillness or in forced merriment or a blustering heartiness: what is specific to all these moods is their relation to this one thought—hence the tragicomedy. Just as death is the infinite humorist who encompasses everything (whereas the humor of mankind is on the contrary always limited, because even in its most desperate form it always has a line beyond which it cannot go, something the great-

25 privilegium exclusivum] *Latin,* exclusive right

ness of which it must itself acknowledge)—it digests everything with equal ease: a king and a beggar, one who cries out to the heavens and one who bears his cross in silence—just so does the comic element in seasickness consist in the fact that all earthly relativity, from which none can completely emancipate themselves, is here suspended. Without petty jealousy they lie beside one another, the greatest contrasts. But just because there is this enormous earnest in death, it is itself the illumination in which the great passions, both good and evil, are transparent, where they are no longer limited by the external; hence the love that expresses itself so touchingly because it is present in its extreme opposite, in the separation. C. Boesen told me of a young girl accompanied by her married sister and the latter's children on the steamship. The married sister suffered cramps while seasick; the young girl was seasick herself but tried all the same to stay upright in order to help the children. Here love was certainly present, and perhaps just as strong, as true, as it certainly takes great strength to overcome the tedium of seasickness in order to be able to be concerned about others; but the love moved in an imperfect medium, for precisely owing to its transitory character seasickness is so insignificant that one cannot remain properly serious when one imagines a young girl constantly interrupted in her solicitude by—throwing up.

Aarhuus, 18 July. **2**

Life in these market towns is just as wretched, ridiculous, and abgeschmakt as the gait one adopts in the streets. It is useless trying to proceed with a certain dignity (for to walk and meditate is absolutely impossible; the meditation itself would turn out to be nothing but dashes)—and then when one also imagines oneself the object of this typical market town's curiosity—?

*

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NB. Anders at the parade of the town militia.—Kalløe Castle and Marsk-Stig = "King Mastic."—Knebel: the formation of the three burial mounds.— **3**

The visit to Aarhuus Cathedral; the organ.—The voracious appetite of market towns for "news from the capital" (they have no independent life as they do in the countryside), which is especially attractive to someone like me who travels in order *to forget.* **4**

25 abgeschmakt] *German,* tasteless, fatuous

5 †

I am so listless and cheerless that not only have I nothing that fills my soul, I cannot even conceive of anything that could possibly satisfy it—alas, not even the bliss of heaven.

6 †

To you, O God, we turn for *peace* … but give us also the blessed assurance that nothing could take this peace from us, *not we ourselves,* not our poor, earthly wishes, my wild desires, not the restless craving of my heart!

7 †

It is dreadful, the total spiritual barrenness I suffer at this time, just because it is combined with a consuming longing, with a spiritual ardor—and yet so formless that I don't even know what it is I lack.

8 *The Vagrant; the Vagabond.*

A young man, born in *Christiansfeldt* of a prosperous father, who brought him up very strictly; he became dissolute; the father finally washed his hands of him; he travels to Germany and lives as a vagabond on the highway. Returned after a few years, came to Funen, where a venerable cleric exhorted him to ransack his soul; it helped; he stayed with him for a time, was treated very kindly, if not as a member of the family yet not as a servant, ate in his own room, 194 etc. One day he was working in the garden, and handsome fellow that he was, he attracted the attention of an old colonel who was visiting the priest. He wanted to have him as his servant. Prevailed on him to allow it. Now a new life began for the young man. The colonel was a bachelor and not unusually for the elderly acquired a fondness for him, and soon the young man became everything to him and altogether indispensable.—So it went for two years. One morning the colonel rings as usual, but no one comes; the old man becomes uneasy, goes into the young man's room, where he finds a letter addressed to him dearly begging his forgiveness: "but the

walking stick has again become too warm in my hand, and I yearn for the German highways." Since that time no one has heard anything from him.—

As a final act in this connection I could use the incident from Viborg penitentiary that Mrs. Boesen recounted to me in Knebel.

She and her husband visited the penitentiary. In a room they found 5 or 6 adult gypsies (about 25 to 30 years old) who were being taught the alphabet in order to be prepared for confirmation. C. Boesen asked the teacher which of them was the smartest, and he pointed to one of them, whereupon C. encouraged him to persevere with his efforts "since *he,* after all, had nothing on his conscience, and the prospect of becoming a useful member of the state was now opening up for him in so many ways." They left the prison and wondered a little at the jailer locking it up and so shutting the teacher up with his pupils. They asked the jailer who the teacher was and learned to their great amazement that *he,* too was a prisoner who had formerly been a private tutor but had stolen from a cash box. C. B. now realized the significance of his words, as they must have been very mortifying to the teacher, who, seen from this standpoint, must have had a great deal on his conscience.—Now I will imagine that this teacher was my vagrant.

---

in Mols **9**

The consciousness of sin should no more be vaporized through careless observations about a commune naufragium than constrict itself to a despairing fixation upon what, for the individual, is self-incurred, not degenerate into a self-torment as if a kind of satisfaction [for transgressions] lay in it. Just as the mind should be ready and willing to bear the dispensations of fate *also* when these present themselves as self-incurred consequences, so should the man be assured that he will also be granted the strength to bear them;—but how could the individual be convinced that he will receive the strength to bear a burden when it is one laid upon him with his *own* hand and he must therefore fight proprio marte—? **10** 195

Socrates **11**

25 commune naufragium] *Latin,* common shipwreck **34** proprio marte] *Latin,* by his own hand; on his own

12 It is indeed an indescribably wonderful presentation of the power of love to ennoble the human being, or of the human being's rebirth through Eros, that we find in the *Symposium*.

---

13 It is a strangely sad feeling that grips one on seeing how the poetic presents itself through the individual in the course of his development. For the poetic is of course the divine weft in purely human existence, the fibers through which the deity holds fast to existence. One would think *they* were the happy ones, these gifted individuals, these living telegraphs between God and human beings. But that is just what they are not. Madness was their lot, yes, and being unappreciated, damnation, in short annihilation of their personal existence as lacking the strength to endure the movements of the divine. And they go through the world in this way, *misunderstood,* unheeded, *reviewed* (can one imagine anything more ridiculous!),—yes, misunderstood, for wouldn't the same have to happen to each who *understood* them, wouldn't *he too* have to burn? And it is *this* that is the glory of the world, *this* the highest and best on earth: *the poet,* . . . this most venerable name with which one associated the most sublime of feelings, the most blessed expectations,—and yet all that fell to him was: to feel a thirst that can never be assuaged. The poetic existence in the personality is the *unconscious sacrifice,*[1] 196 the divine's molimina—only in the religious[2] is the *sacrifice conscious* and the disparity thereby cancelled.

[1]As among the Jews to be with child was the epitome of the highest blessedness, so is the poetic that epitome [of blessedness] for every human being in whom something higher stirs, and yet Rachel reproved God, saying: If this is what it is to be with child, why did I become so?

[2]Thus Goethe is less appealing because he is too conscious of himself to be a sacrifice and not profound enough to want to be one.

---

14 It isn't want that arouses the true ideal longings in the human being, but abundance; for the want still contains an earthly skepticism.

23 molimina] *Latin,* exertions, toil and trouble

The whole *trouble with me* is that when I was pregnant with ideas **15**
I *was infatuated with* the *ideal.* That's why I give birth to deformities
and why actuality doesn't conform to my fervent longings,—and
may God grant that this will not also be true in love, for there too I
am seized by a secret anxiety that an ideal has been confused with
what is actual. God forbid! It is not *yet* so.

But this anxiety, that makes me so eager to know the future and
yet fear it!—

The voyage down the Gudenaa to Albæk; the visit to Støvringgaard's **16**
cloister; the evening light.

I had thought of preaching for the first time in the church at **17**
Sæding, and it would have to be this Sunday. To my no little surprise
I see that the text is Mk 8:1–10 (the feeding of the 4 thousand), and I
was struck by the words, "From whence can a man satisfy these
men with bread *here in the wilderness*?" seeing that I am to be speak-
ing in the poorest parish in the Jutland *heath district.*

197

The visit at *Hald;* the old man I met who lay carelessly on his back **18**
in the heather with only the walking stick in his hand. He accom-
panied me to Non Mill. We came past a running stream called
Koldbæk; he assured me that it was the most delicious water in the
whole region, whereupon he went down to it, lay full length on his
stomach and drank from it. We continued on our way, and he con-
fided to me that he actually had gone out in order to beg.

What a happy life! So unconcerned as he lay there sleeping in the
heather, so content refreshing himself there with the cool water. If he
slept a little too long, what of it, he had no dealings on the stock
exchange, … and when he arrives at his destination he greets the
master and mistress, talks of the hard times, laments "that he did
not get to talk to the king in Viborg, as there was no one who got less
than two rix-dollars." Now he is ushered into the servants' hall. The

people come back from the fields; food is served. He is told all that has gone on in the household, and while satisfying his hunger he skims for an hour the cream of that humble stock of events (for compared to the more complicated historical life, the still life is like Swiss cows compared to Dutch dairy cows: they give less milk but it is more aromatic. For what an aroma lingers over the sparse events of quiet domestic life). After that he rambles home, perhaps lying down to sleep along the way.

And this is the life we are brought up to scorn! And we others, whether we stress and strain or possess in abundance while we sleep, what a life we ourselves lead! The earth no longer yields by itself what human life needs for sustenance, but still, doesn't such a life remind us most of our paradisial origin? Even the aegis that life goes under: "In God's Name." Is that not an incantation which in a supernatural way comes by what cannot be obtained naturally? And is not the soul thus, precisely through this way of life, set free, emancipated from the tyranny in which abundance no less than poverty binds us?

There are moreover several stages in this life. This is the simplest. Others represent more individual features of the poetic: fiddlers, masters in storytelling, in ingratiating, etc. These give as it were recompense for usus fructus. Is it not *this* life, after all, in all its forms, that has promised not to own anything but which retains simply usus fructus—?

198 What I didn't like was the good fellow wanting to kiss my hand because I gave him 1 mark. I would have preferred more bold confidence.—

(On the way I met an old woman carrying a cradle on her shoulder. I couldn't help thinking of one of those old creatures who are poetry's dry nurses for children, imparting the mother's milk of poetry. But my expectations were unfounded, for although she seemed to know Hald from the old days, it turned out to be no more than 70 to 80 years back.)

My beggar, however, was well informed. On my asking him who had owned Hald long ago, he replied that it went back to very old times. I already had some misgivings and was half afraid that this too would turn out to be 70 years; but then he told the story of Herr Bugge who was besieged for 7 years at Hald, finally having just one cow, which was led out to water every day covered with different hides. A poor woman was admitted into the stronghold and came back with large gifts and assured the enemy that Hald could withstand 7 more years of siege without being starved out.

22 usus fructus] *Latin,* the legal right to use and enjoy something belonging to another.

19

The walk on the *heath.* (The wooded area near Hald; the woman and little boy who disappeared into the thicket when I came along, and though unwilling to look at me, answered my questions.) I lost my way; in the distance loomed a dark mass which undulated to and fro like a perpetual unrest. I thought it was a forest. I was quite surprised as I knew there was no forest in the area apart from the one I had just left; alone on the burning heath, surrounded on all sides by the most consummate uniformity except for the undulating sea straight ahead, I became positively seasick and desperate at being unable to come any closer to the woods for all my strenuous walking; I never got there either, for when I came out on the main road to Viborg it was still visible, only now with the white road as a starting point I saw that it was the heathered slopes on the other side of Viborg Lake. Precisely because one has such a wide vista out on the heath, there is nothing at all to measure with; one walks and walks, objects do not change, because there actually is no *ob*ject (for to be an object always requires the existence of an *other* whereby it becomes an *ob*ject; but the eye is not that other, the eye is the combining faculty).

199

20

Hundrup told me about a luckless genius, a poor grammar school teacher Andresen, who was very dilapidated, frequented the most unprepossessing places, and showed off his mathematical proficiency there. One time, in just such a place, he met a traveler, whom he promptly nabbed, and exhibited his skills in a number of ingenious mathematical calculations on the condition of free board as his reward; when he had finished and the traveler, who had actually enjoyed his exposition, asked how much he should pay him for his board, he answered: 4 shillings, 2 for beer and 2 for brandy.

21

Just like certain bird songs, the mystic is heard only in the still of the night; most often a mystic therefore has less significance for the din of current times than for the heedful kindred spirit, listening after the course of time, in the stillness of history.

22 Wherever I arrive in market towns the one I always meet first is a man beating a drum and loudly proclaiming some or other important piece of news, e.g., in Aarhuus: that because of the torrential rainstorm the streets are to be swept. How important everything is in these small market towns. In *Holstebro* there was target shooting, which had already gone on for one day. I wish the honorable inhabitants of Holstebro success in having this rare entertainment last at least 8 days. The bird also seemed to be very tenacious of life, for although the wing was shot off (at least the prize was bestowed upon the lucky winner), it still sat there. The town judge was present in all his high distinction and performed microscopic observations with the aid of a telescope. The only thing lacking was that the town should have had an official newspaper in which to publish the results. Anders was as highly entertained by the shooting club in Holstebro as by the parade of the town militia in Aarhuus, when it marched out onto the field with drums beating and flags flying.—In Viborg the king arrived too late one night, for which reason the entire population did not go to bed but sat up like the wise virgins. The queen arrived at 2½ A. M., and then the illumination began. Up until now, in each of the market towns where I have been after the king, the inhabitants have maintained they know from a very reliable source that nowhere had he enjoyed himself as much as with them.

In Holstebro, the Jerusalem of hosiers, Father was of course remembered. I met old Fell, who had been in partnership with Troels Lund.

When we passed the church in *Idum* the postilion insisted that the pastor's name was Giedde, whereupon I jumped off to greet him. My reception was somewhat cool, and although I did not know his family I had by no means expected anything like this. But it proved to be a misunderstanding, for the pastor's name was *Gjeding.*

23 The girls here in the Ringkjøbing region go around in men's hats. It looks very affected; as I passed by I saw one of them run out into the field; she could have been taken for a man, but her walk betrayed that it was a woman. In the afternoon I met one of them and expected to have the pleasure of her taking off her hat to me, so that I could take mine off in return.

I sit here all alone (many times I have been just as alone but not so aware of it) and count the hours until I shall see *Sæding*. I can never recall any change in my father, and now I am to see the places where as a poor boy he tended sheep, the places for which, because of his descriptions of them, I have been so homesick. What if I were to become ill and be buried in the Sæding churchyard! Strange idea. His last request to me is fulfilled—is that to be all that *my* earthly destiny amounts to? In God's name! Yet in relation to what I owed to him the task was not so paltry. I learned from him what fatherly love is, and through this I gained a conception of divine fatherly love, the one single unshakable thing in life, the true Archimedean point. **24**

I would like to know what a young girl **25**

201

It is said here in Sæding parish that there is a house in which there lived a man who at the time of the plague survived everyone else and buried them. He dug deep furrows in the heather and buried the bodies in long rows. **26**

In the aroma that hay always gives off, to stand just outside the gate to that little place in the late evening light; the sheep wander home and provide the foreground; dark clouds broken by the solitary bright patches of light that clouds have when heralding strong winds,—the heath rising in the background — — if only I might properly be able to remember the impression of this evening. **27**

† **28**

As one is accustomed to say: nulla dies sine linea, so can I say of this journey: nulla dies sine lacryma.

29 nulla dies sine linea] *Latin,* no day without a stroke **30** nulla dies sine lacryma] *Latin,* no day without a tear

29 The heath must be peculiarly suited to developing spiritual strength; here everything lies *naked* and *unveiled* before God, and there is no place here for all those distractions, the many nooks and crannies in which consciousness can take cover and where seriousness often has difficulty catching up with *distracted* thoughts. Here consciousness has to take a firm and precise grip on itself. "Whither shall I flee from thy presence?" is something one can truly say on the heath.

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30 In Aarhuus, Randers, etc. the cows are really on a higher cultural plane than those in Copenhagen (they know how to find their way home, and the like). That's why they are also spoken of with a certain deference, as by my postilion from Salten; when I asked what sort of animals were grazing, he answered: "Those are all Aarhuus cows."

202

31 It seems I am really to experience opposites. After staying 3 days with my poor aunt, almost like Ulysses' cronies with Circe, the first place I visited afterward is so overcrowded with counts and barons that it was awful. I spent the night in Them and the evening as well as the morning in the company of Count Ahlefeldt, who invited me to visit him in Langeland. Today the only acquaintance I met was my old, noble friend Rosenørn.

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32 The parish clerk in Sæding made a very solemn farewell speech to me, in which he assured me that he could see from my father's gift that he must have been a friend of enlightenment and I could rest assured that he would work for it in Sæding parish.

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33 On the road to Aarhus I saw a most amusing sight: two cows roped together came cantering past us, the one frisking about with a jovial swing to its tail, the other, as it appeared, more prosaic and quite in despair at having to take part in the same movements.— Aren't most marriages so arranged?

---

34 There is indeed an equilibrium in the world. To one God gave the joys, to the other the tears and permission every once in a while to rest in his embrace;—and yet the divine reflects itself far more beautifully in the tear-dimmed eye, just as the *rain*bow is more beautiful than the clear blue sky.

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35 How glorious the sound of the dragoons blowing assembly: it's as if I already heard the hoof beats as they came charging in,—listen, they triumph, the cry of victory shrills through the air,—and yet what are all bugle calls compared to the one the archangel will blow some day: "Awake, you who sleep, the Lord is coming!"

NOTEBOOK 7

NOTEBOOK 7

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1 Je tiefer wir in uns versinken,
Je näher dringen wir zur Hölle,
Bald fühlen wir des Glutstroms Welle,
Und mussen bald darin vertrinken;
Er zehrt das Fleisch von unserm Leibe,
Und öde wirds im Zeitvertreibe,
In uns ist Tod!
Die Welt ist Gott!
O Mensch lass nicht vom Menschen los,
Ist deine Sünde noch so groß
Meid nur die[1] Sehnsucht nach den Sünden
So kannst Du noch viel Gnade finden;
Wer hat die Gnade noch ermessen?
Es kann der Mensch so viel vergessen

Die Gräfinn Dolores 2nd vol. p. 260.

[1]for even in repentance a longing for sin can be concealed, if the repentance is more contemplatively anesthetizing than it is awakening.—

1 Je tiefer . . . vergessen] *German,* The deeper we sink into ourselves, the closer do we push toward Hell. Now we feel the waves of fire, in which we sink, and now we waste our substance on this very maelstrom's drink. It consumes the flesh from off our bones, and desolate becomes our pastime, all alone. Within us, Death! The world is God! Oh, man, tear not yourself loose from all your kin, no matter how great, how many be your sins. But shun your longing for perdition, and grace abounding you'll find for your condition; who can fathom it, this grace? There's so much a person's mind can easily erase.

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7th Sunday a.[fter] T.[rinity] **2**
see my diary from my journey.

Lord, our God! All of creation looks up to you and expects food and nourishment from you; you open your gentle hand and satisfy all living things with blessing. You hear the cry of an animal, you take note of the lamentation of a hum. being. They lift up their thoughts to you—they to whom you gave much, because they know that everything comes from you and that no bounty can satisfy if it has not been blessed by you; they to whom you gave little, because they know that no gift from you is so small that it cannot become bounteous with your blessing.

[a]Just as every gift is good when it is received with thankfulness, every gift is great when God blesses it. . . . also when you give, my listeners, it is the blessing that satisfies; and the widow, with her humble gift and her rich blessing, serves as a consolation for you who have only little to give.

From the midst of life's varied activities . . . he called **3** the people to himself, and they gathered around him in the *festive* times when he lived on earth. he proclaimed the heavenly. He sternly rebuffed those who still sought the earthly "let the dead bury the dead," etc. . . . and he himself walked among them as a shining example of how little a hum. being needs, "he had nowhere to lay his head, his *bread* was to do his father's will["]; and if he then had left the earth, if after having taught them he had rebuffed them, saying: Now I have taken care of your spiritual well-being, depart now and satisfy yourselves, I do not know of these concerns, I disdain them . . . but he did not do this; I have compassion on the multitude, he said . . . And he did not show himself in the clouds as an airy form who waved to hum. beings and said, Forget the concerns of the world, forget its joys, follow me . . . . . but he knew them, for he, too, had been *hungry in the desert*. He does not put asunder what God has joined together but unites it, when he says: Seek ye first God's kingdom and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.

207 **All these things shall be added unto us.**
We see that this was the case in this instance; for they had followed Xst in order to be taught, in order to be guided in finding God's kingdom, and they did not demand food from him, so it really was *added* unto them.

We will contemplate 1) God's concern for us; and if we are frugal we will see that, after all, there was always enough, even here in these impoverished districts where it was so often said How shall we find bread for the multitude in this *desert*; for as Luther says so beautifully, one has never heard of a Christian hum. being who died of hunger.

2) we will permit our mind to be guided to what is higher. Later, Xst himself reproves them: they did not come to him because they saw signs and wonderful deeds, but because they ate and were satisfied. God's concern for earthly things must indeed lead us to think of higher things and not make us more and more unreasonable in our wishes.—

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4 .... and indeed we occasionally heard—all too often—the wild cry of these sorrows, when one or another wish was not fulfilled; yes, what is life, what is the bliss of heaven itself; how could it compensate me for the loss of the one thing in the world I desired; but we must not *love the world* in this way.—

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5 The one thing that comforts me is that I could lie down and die, and then at the moment of my death I could confess the love I dare not confess as long as I live, which makes me equally happy and unhappy.

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6 Lord, my God, give me once again the courage [to] hope; merciful God, let hope once again fructify my bare and barren spirit.—

208

7 It is curious how scholastic dialectics call to mind the gothic style in which poverty reigns right in the midst of all the apparently great wealth, because the same scanty means (the same syllogistic process) are used over and over but are merely combined so richly—it is altogether remarkable that the gothic is the artistic form most observant of mathematical relationships and yet is Romantic, and scholastic dialectics are the most hair-splitting and yet are Romantic. From this one sees that the Romantic lies in the dialectical, in the *unending struggle*

1 [a]*Der heilige Franciscus ein Troubadour* by J. Görres.—

8 The genuine moment of enjoyment also includes this: that the existence with which one is surrounded is more and more annihilated; this is why the banquet scene in *D. Giovanni* is so interesting, because everything has been taken from him, his luxurious chambers; [he retains] only a little out-of-the-way room—this is precisely the hypochondriac's delight: while hovering over annihilation, to summon up all the power of the imagination one more time; the delight of the hypochondriac is the infinite commingling of actual and imagined delight. But the imagined delight satisfies even more than the actual, and I think that a D. Giovanni does not become tired nearly as quickly as a hypochondriac.

9 the dreaming person lifts himself up to higher and higher potentiations; thus a dream within a dreamt existence (which makes the latter into a sort of reality) is so infinitely volatilizing. With what infinite passion a younger person can read the words of P. Møller's poem, "The Old Lover":

Then comes a dream from the spring of my youth
To my easy chair
I conceive an inward longing for you,
Thou sun among women.

209 Here the younger person dreams to the 2nd power; first, he dreams himself old; then, he imbibes the most aromatic moment of his earliest youth, funneling it through an entire life.

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10 As is well known, there are insects that die at the very instant of fertilization, so that the entirety of all joys, the highest, most sumptuous moment of delight—is accompanied by death.—

11 Next to taking off every stitch of clothing, owning nothing in the world, not the least little thing, and then hurling myself into the
10 water, nothing pleases me more than speaking a foreign language, preferably a living one, in order to become quite foreign to myself.

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12 A traveling humorist who gathers preliminary studies, first drafts,
15 for a theodicy; he travels and searches as widely as possible, experiencing everything in order to prove that everything is illusory.

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13 Of course, to laugh at a point where, in accordance with the natural order of things, one ought to cry, must be viewed as rebellion
20 against God. I believe that laughing is humanity's own invention, crying is a gift of divine grace; thus one also hears people say, God grant that I could really come to cry.

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14 I would like to establish an order pledged to silence, like the Trap-
25 pists, not for religious but for aesthetic reasons, so that, if possible, all the chitchat heard nowadays might fall silent.—

═

210

15 it takes more courage to suffer than to act, more courage to forget than to remember, and perhaps the most wonderful thing about
30 God is that he can forget the sins of hum. beings.

═

The pagan believed that God reserved vengeance for himself because it was sweet; the Jews think that vengeance belongs to God because he is righteous; the Xians because he is merciful. What wonder, then, that the pagans were vengeful, for they of course wanted to taste the sweetness that the gods had reserved for themselves. **16**

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My doubt is frightful. — Nothing can stop me—it is a hunger of damnation, I can consume every sort of reasoning, every consolation, every comfort—I overrun all resistance at a speed of 10,000 miles a second.— **17**

═

and it is not only in the visible world that God lets his light rise on the good and the evil, his sun shine upon the just and the unjust—No, in his church he of course lets his blessing shine upon the good and the evil on every holy day.— **18**

═

I should like to portray in a novella a man who deals in jewels. He would have to be a Jew. His attachment to these valuables (he loved them so much that sometimes he could become confused about whether he should sell them); the great insight into a secret story of ruined prosperity and plenty—this fine diamond had belonged to a man who in his [day] had 2 barrels of gold at his disposal; I will not name him, he is still alive and is a respectable man, but his money is gone. The enormously painful scenes when such a person sells something of this sort; the Jew, otherwise so humble, feels his superiority; the malevolent insight into his constitution; the secretive whispering with his (the Jew's) confederates about the extent to which the man con- **19** 211

cerned is totally ruined, or only momentarily so, [(]etc. etc.)

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20 Viewed as a state, North America is the structural opposite of the European states. It develops in length and breadth (those who are dissatisfied conquer or purchase new territories and establish themselves there); the European states [develop] in height and depth, genuine organization.

═

21 It is a positive point of departure for philosophy when Aristotle[a] believes that philosophy begins with wonder and not, as in our times, with doubt. The world will certainly come to learn that it doesn't do to begin with the negative, and the reason it has succeeded in doing so until now is that they have never entirely devoted themselves to the negative and thus have never really done in earnest what they have talked about. Their doubt is coquetry.

[a] δια γαρ το θαυμαζειν οι ανθρωποι και νυν και το πρωτον ηρξαντο φιλοσοφειν. also Plato in Theatet.: μαλα γαρ φιλοσοφου τουτο το παθος, το θαυμαζειν. ου γαρ αλλη αρχη φιλοσοφιας η αυτη see Hermann, *Geschichte und System der platonische Philosophie*, vol. 1, p. 275, note 5.

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22 Philosophy's idea is mediation—Xnity's is the paradox.

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23 there is no more beautiful victory than that which is won by forgiving, for here even the vanquished person feels happy to extol it.

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212

24 That the theater really was for the pagans what the church is for us can also be seen in the fact that the theater was gratis and that it would no more have occurred to the pagans that it ought to cost something to attend the theater than it would occur to us [that it

1 δια γαρ το θαυμαζειν οι ανθρωποι και νυν και το πρωτον ηρξαντο φιλοσοφειν] *Greek,* for it is owing to wonder that men both now begin and at first began to philosophize **4** μαλα γαρ φιλοσοφου τουτο το παθος, το θαυμαζειν. ου γαρ αλλη αρχη φιλοσοφιας η αυτη] *Greek,* the sense of wonder is the mark of the philosopher. Philosophy indeed has no other origin.

ought to cost something] to go to church. In a general way this understanding of the theater could be broadened into an entire way of looking at paganism.

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First-rate Advice for Insipid Writers **25**
costs 5 rixdlrs.

If one writes down one's own observations very carelessly, gradually, after various drafts, one will have a not inconsiderable number of good ideas. Therefore, take courage, you who have not yet dared to put anything into print: typographical errors are not to be disdained, and naturally you do not need to point out that they are typographical errors; furthermore, no one can wrest your property from you, as it rlly does not belong to anyone. The only difficulty is that you must have a good friend to help you, someone who understands how to decide what is witty, so that you do not accumulate any additional blunders.—

In general, the imperfection of all things human is that it is only **26** through opposition that one comes to possess what is desired. I will not speak of the multiplicity of formations that can give the psychologist plenty to do (the melancholic has the greatest comic sense; the most voluptuous often the most idyllic; the most debauched often the most moral; the doubter often the most religious) but it is through sin that one first espies blessedness. Thus the imperfection does not so much consist in the antithesis as in the fact that one cannot *simultaneously* see the antithetical and its other.

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213

When one reads the *1001 Nights* the oriental character is also man- **27** ifest in the ingenious confusion with which the different tales twine around one another like the foliage of plants that twist about one another luxuriantly upon the earth, and over this reposes the sky, oppressive, anxiety-producing[:] it is Scheherazade, who sustains [her] life by narrating.

═

28 In addition to the rest of my numerous circle of acquaintances—with whom I generally have a rather superfic. relationship—I have one more intimate confidante: my melancholia; and in the midst of my joy, in the midst of my work, she beckons to me, calling me away, even though I remain present in body; she is the most faithful lover whom I have known, and what wonder, then, that I must be instant[ly] ready to follow.

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29 there is a chitchat of argumentation that, in its infinity, stands in the same relation to its result as the endless series of Egyptian kings stands in relation to their historical outcome.

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30 A Retort by a Seduced Girl

.... spare me your pity. You understand neither my sorrow nor my joy; I still love him so much that I have only a single wish: to be once again young so that I could once again be deceived by him.

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31 It is, as it were, the epitome of all life's wisdom, the universalization of the particular principle: Marry or don't marry, you will regret both; and the personal relationship that a teacher always ought 214 to maintain with respect to his pupils can best be characterized by: You're welcome to it. We cannot even say to someone what we otherwise regard as the absolute best: It would be best if you went out and hanged yourself. For we must say: Hang yourself or don't hang yourself, you will regret both.

32 Xnity was the first to promulgate the principle of synergism and it is only here that finitude gains its validity, it is only here that speculation finds its true point of repose, freedom its reality. Xnity's first specification of synergism is *sin.* Sin is therefore not merely finitude, but sin includes an element of freedom and of free finitude.

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. . . . For a friend is not what we philosophers call the necessary other, but the superfluous other. **33**

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Narcissus was so cruel that he paid no attention to the nymph's (Echo's) love. She pined to death, so that only her voice remained. Presumably this always echoed in his ears. In whatever different forms the myth of Narcissus is told, they all agree that he finally saw himself in a river—fell in love with himself and in a terrible way thus became a victim of unhappy love. **34**

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I traveled to Fredensborg with two utterly fantastic horses: when they were supposed to stand up, they fell down; when they were supposed to get up off the ground, they had to be supported; when they walked slowly, they limped; but when they fell into a fast trot they were the best runners one could imagine; [t]his is how I am, too: when I finally get up speed, no one can keep up with me. **35**

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215

On the bottom of the empty wagon lay 5 or 6 oats; the vibrations made them dance and they formed the most curious patterns—I lost myself in contemplating them. **36**

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Old age realizes the dreams of youth; truly, one sees this with Swift; in his youth he built a madhouse; in his old age he himself lived there. **37**

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Many people are afraid of eternity—if only we can endure time, we can surely deal with eternity. Thus when one hears lovers vow to love one another for **38**

eternity, it does not mean nearly as much as when they promise to do so in time, because the person who makes such a promise for eternity can always answer that for the time being you'll have to excuse me.—

#

39 and yet what J. Böhme says at one point is so beautiful and so true and so passionate: in the moment of temptation what is important is not to have many thoughts but to cling fast to *one.* May God grant me the strength to do so.

#

40 what matters, however, is truly to pray to God with an open heart, so that the secrets of our souls do not deceitfully conceal something—not, indeed, something that we want to deceive God about, but something that we do not have the courage to entrust to him.—

#

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41 therefore it is written: Cast *all* your cares on God. It isn't so easy, for one thing, to take a careful inventory of that All, and for another thing, to grasp [the entirety of] that All at one time. To believe that God concerns himself with the least little events, to be not too proud to pray to him concerning them—while other people are so vain that they vainly believe that God concerns himself with the least little thing that affects them.—

#

42 You complain that you have been disappointed in many expectations, that none of your fondest wishes has been fulfilled; you are so impoverished that you have even lost the desire and the courage to hope—we will not deny this, because, for one thing, we all surely have many foolish expectations, and for another, the Lord teaches us not to expect that everything will be

[a]therefore Scripture also uses the term to *cast* in order to express the energy involved in such an emphatic decision—because cares are supple, and even if you make the most artful movements they twine themselves around you more and more tightly, like the serpents around Laocoon; they are the shrewdest sophists, against whom all your reasonings accomplish nothing.—

[a]We well know that there were those who were not disappointed in their expectations, who learned early to harden their spirits, who then look around, with a certain proud self-satisfaction, upon those whose heads are bowed in sorrow—they were certainly not disappointed;

but there was nonetheless also a time in their lives when their hearts were moved by mighty thoughts, when hope shone upon them—a time when they certainly did not expect to see themselves thus withered, sterile, and barren.—

fulfilled—but there is nonetheless one expectation that cannot possibly be disappointed, for of course you expect the resurrection of the dead, which is a blessed longing; for of course you expect to be gathered together with those who were dear to you, an eager longing, for of course you hope one day to see your life transfigured in God—an expectation that God will do what is best for everything, for your life is indeed not yet over and you do not know the day and the hour.

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43 I know that neither angels nor devils, nor things present, nor things to come, etc. Yes, if you can say this you have overcome the world, for we of course named everything that might have the power to separate us from God—things present, with their terrors; things to come, with their anxieties; things past, with their terrifying images—.

═

44 If sorrowing and grieving were the right thing to do, then it would be in vain that we name our Lord and Master as our exemplar; for of course he did not sit down and weep over the sins of the world, and yet he 217 bore the sins of all the world, and that of course is something we don't have to do

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45 . . . and I loved her much, she was as light as a bird and as daring as a thought; I let her climb higher and higher, I reached forth my hand and she stood upon it and beat her wings, and she called down to me: It's splendid up here; she forgot, she did not know, that it was I who made her light, I who made her daring in thought, [that it was her] belief in me that made her able to walk on water; and I paid homage to her and she received my homage.—at other times she fell down upon her knees before me, merely wanting to look up to me, wanting to forget everything.

46 My girl—the Latinist says about an alert listener: pendet ex ore alicujus, with this he has in mind, more or less, the ear that gathers [his words] and that preserves, deep within its secret passages, what has been heard; we say this in a quite different sense, for do I not constantly hang on [every word from] your lips, am I not alert, yes, indeed, an alert listener, for even if nothing is said, I nonetheless hear the way your heart is beating.

47 and everyone who bases his life upon something accidental—be it upon beauty, riches, ancestry, knowledge, art, in short, upon anything that cannot be the lot of every pers.—lays the groundwork of a robber's life. And even if you carry it off successfully … if, after all, a younger person came to you with all the confidence and all the rights of youth (for of course you cannot deny these rights to the young) in order to ask you what you based your life upon, would you not stand there ashamed, for you could not, after all, initiate him into all your cunning and stealthy ways.

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48 What matters is to preserve as many universal-hum. categories as possible in an individual life.

49 *what it is to love God*

….. and you, who feel yourself at such a great remove from your God—when your contrition seeks God, what is it, after all, other than loving God[?]

3 pendet … alicujus] *Latin,* hangs upon his [the speaker's] mouth

her many sins were forgiven her because she loved *much* **50**

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what it is to lose one's own soul. **51**

"If you succeeded in cloaking yourself and the things you hold dear with a net that was woven so ingeniously that nothing, no danger, etc., was able to penetrate it—and you lived securely within your fortifications—but lost your own soul… There is an external corruption that is visible to everyone—there [is] an intrnl which secretly consumes the strength of the soul.

Faith — Hope — Love

when reasonableness takes the place of these, then one loses one's soul — — in another place the expression to lose one's self is used—

Give God the Honor. **52**

this sounds humiliating to you, to whom it was granted to accomplish much, [you,] who are tempted to take the honor yourself (Xt did not take it—did not view this as robbery).

This sounds consoling, uplifting to you, whose humble lot it is to receive. Do not let your soul be afflicted, do not lose your soul, give God the honor. And if what you have received really is the good, 219 then you of course know that it comes from God; every good gift, every perfect gift, is from above

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… and when the pagan poet says that grief sits hindmost on the horse, the Xn says that joy sits nearest the front and what is behind is forgotten. **53**

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I continually live on the border between the happy and the desolate Arabia. **54**

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and when everything wants to storm in upon us, when everything wavers, what matters is the suppleness that can say wholeheartedly: All God's gifts are good when they are received with **55**

thankfulness; in this thankfulness and by means of this thankfulness he has overcome the world.—

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56 And it takes courage to marry, and one must not praise vrgnty—
5 for even Diana did not remain a vrgn because she felt it was something exalted, but because she feared the pains of childbirth, and indeed Euripides, too, says at one point that he would rath. go to war three times than give birth to a child once.—

+

57 For the rights of knowledge to have their validity, one must venture out into life, out upon the sea, and cry out loudly, in order that, even if God does not hear it, [one does] not stand on the beach watching others fight and struggle—only then does knowledge receive the true *registration of its legal rights,* and truly, it is one thing to
15 prove God's existence while standing on one leg, and something
220 quite different to thank him on one's knees. Then it is no longer a silken ladder one casts upward—like some fabled knight of knowledge—by means of which one often ascends in a rather peculiar fashion, simultaneously steadying the ladder even while stand-
20 ing on it (unlike the firemen with their entry ladders that tie into every story in order to make them stable), but it is a solid staircase, and if the progress one makes is slower, it is also all the more secure.—

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NOTEBOOK 8

NOTEBOOK 8

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223

1 De vita. E vita.

Poetic attempts.

1 De vita. E vita.] *Latin,* About (a) life. From (a) life

225

2 .... You say, "what I have lost, or rather, deprived myself of." What I have lost, alas, how should you know or understand[?] This is a subject on which you had best remain silent—how indeed should anyone know better than I, who had made my whole extremely reflective soul into as tasteful a setting as possible for her pure, deep—my dark thoughts, my melancholic dreams, my brilliant hopes—and above all, my whole instability; in short, all the brilliancy alongside her depth—and when I grew dizzy gazing down into her infinite devotion; for nothing is as infinite as love—or when her emotions did not sink into the depths in this way—but danced away over them in the light play of love — — —
what have I lost, the only thing I loved, what have I lost, in peop.'s eyes my word as a gentleman, what have I lost, that in which I always have and, without fear of this blow, always shall place my honor, my joy, my pride—being faithful..... Yet my soul at the moment of writing this is as turbulent as my body—in a cabin rocked by the pitching and rolling of a steamship.

3 Now why rub so violently
See, I obey your beck and call
If you have need and send for me
I come like a streak of lightning.

Not I alone, my R., but every other genie *of the ring*, though note that by the different genii of the ring I mean all the various willing servants within me that respond to your beck and call, a servant for your every wish, and if possible ten for each; but in me all these unite in one genie of the ring, who unlike the one who appeared before Aladdin, is not bound in you by an ext. and accidental tie, but with the longing of my entire soul, for did not I myself bring you the ring that I obey.
226 In another sense both you and I united are once again the genie of the ring.—)

[a]and it is hard for me in just this case, in which I wanted so much to act, to see myself consigned solely to an activity one usually leaves to women and children—praying.

4 You say: she was beautiful. Oh, what do you know about that[?] I know, for this beauty has cost me tears—I myself bought flowers to adorn her; I would have decked her out with all the ornaments in the world, only, of course, so far as they accentuated her loveliness—and then, when she stood there in her finery—I had to leave—when her joyous, gay glance met mine—I had to leave—I went out and wept bitterly.

5 She did not love my shapely nose, nor my fine eyes, nor my small feet—nor my good mind—she loved only me, and yet she didn't understand me.—

6 When the moon is reflected on the sea in this way, it's as though it were playing on strings.

7 No wonder, though, that the ocean has been called the mother of everything—when it cradles a ship as it does, betw. its motherly breasts.

8 It is after all salutary once in a while to feel that one is in God's hand and not forever sneaking around in the nooks and crannies of a familiar city where one always knows a way out.

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9 I really see how important language was to me for hiding my melancholia—here in Berlin it's impossible for me, I can't fool people with language.

10 You really feel how much you lack when you can't speak a language in the way you can your mother tongue—all the intermediate shades and tones.

11 They say love makes one blind; it does more than that, it makes one deaf, it paralyses one; the person suffering from it is like the mimosa that closes so no picklock can open it; the more force one uses, the more tightly is it shut.

12 And when sometimes it seems that you do not heed my voice, Oh Lord, [that you] do not heed my complaint, my sigh, or my thanks—then I still keep on beseeching you until you hear my thanksgiving, thanking you for hearing me.

13 So don't you think, then, that I long to give her this proof of my love, this redress for all the humiliation she must after all have suffered from commiserating relatives and friends (God knows it was not my fault that it happened in this way[])],[a] by taking the plunge once again, by showing that it was not duty, nor fear of peop.'s opinion, that made me stay with her—but that I, the most unstable of all peop., nevertheless came back to her. How put out they would be, how they would have to stop the toothless old wives'; talk with
228 which they were able to disturb the girl whom I once had the honor of calling my own. Ah, truly, if I did not despise suicide, if I did not feel that all such virtues were glittering vices, I would go back to her—in order then to end my life, a plan that I am sorry to say has haunted me all too long, and that made parting

from me doubly hard for her, for who loves like a dying man? And this is actlly how I always felt about it every time I surrendered to her—it never occurred to me to live with her in the peaceful, trusting sense of that word. It is truly something to despair over. My only wish was to remain with her; but from the moment I felt it had to go wrong, and unfortunately that moment came all too soon, I decided to make her think that I didn't love her; and now here I am, hated by evryone for my faithlessness, the apparent cause of her unhappiness, and yet I am as faithful to her as ever. And even if I could only see her happy with another, however painful that might be to my hum. pride, I would nonetheless be glad. But at present she is consumed with grief because I who could make her happy, did not want to. And truly I could have made her happy, if it were not for, etc. . . . .

And in spite of it being unwise for my peace of mind, I still can't help thinking of the indescribable moment when I should go back to her. And though I genrlly consider myself quite capable of suffering what I consider to be God's punishment, this sometimes becomes too much for me. I also believe that I have done her wrong in not letting her know how much I am suffering. And when at times I remember having once said that scholarship would lose a devotee in me, I feel only too well how wrong this was, for precisely by my leaving her, scholarship has lost what it can lose in me, for I think only of her, and I am convinced that she is not suffering as much as I am. God grant that some good may still come to her simply from my suffering . . .

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14 You must know that you consider it your good fortune never to have loved anyone but her, that you will stake your honor on never loving another.

15 How great is a woman's devotion.—But the curse hanging over me is that I never dare let any one become deeply and intimately attached to me. God in heaven knows what I have suffered the many times when I, delighted as a child, planned something that would really please her and then had to make it a principle never to do anything in the moment of joy, but wait until common sense and prudence forbade it for fear of drawing her closer to me. I believe my re-

lation to her can truly be called unhappy love—I love her—she is mine—her only wish [for me] is to remain with her—the family implores me—it is my greatest wish—I must say no. To make it easier for her I will do what I can to make her believe I was a plain deceiver, a frivolous prsn, in order to get her to hate me if possible; for I believe it will always be even harder for her if she suspected it was melancholia—but how much melancholia and frivolity resemble each other.

16 And people talk of earthly love making one eloquent, how much more should love for you, O God, not make a prsn eloquent, you who yourself formed man's mouth for speaking.

17 . . . and when I then feel so unhappy, it is my consolation, my only consolation, that she does not suffer with me. It is hard to learn that the person one loves has become unfaithful, but this daily suffering, . . . and if I had remained with her, then I ought to have been happy, and if she then saw me suffer anyway. . . . when I am happy it is my constant grief that she cannot share it.

18 I cannot be quit of this relationship, for I cannot poetize it; the moment I want to poetize it, I am immediately possessed by an anxiety, an impatience which wants to resort to action.

#

19 And perhaps you complain that peop. have been unfaithful to you—perhaps you are wrong; for who has such precise knowledge of another's deepest secret—perhaps you are right, you may have experienced it in the deed.—Ah, there is still one who will not be faithless to you—and even if it seems that it was the peop. who were closest to you, and it seems hard to have to learn to recognize God's faithfulness through their faithlessness, if it seems far more beautiful to be able to learn to sense God's faithfulness through hum. faithfulness—Alas, still you would never have perceived it in the

way you do now.—You would never have perceived that God is your neighbor, the one closest to you.—

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. . . and this terrible unrest—as if wanting to convince myself every moment that it was still possible to go back to her, O God, grant that I might dare to do so. It's so hard; I had placed in her my last hope in life, and I must deprive myself of it. How strange, I've never rlly thought of being married, but that it would turn out like this and leave so deep a wound, I would never have believed. I've always scoffed at those who talked about the power of woman; I do so still, but a young, beautiful, animated girl who loves with all her heart and mind, who is absolutely devoted, who pleads—how often I have been close to setting her love on fire, not to a sinful love, but I had only to say to her that I loved her and everything would be in motion to bring my young life to an end. But then it struck me that this would do her no good, that I might bring a thunderstorm upon her head because she would blame herself for my death. I preferred the course I have taken; my relationship to her was always kept up in the air, so that I had it in my power to interpret it as I wanted. I gave it the interpretation that I was a deceiver. Hmnly speaking, it is the only way to save her, to give her soul resilience. My sin is that I did not have faith, faith that for God all things are possible, but where is the borderline between that and tempting God[?]—Yet my sin has never been that I didn't love her. Yes, had she not been so devoted to me, so trusting, had she not given up her own life to live for me; well, then, the whole thing would have been a trifle; to make a fool of the whole world doesn't bother me, but to deceive a young girl.—Ah, if I dared go back to her, and even if she still did not think I was false, she certainly thought that once I was free I would never return. But calm yourself, my soul, I will act firmly and decisively according to what I take to be right. I will also watch what I write in my letters. I know my moods, but in a letter I cannot, as when I am speaking, instantly dispel the impression when I see it is getting too strong. **20** 231

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Just now there is an organ grinder down in the street playing and singing—it is strange that it is the accidental and insignificant things in life that acquire meaning. I think of the ship boys, of the **21**

Laplanders who played in the moonlight on board ship—a Laplander: who would ordinarily pay attention to him[?]

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22 There was a church near the house where she lived. I can still recall and hear clearly its dull strokes. At the appointed time the signal sounded in the middle of the sitting room small talk, and the evening whisperings began. And it was a church bell that intimated their time.

#

23 And this I know, that even this instant, when I'm only too aware of what money means to me, if she wanted it she would be welcome to my whole fortune; and I would thank God for giving me this chance to prove how much she means to me.

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24 And when the sun closes its searching eye, when the story is over, not only will I wrap my cloak around me, I will throw the night around me like a veil and I will come to you—I will listen as the savage listens—not for footsteps but for the beating of your heart.—

#

25 As agreed, I am returning herewith the flower which for eight days now has brought me joy, has been the object of my tender loving care. But that says little; for after all it is you yourself who *nurtured it forth*—nurtured it forth, what a beautiful and rich expression, what treasures language possesses—nurtured it forth; for should not your spirited gaze, which has rested again and again on this tender plant, should not all the warmth of your love be more than enough to make it unfold in a very short time. Inconceivable that the fire in your eyes has not consumed it; but there were also times, weren't there, when regrettably, isn't it true, you doubted
233 my love or had misgivings that our happiness would not last, and then a gentle dew of tears refreshed it, and look, it doubled its growth, became twice as beautiful; in this way too it has been *nurtured forth*.—

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But how it humbles my pride not to be able to go back to her. I had staked my whole pride on remaining true to her, and yet I dare not. I am not accustomed to bringing disgrace on my honor—for me faithfulness has always been a matter of honor. And yet in her eyes I have to appear as a deceiver, and that is the only way I can make good what I have done wrong. I have held my own with a dreadful consistency, in spite of all my own deepest wishes, for I pay little heed to the external attacks by peop. who want to intrude on me. And yet I am still plagued by anxiety. Suppose she really begins to believe deeply that I am a deceiver, suppose she becomes engaged to another, something which in many respects I naturally wish might happen—suppose she then suddenly comes to know that I have really loved her, that I did this out of love for her, out of a deep conviction that it would never work, or in any case that I would, with the greatest joy in the world and gratitude to God, share with her all my joy but not my sorrow—alas, the last can be worse than the first. **26**

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I no longer enjoy any pleasures. I do not enter into them with the infinite abandon of the old days. I do not want to be happy when she is sad. **27**

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again today I catch myself trying to inform her, let her suspect in some way, that I nevertheless love her. My mind is so inventive and there is a certain satisfaction when one thinks one has found a clever plan. I would write a letter to her home; it would be printed. The heading should be: My R[—]for her that would be enough. The letter itself could be full of subtle hints. But I must desist; I humble myself under God's hand. Every time I get an idea like that, and as a rule it happens many times a day, I change it into a prayer for her, that for her it will in truth be for the best, as is my wish. **28** 234

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Today I saw a beautiful girl—it no longer enthralls me—I do not want it—no husband can be more faithful to his wife than I am to **29**

her. It is also good for me, for these little love affairs were nonetheless very disturbing to me.

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30 Yes—if it were she who had broken off with me, it would have been easy for me to forget her, no matter how much I loved her. I would have dared to crowd sail in order to forget her; I would have dared to poetize her—but now I cannot persuade myself to do so. I remind myself of this often enough, and frequently the memory comes without my needing to evoke it. Through this my soul is becoming more serious; ah, I hope it may be for the best for me.

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31 My thoughts continually flit betw. two images of her—she is young, exuberant, animated, transparent, in short as I perhaps have never seen her—she is pale, withdrawn, waiting for the lonely hours when she can weep, in short, as I perhaps have never seen her either.

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235

32 The affair has now been settled once and for all, and still I will never be through with it. She does not know what an advocate she has in me. She was clever. In parting, she asked that I remember her once in a while. She knew very well that as soon as I remembered her there would be the devil to pay. But I would have done it anyway without her asking.—

#

33 I'm so glad to have heard *Schelling*'s 2nd lecture—indescribable. I have been sighing and the thoughts within me have been groaning long enough; when he mentioned the word "*actuality*" concerning philosophy's relation to the actual, the child of thought leaped for joy within me as in Elizabeth. After that I remember almost every word he said. Perhaps here there can be clarity. This one word, it reminded me of all my philosophical pains and agonies. — — And so that *she*, too, might share my joy: how much I'd like to return to her; how I'd like to talk myself into believing that was the right course. Ah, if only I *could*!—Now I have put all my hope in Schelling,—and yet if I knew I could make her happy, I'd leave this

very evening. After all, it's hard to have made someone unhappy, and hard *that* having made her unhappy is almost the only hope I have of making her happy.

* *

At times it occurs to me that when I return she may have em- **34**
braced the idea that I was a deceiver; suppose she had the power to crush me with a look (and outraged innocence can do that),—I shudder at the thought, it terrifies me,—not to suffer like that, I'd do that willingly if I knew it was for her good,—but the dreadful way of playing with life that this implies, doing with another whatever one wishes.

* *

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And there is truly a community of suffering with God, a pact of **35**
tears, which is in itself so very beautiful.

* *

And you who say, "Yes, happy the one granted to be trustworthy **36**
in small things, but nothing at all was given to me to work with, for the pound entrusted to me was not something effective but a weight, a burden that was laid on my shoulders." It is seldom a person can talk truly in this way. For if you bore it with humility, if you lost the whole world without damage to your soul, if you loved God, if even your troubled life was sometimes transfigured by thanksgiving, if you had faith in God, the depth of his kingdom both in wisdom and knowledge,—and if you did not presume to raise unsullied hands to God, if this burden as deserved rested even heavier upon you, if you nevertheless humbled yourself under God's mighty hand, made no complaint, did not follow the worldly wisdom that says forget, did not make so bold as to say, Will these sufferings never go away, if you loved God in your grief,—would you not then be "trustworthy in small things"?

* *

37 *Mine*.

Solomon says: a good answer is like a sweet kiss. You know I am noted, almost disliked, for always asking questions. Alas, they do not know what I am asking about. Only *you* know what I am asking; only *you* can answer. Oh give me an answer; only you can give me a good answer; for a good answer, says Solomon, is like a sweet kiss.

Yours.

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38 It is curious. In the gospel about the Good Samaritan Christ gives the word *neighbor* a singular definition. One's neighbor is usually thought of as the person to whom one most readily appeals for help. Christ seems to suggest that one should strive not so much to have many whom one can call one's neighbor, as to *be oneself* neighbor to many; for he says: who was his neighbor? And the answer is, the one who treated him well. That is, not the one he most could have counted on, but the one who made himself into a neighbor.

* *

39 *Passion* is the main thing after all; it is the real meter of human strength. The reason our age is so pitiful is that it has no passions. If my good Jonas Olsen was really able to hate as no one had hated before, as he wrote in that memorable note, then I would count myself fortunate to be his contemporary, fortunate to have been the object of this hatred,—at least it's a fight.[1]

[1]How beautifully Hegel says it in *Aesth*. vol. 3, p. 362: "Denn das Hauptrecht dieser großen Charakteren besteht in ihrer Energie, *sich* durchzusetzen, da sie in ihrer Besonderheit zugleich das Allegemeine tragen; während umgekehrt die gewöhnliche Moralitæt in der Nichtachtung der eignen Personlichkeit und in dem Hineinlegen der ganzen Energie in diese Nichtachtung besteht."

* *

40 *Situation*:

A seducer who already has the love of several girls on his conscience falls for a girl whom he loves so much he lacks the courage to seduce her, but neither can he decide to take up with her in

25 Denn das Hauptrecht . . . besteht] *German,* For the chief right of these great characters consists in the energy of their *self*-accomplishment, because in their particular character they still carry the universal, while, conversely, commonplace moralizing persists in not respecting the particular personality and in putting all its energy into this disrespect.

earnest. He happens to see someone with a striking resemblance to her; he seduces her in order to enjoy the other by enjoying her. 238

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[a]Precisely because he has been presented musically, D. Giovanni's natural genius has been accentuated; if one so wished, one could present a more reflective D. G. by way of recourse to the arbitrary; thus he seduces a girl not because he rlly finds himself affected by her, but because she awakens a memory; as a pastime he will see if it could be made real—or if it will always remain beyond his grasp.—

Precisely because he has been presented musically, **41**
D. Giovanni's natural genius has clearly been accentuated; if one so wished, one could present a more reflective D. G. by way of recourse to the arbitrary. thus he seduces a girl not because he finds himself at all affected by her, but she awakens a pleasant memory; as a pastime he will see if it can be made real; or she arouses a pleasant memory,—[which will] always remain beyond his grasp.

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Here in Berlin a Demoiselle Hedevig Schulze, a **42**
singer from Vienna, performs the part of Elvira. She is really beautiful, assured in her manner,—in the way she walks, her height, manner of dressing (black silk dress, bare neck, white gloves) she strikingly resembles a young lady I knew. It is indeed a strange coincidence. I rlly had to make a bit of an effort to drive away the impression.

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. . And when God wants to bind a prsn to him properly, he summons his most faithful servant, his trustiest messenger, and that is Grief, and he tells him, ["]Hurry after him, catch up with him, don't leave his side.["] . . . and no woman can cling more tenderly to what she loves than Grief [does]. **43**

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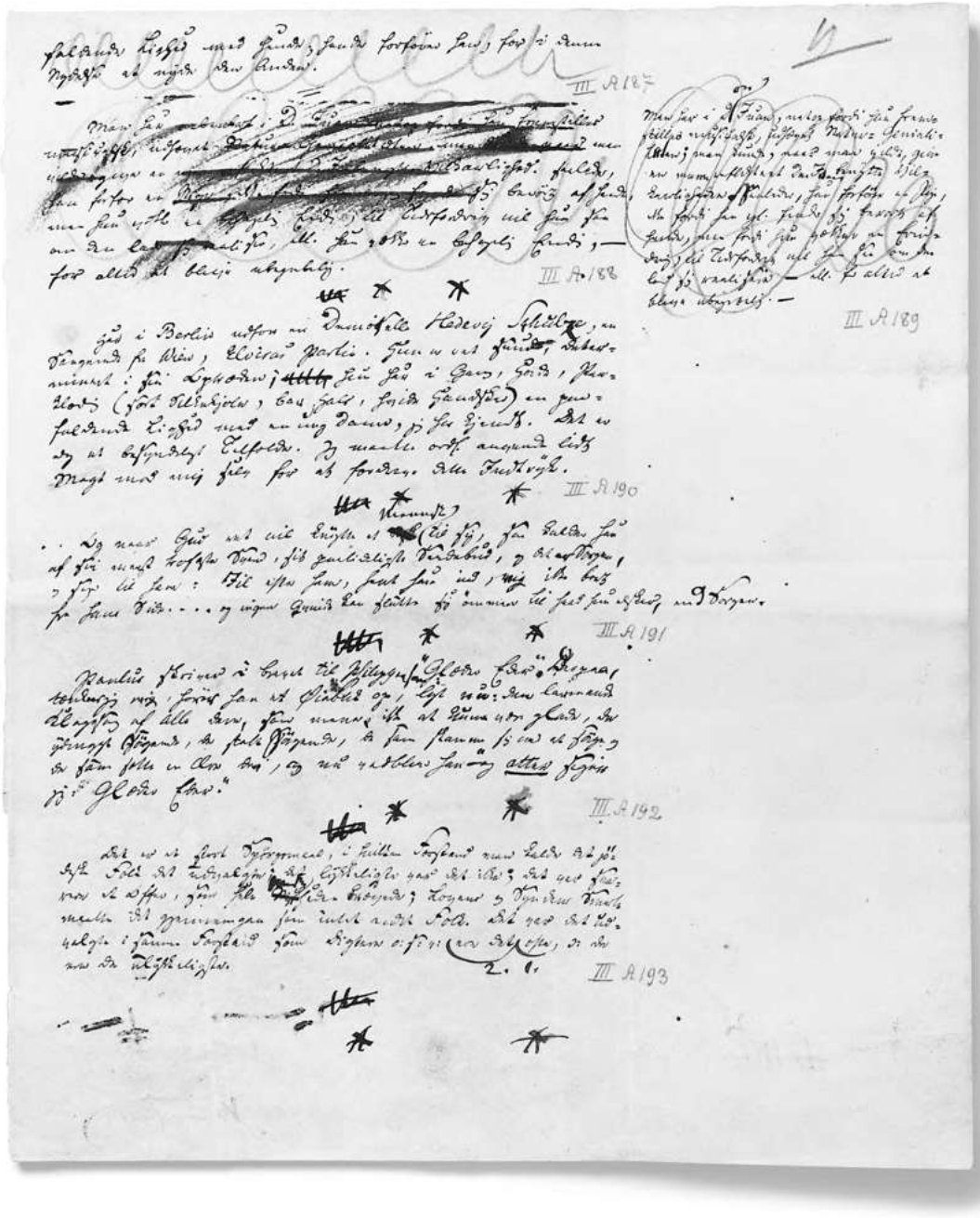
Paul writes in the letter to the Philipp.: Rejoice. I imagine him then pausing for a moment, then listening to the noisy lamentation of all who think themselves unable to rejoice, the humbly sorrowing, the **44**



Notebook 8:40–45.

proudly sorrowing, those who are ashamed to sorrow and those who see it as a mark of honor. Then he goes on—and *again* I say: Rejoice. 240

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45 It is a big question: in what sense are the Jews to be called the chosen people; they were not the happiest; rather they were a sacrifice demanded by the whole hum. race; as no other people they had to endure the pain of the law and of sin. They were the chosen people in the same sense that poets, etc. often are, i.e., they are the unhappiest. *10*

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46 . . . And there's always something you can achieve by giving witness to joy. Or do you say: how so? no one knows what I suffer or have suffered; my path of sorrow is lonely and remote, seldom trodden by a traveler. But I would answer: is it then so important for *15* you to have others know precisely what you suffer, or do you think that your significance lies in having suffered every possible suffering, so that, if you were to find repose in the world, everything would be calm; or are you unable to content yourself with the common hum. lot; and could that not then make a way for itself? Or do *20* you think this would be impossible, and that when one is ignorant of your sufferings it will be impossible to understand you! Ah, the ear of the sufferer is formed in a special way, and[—]just as the ear of the lover, which although it hears everything else in the world, is rlly so formed as only to hear the voice of the beloved[—]so, too, *25* the ear of the sufferer catches every voice of consolation, and when it is the true voice of consolation recognizes it instantly. As the scriptures say that faith and hope without love are but a noisy gong and a clanging cymbal, so too is the joy that is preached without mention of pain but a noisy gong and a clanging cymbal that wafts past *30* the sufferer's ear unheeded. It sounds for the ear but does not resound in the heart; it touches the ear but is not preserved in it; but the voice that trembles in pain and still preaches joy, yes, it finds its 241 way in through the ear and descends into the heart and is preserved there. *35*

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47 Or do you think that your sorrow is so awful that your life should refute what has hitherto been held as the truth, that God cares for every hum. being with a fatherly concern and that he does not leave himself without a witness! But bear in mind that in that case, the eternal law in the realm of the spirit, which is more beautiful and mightier than the law that in nature holds the heavenly bodies on their appointed measured course, would be annulled; then everything would collapse in despair more terribly than if the heavenly bodies were to collapse in fearful confusion. If this were the truth, if you really were this special one among hums. who could say such things in truth—I am no coward—but I would nevertheless say to you—hide away from hum. beings, hide your wisdom, let them live in the beautiful belief in a fatherly Providence. But it is not so, and I need not beg you to flee, but I say proceed, proclaim your grandiose wisdom, I'm not afraid. As with that magician Simon, who is mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, who would fly up in the air and the apostles humbly bowed themselves to the earth and prayed, and he fell down.

48 And just as the one who has the ear to hear also has the capacity to ask, so too has God—he asks you, more assiduously than any other, he asks after you: for what else is conscience but a question? He asks in your life's multifarious fates—and when he has asked, then he bends his ear to you, as though to hear, but you will not answer.—

243
49 Notanda.

ad philosophiam pertinentia.

1 Notanda. … pertinentia] *Latin,* to be noted (marked down, observed); pertaining to philosophy.

245

50 1 Dec.

In what Werder has discussed up to now, there are two points that I believe must be of significance for any dogmatic investigation. One is the transition from "Werden" to "Daseyn," the other from changeableness to unchangeableness, finitude to infinity. Entstehen (Nichts i Seyn) and Vergehen /(Seyn i Nichts) are in each other; expressed as rest, as product, this is accordingly not werden but was geworden ist, i.e. Daseyn. This sounds fine enough but contains a pure play with the concept of time that is still not given and that I [think] cannot be given at all in logic.—Etwas and Anderes are not simply in each other, but Etwas is only insofar as it is Anderes, and Anderes is only insofar as it is Etwas; they form each other. The movement duplicates itself. On the one hand Etwas. As an sich it is Etwas, as being for the other it is Anderes—Anderes is an sich Anderes[;] as being for the other it is Etwas. But by what means then is Etwas—by Anderes—and accordingly Etwas is not simply Anderes but nur Anderes, and this is expressed by Andersseyn. but expressed as unity, this is change.—Finitude is what am Ende ist. the finite is accordingly was gewesen ist. But infinity? it is finitude that is not itself (In-finity—both parts) and is accordingly infinity: was nicht gewesen ist. To the extent that this should now be an expression of the meaning of finitude, clearly this has not been done justice to.—

51 6 Dec.

A remark contributing to the question of philosophy's relation to actuality, in Hegel's view, which one often grasps best in his casual utterances, is in *Aesthetik*, part 3, p. 243.

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52 The doctrine of revelation as presented by Marheincke in his *Dogmatics* serves nicely to illustrate the philosophical evaporation of the Chr. concept of doctrine—the logical principle that the finite is the infinite, also with the explanation that Werder gives it, that the emphasis lies on the last word. All this must be carefully examined to bring clarity in this confusion, if possible.—Also the doc-

4 Werden] *German,* becoming **4** Daseyn] *German,* determinate being, being there **5** Entstehen] *German,* arising, coming-to-be **6** Nichts i Seyn] [sic] *German,* nothing in being **6** Vergehen] *German,* passing away **6** Seyn i Nichts] [*sic*] *German,* being in nothing **7** werden] *German,* to become **7** was geworden ist] *German,* what has become **10** Etwas] *German,* something **10** Anderes] *German,* other **13** an sich] *German,* in itself **17** nur] *German,* only **17** Andersseyn] *German,* other-being **18** am Ende ist] *German,* in the end is **19** was gewesen ist] *German,* what has been **20** was nicht gewesen ist] *German,* what has not been

trine of the image of God in Marheincke's lecture is an evaporation of this kind.

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A passage where Hegel himself seems to suggest the deficiency of pure thought, that, after all, philosophy alone is not the adequate expression of hum. life, or that personal life accordingly does not find its fulfillment in thought alone but in a totality of kinds of existence and modes of expression. See *Aesthetik*, vol. 3, p. 440, foot of page **53** *5*

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NOTEBOOK 9

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1 Generation produces only what is of the same kind, creation the opposite (ex nihilo)

Sabellius. Arius.

Nicæa.

Only that which has differentiated itself can be consubstantial.

Concept of the Dogma.

1) *Das sichoffenbarseyn Gottes.*

God's being as thought, being alone, does not yield concept. Spinoza himself states that God's being is such das an ihm das Denken hat, thus predicate, accidents. A duality is posited, in which God posits himself.

2) *das Grundseyn Gottes—causa sui.* Rationalism indeed sees that God is the ground of all that is, this all is the world. Spinoza does not permit God to define himself either as the ground of the world or of himself. The ground can only be that from which something proceeds. Negatively, this definition of Grundseyn indicates that God is his own ground, affirmatively existentia dei as exitus. In relation to the world this existence is preexistence, God's ewige Thun—Jacob Bohme: Gott hat aus Einem zwei gemacht und ist doch ein geblieben.—λογος has 2 aspects 1) God is ground ratio 2) reason ratio.—λογος has its ground in God auf ewige Weise, and similarly proceeds auf ewiger Weise aus. Thus God is absolute intelligence, reason. If one remains with substance, then God's Offenbarseyn in the other would not be discernible without this self-differentiation.

3.) *God: Father and Son.*

What is word without thought and thought without word[?] Thus God is div. reason or λογος.—The idea of God as Son is not only beautiful, but is immed. present in the concept. Faith speaks in representational ideas, but the great thing is that it has the concept in itself. God is αγενητος as ground, γενετος as the one who issues forth. The negative idea that the one is not the other is tied up with earthly representational ideas. But one must hold fast to God the Father being Father eternally, and God the Son eternally Son. Neither may God's generative act be thought of as a passivity or as coming to an end. The Father's Daseyn is not the existence of the son, and vice

2 ex nihilo] *Latin,* out of nothing **7** Das sichoffenbarseyn Gottes] *German,* the self-revelation of God **9** das an ihm das Denken hat] *German,* that thought is something he has **12** das Grundseyn Gottes] *German,* the fundamental being of God **12** causa sui] *Latin,* its own cause **17** existentia dei . . . exitus] *Latin,* God's existence [as] something that goes out of or proceeds **18** ewige Thun] *German,* eternal act **19** Gott hat . . . ein geblieben] *German,* God has made two out of one, yet has remained one. **20** λογος] *Greek,* reason, principle, word **20** ratio] *Latin,* reason **21** auf ewige Weise] *German,* in an eternal manner **22** auf ewiger Weise aus] *German,* in an eternal manner **30** αγενητος . . . γενετος] *Greek,* not begotten . . . begotten **35** Daseyn] *German,* being

versa. They are two persons (not individuals). Person is essential consciousness.—To be God's Son is not yet to be a hum. being, not even a hum. being κατ' εξοχην. The unification of the two natures presupposes their separation, and as God's Son he is solely to be regarded in the divine essence. The relationship betw. the Father and the Son is an absolute relationship. The Son knows himself in the Father and therewith knows the Father, just as the Father [knows himself in the Son and therewith knows the Son]. God is not the Son in ewiger Weise, but auf ewiger Weise is not without the Son. God is therefore not Father merely in the sense that he is all hum. beings' Father. This is the rationalistic polytheism that overlooks God's relation to himself. Only in the Son can one come to the Father.

God's Mediated Revelation

1. *Creation*

a) Creation itself b) Hum. beings in God's image c) The loss of this image or the origin of evil.

a) Creation Itself.

α) *The biblical teaching.*—Rationalism states that the expression δι' αυτου, εν αυτῳ used of the Son indicates that he is a Werkzeug. —Supernaturalism does not attack the expressions but does not understand their conceptual content.—Creation ex nihilo.—As opposed to what happens in generation there is a communication of essence.

β) *The Church's teaching;* this excludes 1) all ideas in which God is not distinguished from the world but is interpreted in terms of Einerleiheit: the emanationist systems.—Arianism by means of the generation of the Son God has generatively introduced his essence into the world. Pantheism. 2) Ideas that separate God from the world: materialism, hylozoism, Pelagianism. The Church's teaching is at one with the biblical, which just as much presupposes the inner and immanent relationship as the distinction, just as much God's immanence as transcendence. In the Schmalkaldic Articles the content of the article on faith is supplemented by the statement that it is the *triune* God who created the world.

4) *Concept of the Dogma*.

The extrnl world is the sum of all that ist, die erscheinende Welt and object of sensuous perception, which is always concerned with the Einzelnes; if thought leads the Einzelne back to the universal it can remain stuck on the atom or the material as essence; it positions the

3 κατ' εξοχην] *Greek,* eminently **19** δι' αυτου, εν αυτῳ] *Greek,* by him, in him **20** Werkzeug] *German,* instrument, tool **27** Einerleiheit] *German,* sameness, undifferentiatedness **38** ist, die erscheinende Welt] *German,* is, the apparent world **40** Einzelnes] *German,* that which belongs to the particular

world vis-à-vis consciousness. Here, then, there is no talk of creation but of the concursus of atoms; the only result this has for religion is comfortlessness. The Spirit does not hover over the waters but the waters retain the upper hand. Nature (nasci) merely signifies productivity, thought is the supranaturam.—In idealism, only the world that is in thought is the true world, the atom exists for it as something thought, material is abstraction, not something in and for itself. In both systems being and thought are not merely quantitatively predominant, but in opposition to each other, and therewith deprived of truth.—Identity teaches that being is thought in such a way that being is the being of thought reflected in itself. Absolute Spirit is the principle of the world both with regard to being and to thought. One must not stop with creation merely as the creation of nature. Nature's truth is found in Spirit.

But if self-consciousness explains nature, then it may be asked what the truth of self-consciousness is; it is the other world, whose kingdom is the community. Hum. beings' natural birth has meaning only on the basis of the presupposition: as a creation of God he is known only in faith and as reborn.

The divine creation. Through the world God stands in relation to himself. *This is not recognized:* in *Pantheism,* God is not the creator for he is the world itself; when regarded *cosmologically,* the world is the effect of a cause and the cause is God; there is a leap here from the finite (world) to the infinite, and this occurs by means of a deduction; one continues to see the world as Erscheinung, God remains external to the world. This causal relationship is the exact opposite of Pantheism's substantiality. Pelagianism rests on this idea in that it assumes God's grace will have endowed the world with such powers that it can become perfect. *The teleological:* here it is a matter of Zweck and Mittel, the former the thought, the latter that by which it realizes itself; but this falls back into the cosmological position insofar as this Zweckbestimmung is not determined outwardly in accordance with the essence, and an sich it finishes in subjectivity; it does not know if the determinate Zweck is an sich and objectively present.

The Christian teaching contains 3 provisions.

1) Creation by God's Son: all opera dei ad extra are posited as being the common action of Father, Son, and Spirit. *The Father's,* i.e., creation grounded in God's omnipotence; but it could indeed have remained merely something he was capable of doing. A relationship of God to himself negatively, not what is created to the one creating, and goes beyond a relationship of substantiality (which is re-

2 concursus] *Latin,* coming-together, collision **4** nasci] *Latin,* is born **5** supranaturam] *Latin,* supernatural, above nature **25** Erscheinung] *German,* appearance **30** Zweck . . . Mittel] *German,* end, goal [and] means **32** Zweckbestimmung] *German,* determination of goal **33** an sich] *German,* in itself **37** opera dei ad extra] *Latin,* God's external works

ally only abstract identity), for God is different from what is created as the one who has the ground of his own [being] in himself. The thought of the Father refers to the Son and this is God's relation to himself without any relation to the world. Inasmuch as God is aus sich, it is known that the world is from God, for inasmuch as God is aus sich as Son he has determined himself as ground. God is not the Gnostics' αβυθος or abyss. In the Creed, too, the name Father precedes that of Creator; if he was only Father qua Creator then this predicate would have to come first. *The Son:* with the generation of the Son the creation of the world is posited, not in the sense that the Son is the world and nothing apart from it εν αυτῳ εκθιστεν τα παντα Col 1:16. But in the generation of the Son the possibility of the world is posited, if not its necessity. It has its actuality from having been created by the Son. In the Son the Father loves the world and this is how the Son can proclaim hum. nature as his own. 252
By the Spirit: both because the Spirit is the unity of the will and essence of the Father and the Son, and because it is the transition from the inner activity to the world.

Creation from Nothing.

negatively: no chaos. only formation. Tohu wabohu have often been explained as such usable material. he has not created it from anything. Durch kein Ding ist Gott bedingt. Das abstrakte Seyn nur als identisch mit Nichts. Gnosticism, however, lets everything issue forth from God himself, who seinen unendlichen Inhalt heraussetzt. Such Gnosticism, lacking Rückkehr, is the opposite of Spinozism, where everything sinks into God without having been originated. The doctrine that the world is from God may easily be united to that concerning nothing. These two statements are not identical but still less mutually exclusive, but they coexist with each other. *positively:* the world is not conceived as product but as creature. In its Nichtseyn it needs thought. The finite spirit summons the world from its nothingness and lets it emerge for consciousness; God creates and this Nichts Seyn is the world, thus the Nichts from which it has proceeded and that has also been incorporated into the world, shows itself continually, for it is its Nichtigkeit. God said: Let there be. Therefore it is certainly not taught that hum. beings are created from nothing, as nature is, but that they are created from God's essence.

4 aus sich] *German,* out of himself **7** αβυθος] *Greek,* abyss *(see explanatory note).* **11** εν αυτῳ εκθιστεν τα παντα] *Greek,* In him all things were made *(see explanatory note).* **20** Tohu wabohu] *Hebrew,* emptiness and waste **22** Durch . . . Nichts] *German,* God is not determined by anything. Abstract Being only as identical with nothing. **24** seinen unendlichen Inhalt heraussetzt] *German,* emanates his infinite content **25** Rückkehr] *German,* return **31** Nichtseyn] *German,* nonbeing, nothingness **33** Nichts] *German,* nothing **35** Nichtigkeit] *German,* nothingness

The Necessity of the World.

not in an extrnl sense, or as if he needed it, as if God was in der Noth (Nothwendigkeit), or [if] it was only in realizing the world that God realized his concept, as if God had first had the world as an idea, or again as if this were some weakness in God, or it leads to Pantheism, identity of God and world, expansion.—The world is created in and with time, even though creation is the realization of a decision from eternal times. If God had loved the world from eternity, he must have created it from eternity. The world is thus from eternity; it is properly posited in the generation of the Son, and creation only follows upon the Son; and this creation is not from eternity but is created in time, and thus both expressions ought to be firmly maintained. In the Son it is a case of the world in its infinity, here in its finitude.—The freedom in the creation of the world has
253 been asserted by Strauss in his *Rechtsphilosophie*, and in a treatise by Julius Müller in *Studien und Critiken* 1835.—The identity of freedom and nec. is expressed in scripture's teaching that God created the world from nothing.—The world is not merely Daseyn but also Bewußtseyn, but the prerequisite for this is the former, and this is the meaning of nature. In the world, God has history.—The necessity of the world as such contains in itself eo ipso that it is the best world, not by hum. power, but by the fact that it is created by God.

Zweck der Weltschöpfung.

Zweck and Mittel become separated in the teleological proof. What is the Zweck of the world in relation to which all things are the means[?] In the finite way of looking at things, Zweck and Mittel are relative. Nature indeed has a Zweck, but is unable to bring it about by itself. In the teleolog. view God is nec. posited as "Geist." If one asks what the Zweck of the Weltall is, it is no longer posited as nature, but as Spirit.

God's Zweck with the world. God can have no Zweck other than himself. The world is not created ihretvillen, but Gotteswillen. If it is truly für Gott then it is by no means für sich. If it is separated from its für sich, then it is no longer truly für sich and goes toward its Nichtsseyn.—God, therefore, has no need of the world as an element of his perfection. But could it then have remained uncreated? No. The mistake is that one sees Gott merely as the sich genug seiende, not as the sich genugthuende.—If the world has no other

2 in der Noth (Nothwendigkeit)] *German,* in need, necessity **19** Bewußtseyn] *German,* consciousness **21** eo ipso] *Latin,* by that very fact, precisely thereby **23** Zweck der Weltschöpfung] *German,* the goal or purpose of the creation of the world **28** Geist] *German,* spirit **29** Weltall] *German,* the world-totality **32** ihretvillen . . . Gotteswillen] *Dano-German,* by its own will [but] by God's will **32** für Gott] *German,* for God **33** für sich] *German,* for itself **37** sich genug seiende . . . sich genugthuende] *German,* being enough in himself [not as the] doing enough in himself

Zweck, then the posited Zweck is also that which is attained, and there is no interval betw. thought and act. Thus God's Zweck is infinitely Zweck. This may readily be combined with it, for its origin in time is its finitude, its werden und geworden seyn. This combination of the temporal and the eternal once more shows that God has no other Zweck in relation to the world than himself. Div. love and holiness are realized in hum. reason and freedom. Dieß vermittelt itself through the world, which is thus the means. But here too God has himself as Zweck. The Zweck of the world is the same as God's Zweck with the world. When the world's Zweck is attained it is thus the glorification of God.

Vom göttlichen Ebenbilde

The biblical teaching, the Church's teaching, the scholastic.—Concept of the Dogma.

As the midpoint of creation as a necess. of the dialectical movement thereto. 1) Hum. being creation's midpoint. This seems egoistic. *The material* world with the sun, *the intellectual* with the angels. Journeys to the stars. One has made the mistake of judging and 254
contemplating these heavenly bodies entirely by analogy to earth, instead of contemplating them in and for themselves, their properties, which often, e.g., in the case of the sun and the moon, forbid them being populated. What is great in what God brings forth is not its extent, as if God's image in the world was developed successively on different planets, but in the intensity that is Spirit. For hum. beings the substantial is the accidental.—*The intellectual:* The angels.—The speculative element therein. Dogmatics has the task of finding the basis for adopting this idea. Even if one reached probability in the matter, it would not be enough for a dogma, but maybe indeed enough to exclude them from religious addresses.—The intellectual world does not translate into Erscheinung, the material always remains in Erscheinung; it is indeed the highest being, it unites both parts, i.e., hum. being.

This, hum. beings' precedence over all things, is also apparent from a contemplation of nature. Everything points toward an Uranfänglikeit on the part of hum. beings, who can only be preserved through generation.—Descent from one pair. The idea of an autochthonous origin is from the start more improbable than the Bible. Strauss however assumes it.

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An image of God cannot be such in an outw. and finite sense. In its truth and infinity it rests on identity; without this he cannot be

4 werden und geworden seyn] *German,* becoming and having become **7** Dieß vermittelt] *German,* This mediates **12** Vom göttlichen Ebenbilde] *German,* On the Divine Image **34** Uranfänglikeit] *German,* (Uranfänglichkeit), having the quality of primordiality

Ebenbild; but this Ebenbild is the Son, who is absolutely identical with God, homoousios and not merely homoiousios, "like" only in the sense of identity. The relationship is immediate, immediate likeness, Urbild and Nachbild have not separated out wesentlich. If the Son is image so is the other also, namely the Vorbild für das Nachbild. —with hum. beings' Ebenbild, difference comes into the picture. (He [the hum. being] himself is not God as the Son is [God].) Pantheism is excluded, for there is one relationship, i.e., difference and connection. Here we have homoiousios. Through Xt the lost image is restored, but thus it is alle angeschaffen.—Difference and identity come together; Adam as hum. being. lies betw. God's eternal Son in his [the Son's] likeness with God and his [the Son's] becoming man in Xt. In the second Adam the difference that was posited in the first Adam is cancelled. When the possibility of sin is posited, hum. history is first posited as a beginning.—What, then, is contained in the first hum. being's likeness to God[?] he is different from everything that is lower than he is and from God who is above him.—Mind is the unity of thought and will as possibility. Thereby he is different from animals and from all of nature.—in contrast to God his spirit is finite. positively, in him the im Uendliche endliche Geist ist, so that the hum. being can take up into himself that which is his ground, i.e., God in him. The likeness to God lies in reason. In the next place, a participation in the div. nature (not a Theilseyn Gottes, in a numerical sense), acting and willing, a power to posit that which dem Grund entsprechende, because God in his freedom posits that which is posited in him by God as his essence, he is free.—

It is what hum. beings are determined to be that is to be realized, and the real possibility of being a reasonable and free being. The unity of that definition and this possibility is the divinity unified in the mind. It is innocence that corresponds to God's holiness. But in innocence there is a Beziehung auf Schuld, at least κατα δυναμιν, that does not exist in holiness.

The dialectical element in this teaching. 1) entails what the hum. being is through God entirely abstracted from what he is through himself.—But in order for the likeness to be brought about he must be distinguished from him. The hum. being is determined to incorporate all the eternal ideas that have been revealed by God in creation; he must reflect on what God has made him into. What the

41 Ebenbild] *German,* image, very image **2** homoousios . . . homoiousios] *transliterated Greek,* of the same essence [and not merely] of a similar essence **4** Urbild . . . Nachbild . . . wesentlich] *German,* archetype [and] copy . . . essentially **5** Vorbild für das Nachbild] *German,* prototype for the copy **10** alle angeschaffen] *German,* (alle anerschaffen), created in all of us (i.e., by the Creation) **20** im Uendliche endliche Geist ist] *German,* (Unendliche), the finite Spirit is in the infinite **23** Theilseyn Gottes] *German,* being a part of God **25** dem Grund entsprechende] *German,* corresponds to the ground **32** Beziehung auf Schuld] *German,* relation to guilt **32** κατα δυναμιν] *Greek,* potentially

hum. being is can most accurately be known from what God is; anthropology presupposes theology; if God is creator, then the determination of the hum. being as infinite corresponds to this. 2) it entails what the hum. being is an sich by abstracting from everything that he is für sich. The teaching about innocence entails that he is an sich reasonable and free. 3) The Gegenwart of the div. Ebenbild ist Erinnerung. This is what lies in the teaching that God's image is lost and yet present. Epiphanius rejects the teaching of Origen, according to which the image of God is lost, and follows scripture in teaching that it remains in all hum. beings. Others thought that it was indeed lost but that scintillulæ remain. The rationalists make this image of God into an abstraction, in one or other form, as an ideal toward which to strive. Only if it is maintained as a recollection, only thereby does it become possible for hum. beings to interpret their condition not merely as non-holy, but as sinful. As recollection it is eine Thatsache des Bewußtseyns. This is what is found in the consciousness of all peoples. Agreement with it is not outw. but inw., it is the same hum. being, the same idea, only rationally formed.—In his "academische Studium["] Schelling thought that the first state was one of a high level of culture—Hegel *Relig. Ph.* vol. 1, 306. The perf. hum. being is also most imperfect, for everything is shut up within him, even if he has the advantage of not yet having been confused by the manifold of culture. The rabbis believed that the first hum. beings had possessed mathematical arts, astronomy, learning.

On the Origin of Evil. 256

The biblical teaching. Evil is located in the body. Evil thoughts are ascribed to the devil. It places the dominion of sin in connection with the first sin. Aristotle calls evil συγγενες. Plato says that children are not good φυσει. Cicero too in *Tusculans* 3:1.—The expression original sin does not appear in the Bible, but the idea is there.—The ecclesiastical—the symbolic—the supernaturalist—the rationalistic.

The symbolic is especially linked to Augustine's speculations: defectus et carentia justitiæ originalis, concupiscentia; he teaches 1) vitiositas et corruptio are universalis; 2) naturalis, congenita, insita: Eph 2:3; Ψ 58:4 yet this vitiositas is not substantialis, against Flaccius: pecca-

6 Gegenwart . . . Ebenbild ist Erinnerung] *German,* presence [of the div.] image is recollection **11** scintillulæ] *Latin,* small sparks **16** eine Thatsache des Bewußtseyns] *German,* a fact of consciousness **29** συγγενες] *Greek,* innate, born together with, related **30** φυσει] *Greek,* by nature **34** defectus . . . concupiscentia] *Latin,* the failure and loss of original righteousness, desire (or concupiscence) **35** vitiositas et corruptio . . . universalis] *Latin,* vice and corruption [are] universal **36** naturalis, congenita, insita] *Latin,* natural, congenita, indwelling **37** substantialis] *Latin,* substantial **37** peccatum originale . . . substantiam] *Latin,* original sin is the very essence [substance] of man.

tum originale ipsam esse hominis substantiam—accidens est quod non per se substitit, sed in aliqua substantia est et ab ea discerni potest. *Re.* its *propagation* this vitiositas is 1) physica. whereby it goes back to the first hum. being. 2) moralis every person's voluntary acquiescence in the inherited inclination. All actual sins are actualizations of original sin, which is the disposition toward them all. 3) per se damnabilis. basically natural punishment[:] that sin punishes itself, e.g., sin is born of sin. Re. death, Knapp wants to distinguish betw. punishment and consequence, but this is a distinction between the first hum. being and the rest, but it is not true, there is, as Tertullian says, only one hum. being.

Re. the origin of evil it is taught that there is an inner nexus between actual and original sin and the first sin, and that all are imputed. Symbolically, the first sin is understood without circumlocution as the first act of disobedience: peccatum originis non esse imputationem solam ad caliginem et depravationem in natura.

The supernaturalist. This takes the Genesis narrative as straightforwardly historical, in which Adam appears as a private individual. Gerhard calls Adam pater totius humani generis; Calovius: fons caput seminarium tot. g. h. More recent supernats. place him entirely outside hum. nature. They suppose Adam's sin to have no connection with the hum. race's. They lay the emphasis on the forbidden fruit, as having been poisoned, thus admitting sin and death into the world. The emphasis is on evil and what is prohibited.

The concept of the origin of evil. One takes as a starting point the unity betw. God and hum. beings, i.e., innocence, der Ausgangspunkt der Schuld ist die Unschuld. The distinction between God and hum. beings is nec., but as posited is the negative form of unity. God did not therefore suppress it by means of force. *The possibility*
257 *of evil; actuality; guilt*. Its possibility. The Daseyn an sich of evil came to pass for the hum. being, and he [became] evil. It hat *sich zugetragen*; his seducer was an evil spirit that had originally been a good spirit, *es ist geschehen*, daß er von Gott abfiel durch Hochmuth, but how and what seduced him, how the hum. being responded to temptation, is not explained. Evil is thus there, but how the hum. being appropriated it has not been grasped conceptually.

37 accidens . . . discerni potest] *Latin,* the accidental is what does not subsist of itself, but has its substance in another and may be distinguished from it. **3** physica] *Latin,* physical (i.e., the physical transmission of sin through sexual reproduction) **4** moralis] *Latin,* moral (i.e., as a result of following the bad example of Adam) **6** per se damnabilis] *Latin,* intrinsically worthy of damnation **15** peccatum originis . . . in natura] *Latin,* original sin is not merely attributed, but is a darkening and a corruption in nature (i.e., in human nature itself). **19** pater totius humani generis] *Latin,* the father of the entire human race **19** fons caput seminarium tot. g. h.] *Latin,* the source, head, and ancestor of the entire human race **26** der Ausgangspunkt der Schuld ist die Unschuld] *German,* the starting point of guilt is innocence. **30** Daseyn an sich] *German,* being in itself **31** hat sich zugetragen] *German,* has occurred **33** es ist geschehen . . . durch Hochmuth] *German,* it happened that he fell away from God through pride.

One could now take consciousness as the standpoint; because of his consciousness he distinguished right and wrong, and through this distinction he was in a position to choose. This view presupposes that good and evil already exist; it does not say in what badness lies, or where it came from, or how it began. To grasp this conceptually one must go further. As nature, the world is without consciousness and merely daseiende and lacks reason and freedom. When it realizes this possibility, nature becomes Bewußtseyn, and is Welt and Natur as Ichheit. When nature attains consciousness, it is not merely a thinking thing, but thinks itself; here the world has for the first time sich erfaßt perfectly. But in the distance is the beginning of evil. Die bewußtseiende Natur ist sich nur ihres Wollen, and as sich Denken it is also sich Wollen. All [its] striving aims to draw everything to itself, thus it has selbst-süchtige Natur geworden und zwar als Freiheit, thus it becomes dependent on itself and has lost its freedom. What is needed is that nature be freed from Ichheit and Selbstsucht. In diesem Ichwerden der Natur, und Natur-Werden des Ichs ist der Egoismus, und darin der Verlust des göttlichen Ebenbildes.

This movement is a necessary determination of consciousness. The thought of the difference betw. good and evil is not itself evil, but is the prerequisite for evil. That the Unterschiedslosigkeit between good and evil founders is not a loss but a gain; up until this point in time everything is from God, nothing from itself. The transition to evil forms the idea of evil, as that which an sich is in Daseyn, dies ist der Gedanke des bösens Gedankens. One is not to remain stuck on hypostatizing the devil in dogmatics, but what is its content? It is that the hum. being makes the subjective thought of evil objective for himself and thereby allows it to have power over him. Now when der Gedanke des bösen Gedankens proceeds to the evil thought, then the devil has won. It is thus not evil to think of the devil.—The difference betw. God and hum. beings now becomes Widerspruch and Gegensatz.

The actuality of evil, or wovon es seine Form hat. Wollen that identifies itself with thinking of evil. Here the hum. being is for the first time in contradiction with himself. It becomes actual because free-

7 daseiende] *German,* being there **9** Welt . . . Natur . . . Ichheit] *German,* world [and] nature [as] I-ness **11** sich erfaßt] *German,* cognized itself **12** Die bewußtseiende Natur . . . göttlichen Ebenbildes] *German,* Conscious nature is itself only as its willing, [and as] thinking-itself [it is also] willing-itself. [All its striving aims to draw everything to itself, thus it has] become egoistic nature—in freedom, it is true [thus it becomes dependent on itself and has lost its freedom. What is needed is that nature be freed from] I-ness [and] egoism. In this becoming-I of nature and this becoming-nature of the I there is egoism, and through it the loss of the image of God. **22** Unterschiedslosigkeit] *German,* lack of differentiation **25** dies ist der Gedanke des bösens Gedankens] *German,* this is the thought of the evil thought **33** Widerspruch . . . Gegensatz] *German,* contradiction [and] opposition **34** wovon es seine Form hat] *German,* that from which it derives its form

258 dom and nec., freedom and law, are distinguished and take up positions against one another—and thus [position themselves] as freedom that posits itself as unfreedom. The content of consciousness is now freedom in conflict with the law.—Evil is therefore not actual, but is in becoming, in Entstehen and Vergehen, the being that is merely being and as such an un-being, that does not proceed to the concept, but changes everything essential, everything actually essential, to something temporal and spatial and thereby makes it something un-being, inessential. Evil lives essentially in time and space, instead of time and space being mere elements. The lie. It is not something actual in itself, it is an sich das Nichtige, das Negative des Wirklichen, that is, it is something positive, in that its proof depends on the good. Evil is a position in negation.—Is the hum. being good or evil by nature? There is a difference betw. an sich and by nature. an sich he is good, but not as a natural being but as a spiritual, whose origin is in infinity, that is his innocence; there is ein Gutseyn that is also only an sich. The natural is the antithesis of the Spirit. Thus it is correct to say: nicht gut ist der Mensch von Natur. It is a contradiction to say that he is good by nature or by means of nature; it is only possible by means of the Spirit. The immediacy of the heart is precisely what must be renounced. Therefore rebirth is necessary. Die Verselbstigung beginnt mit seiner Entselbstigung. Baptism:———— *Die Schuld*. The transition from innocence to guilt is posited in the opposition betw. freedom and nec. in such a way that, really, something advantageous is also posited. The first transition, see the preceding, makes the hum. being into the merely not holy; the second transition allows him to cease being the merely nicht-heilige and makes him into the unheilige. He was seduced, and thus seems to be without guilt, but, on the other hand, he let himself be seduced and is thus guilty. 1) *The hum. being lets himself be seduced*, this happens in der Bewegung der Wahrnehmung in Bewußtseyn. Das Wahrgenommenes ist nich nur ein Einzelnes, sondern das Allgemeines, als Wahrg. ist es das Sinnliche. Das wo durch das Sinnliche im Denken eingebildet wird ist die Einbildungskraft. Das Wirkliche is nicht das Sinnliche sondern das freie. Hum. beings in the Erscheinungs-world, because they cannot wahrneh-

5 Entstehen . . . Vergehen] *German,* coming to be [and] passing away **11** an sich das Nichtige, das Negative des Wirklichen] *German,* in itself, what is nothing, the negative of actuality **17** ein Gutseyn] *German,* a being-good **18** nicht gut ist der Mensch von Natur] *German,* the human being is not good by nature **22** Die Verselbstigung beginnt mit seiner Entselbstigung] *German,* Becoming a self begins with un-selfing. **23** Die Schuld] *German,* guilt **28** nicht-heilige] *German,* not-holy **28** unheilige] *German,* unholy **31** der Bewegung der . . . sondern das freie] *German,* the movement of perception in consciousness. What is perceived is not only something singular, but is rather the universal; as an object of perception, it is sensuous. That by means of which the sensuous is incorporated into thought is the imagination. What is actual is not the sensuous, but rather what is free. **36** wahrnehmen] *German,* perceive

men the spiritual, turn away from this to the Sinnen-Welt. This is not just a matter of Fühlen, Empfinden, but is Gelüst, since he is also willing it. In hum. beings, animality also reaches the will, which in animals is merely instinctive desire. The serpent must therefore *speak* in order to awaken desire, for it is through this speech that the hum. being is brought to imagine what he desires.—Reason and freedom are now reduced to being servants of sensuous desire. Reason and freedom thus cease to be actual, remain in their possibility, and are thus degraded. This subordination of reason and freedom to 259
desire and Wahrnehmung is the Fall; the consciousness of this is guilt. Thus he is not sinful because he is a sensuous being or lives in a sensuous world.

Hum. beings were seduced. Die Schuld ist die Unschuld. Because he allows himself to be seduced he is actively guilty, but when he is seduced his comportment is passive, so there is not a complete loss of reason and freedom; he hat eingebüßt an dem Geiste, aber nicht den Geist selbst verloren. He has lost its purity, but not lost it itself. *Das Wissen der Schuld ist das Gewissen* in the identity of allowing oneself to be seduced and being seduced. This idea is mediated by good and evil; conscience is found only in a being that knows good *and* evil, evil *and* good. Ohne Gewissen ist allein Xstus und der Teufel. God is holy, but this involves no relation to good *and* evil. Xt was therefore tempted, but the reason why he was not conquered by temptation is not because he was without conscience, but because he was above it.—Evil is without conscience as well.

Das Gewißen ist im Menschen das Wissen des Guten am Bösen, und des Bösen an dem Gute, and is the point from which he can once more attain the lost world and orient himself anew toward the good. What happens in conscience is that the div. will takes the form of law, but this form can also be shed. Xt is thus the end of the Law. All conversion and improvement proceeds from conscience; repentance belongs to conscience, which contains a consciousness of not being able to justify oneself; this is the consciousness of guilt: that there is a prospect of justification is the consciousness of innocence. If one makes hum. beings the real originators of evil, then all justification is impossible. Hum. beings themselves are then made into the devil.

This must be seen subjectively, i.e., the individual sin, objectively, i.e., original sin, the unity. *subjectively:* it is the individual's

35 Sinnen-Welt] *German,* sensory world **2** Fühlen, Empfinden . . . Gelüst] *German,* feeling, sensation, [but is] desire **10** Wahrnehmung] *German,* perception **13** Die Schuld ist die Unschuld] *German,* Guilt is innocence **16** hat eingebüßt . . . verloren] *German,* has forfeited the Spirit, but not lost Spirit itself **18** Das Wissen . . . Gewissen] *German,* The knowledge of guilt is conscience **21** Ohne Gewissen . . . Teufel] *German,* Only Christ and the devil are without conscience **26** Das Gewißen . . . an dem Gute] *German,* In human beings, conscience is knowledge of the good in what is evil, and of evil in what is good.

own sin. His nature is indeed sinful, but he is also Spirit. Flaccius Illyricus. The contrary position to this is to derive evil from upbringing and example, but the lack of upbringing and example would be even more corrupting, and where would one look for the reasons for such perverted upbringing and examples, and what would be the reason hum. beings were so desirous of understanding evil and making it their own[?] Die einzelne Sünde ist die der Person, die allgemeine ist die der Natur. *Original sin:* Actual sins and original sin are not only different formally, they are related as the universal, which does not exist without the Besondere, and the Besondere is in the universal. All hum. beings are therefore sinners: sin propagates itself metaphysischer and intelligibler Weise in nature. Everyone is born a sinner, the possibility of all evil is at hand. But original sin is also a possibility that remains throughout life and that cannot even be rooted out by rebirth. Earlier dogmatics defined it negatively: defectus justitiæ originalis; positively: inclination toward sin, desire for what is forbidden, concupiscentia, thus it is not merely in the body, not merely in ignorance or in lack of understanding, not merely in frailty that this badness betrays its presence, but there are vices that are indulged with the greatest degree of awareness. One knows from good people who have admitted that deep in the heart there is concealed an inclination to sin, a decided corruption such that a smile can say to one's friends, ["]My friends, I have no friend["]; a delight in the misfortunes of others, even of one's best friend. Every person's loyalty has its price. Homo sum, nil humani a me alienum puto is also true of evil.

Identity. The attribution of the Adamic or first sin. if the consequences now constitute something absolutely different from the first sin, then the door has been opened for all kinds of doubts. Earlier dogmatics interpreted Adam merely as the individual. It is important not to oppose the first hum. being to his descendants; but Adam is hum. being in general, as he fell, so each still falls. Kant already said: mutato nomine de te narratur fabula. If this becomes the substantial content of that narrative, then it is all the same whether it is regarded as a poem, a myth, philosophy, or history. Its truth is confirmed in everyone's consciousness. The truth of Paul's teaching that we have all sinned in Adam. Augustine operated solely within the concept provided by this teaching: nos omnes fuimus, sumus ille unus; not only by means of natural descent, but also

7 Die einzelne Sünde . . . der Natur] *German,* The particular sin is that of the person, the universal is that which belongs to nature. **10** Besondere] *German,* particular **12** metaphysischer . . . intelligibler Weise] *German,* in a metaphysical [and] intelligible (i.e., above the senses) manner **16** defectus justitiæ originalis] *Latin,* the loss of original righteousness **17** concupiscentia] *Latin,* desire, concupiscence **25** Homo . . . a me alienum puto] *Latin,* I am a human being and suppose nothing human to be alien to me. **33** mutato . . . fabula] *Latin,* With a change of name, the story concerns you. **38** nos omnes . . . unus] *Latin,* We have all been, we are, that one.

per concesionem in his sin, his sin becomes ours. Every other sin is tied up with this, as scripture teaches concerning the propagation of sin. Original sin does not tolerate any difference betw. the sin of others and one's own sin. But this opposition is cancelled on the one hand by making Adam's sin one's own, and the other, by making it [i.e., my own sin] Adam's sin. It is said that this conflicts with freedom. Strauss "cannot see that the first sin was a misuse of freedom, because freedom is precisely the possibility of good and evil; the first prohibition therefore had a purely arbitrary character; no reason was provided, but with no trace of humanity it takes pleasure in its superiority and in its inferior." Freedom and arbitrariness have become mixed up here, for arbitrariness is completely indifferent to good and evil. The historical nec. of sin is no coercion; everyone is conscious of his power to resist.

The attribution of Adam's sin as guilt or Erbschuld: Now, if Adam is completely alien to us, this is meaningless. But this is not what the Church presumes. As long as the first hum. being is different from all the others, one can still raise such questions. Paul and Augustine 261 highlight the Erbschaft, so no essential difference remains betw. the first and subsequent hum. beings. This idea cancels what is alien in Adam. but as long as it remains in the sphere of representational thought it is still only an idea, exposed to doubt and to objections like every doctrine. But what is being discussed is not ein einzelner Vorgang mit einem Indiv., noch von der lauteren Unschuld die Rede sey, but what is being portrayed here is only what every hum. being essentially is. As universal it does not apply to the individual and is alien to him, but because he makes it his own, it ceases to be universal and yet in another sense it is universal.

2. *Preservation.*

The biblical teaching. The Church's teaching is rlly not very developed, as it was supposed that it was implicit in creation, unless one counted the scholastics' concursus dei a doctrine that Baumgarten has taken up in his dogmatics: deum concurrere ad materiale non ad formale actionum; this doctrine was especially developed re. hum. freedom.

The concept of the dogma: negative, positive, concrete.

negative: Creation is the beginning, preservation the continuation. The principle of the world is of that which seeks to preserve itself in being. One is to remove from this any thought 1) that preservation means the eternity of the world or the eternal continuance of every individual part, because, having arisen it must pass away.

1 per concesionem] *Latin,* (per concensionem), by consent *(see also explanatory note)* **15** Erbschuld] *German,* hereditary sin **19** Erbschaft] *German,* inheritance **23** ein einzelner . . . die Rede sey] *German,* a single occasion concerning one individual, nor is it pure innocence that is being discussed. **32** concursus dei] *Latin,* God's cooperation **33** deum concurrere . . . actionum] *Latin,* God cooperates with regard to the material but not to the formal [aspect of] actions.

But preservation appears again in the apocatastasis των παντων; 2) that it is not so much the finite and spatial world that God preserves, except insofar as it is in God; for then it would not need preserving, then it would be infinite. One must therefore think about it with regard to its Fürsichseyn. Preservation consists in the Fürsichseyende not ceasing to be for God. But in evil there are powers in motion that work to bring about its [the world's] downfall, though God's preserving work counteracts it; 3) concerning a passive state of being preserved by God. Just as the inorganic is comprised and preserved in the organic, it is not the object of God's preserving work. Organism and mechanism are in conflict with each other. The real possibility of the organism is the seed; as issuing forth from itself the organic is also in itself, its differentiated parts are its Glieder, of which each is preserved through itself as through [the action of] another.

positively: 1.) The relationship of substantiality. There is then rlly no relationship, which always requires 2 [parties]. The development of nature coincides with God's omnipotence. This is Spinoza's pantheism. One remains at the position that preservation is something immediate. The preservation of the world is its self-preservation. Either God is supposed to be the one who needs preservation, or the world is abandoned as needing preservation. 2) A relationship of causality. Preservation is really identical with creation, and the peculiar element that is left finds its place in miracles. God is distinct from the world. A mechanical point of view. Jerome inveighs against this doctrine as found in Pelagius and says: dormitat ergo deus. 3) Immanence. Not one-sidedly, so that transcendence is excluded. In Subst. ist Gott als Vater *ver*kannt, im Caus. Verhaltniß ebenso der Sohn, the truth is to be found in the doctrine of the Spirit. The world belongs to God's mediated revelation. If one remains at the level of identity, then the preservation of the world is God's self-preservation. That the world is able to preserve itself lies beyond it, in God. This world's self-preservation is thus also its contrary position; what is living is what is mortal, everything is relative, but therein it is related to the absolute; therein the world is what it is as preserved by God.

The concrete determination. The world's preservation by itself and by God so that both aspects are acknowledged. Whereby God preserves the world: 1) immediately, the world is now excluded here. The relationship is indeed inward, but in such a way that for God the world is, and remains, an Other. The world is not the immed. revelation of God, for the Son is. This happens in natural religion, espe-

1 των παντων] *Greek,* of all things **5** Fürsichseyn] *German,* being-for-itself **5** Fürsichseyende] *German,* that which is-for-itself **14** Glieder] *German,* limbs **26** dormitat ergo deus] *Latin,* God is therefore sleeping. **28** In Subst. ist Gott . . . der Sohn] *German,* In [the relationship of] substantiality God is not properly known as Father, similarly with the Son in the case of the relationship of causality.

cially in Brahma. Thereby the actuality of the world is rlly cancelled.—Pantheism also goes along with the idea of a Weltseele: God is drawn along into sensuous existence, and God is not known as Spirit. 2) mediately, vermittelst des Gesetzes; the law is the universal and the necessary, without which the world cannot preserve itself. The world preserves itself by means of its law, God preserves the world by means of his law. The law is die entstandene Form seines ewigen gottlichen Inhalts. As long as the world was in harmony with God, God did not have the character of law. In time, creation fell away from God. Its Selbstsucht is its downfall; though nature and freedom were not annihilated, but disrupted. God did not leave the world to its downfall, but, as it says in a Ψ, God's will now took the form of law that was established as a limit to evil, so that the powers at work in it would not rise up. The law of nature and the moral law which—because they are in it and in him—are not from it and from him. Solon, Lycurgus, Moses were active in preserving the world. 3) Religion. God is known as the one who preserves the world, and preserves it thus. But only hum. beings are made so as to be conscious, and thus, insofar as hum. beings preserve themselves, so too do hum. beings preserve the world. By means of the Kingdom of God, God preserves the world, so to speak, God keeps the world from ruin for the sake of the pious, but the world is constantly being transformed into the Kingdom of God. Religions-Geschichte is the history of God's preserving work because at all times he took account of hum. beings and at last took on hum. nature.

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3. Providence

The biblical teaching. προνοια appears in the book of Wisdom, but not in any canonical book in this sense. The Church's teaching. In the Church, what is recounted in scripture becomes a matter of faith. Takes precautions against 1) Dualism, Gnosticism, Emanationism. 2) all theories that construe providence as identical with a necty. that excludes all freedom. Fatalism, Occasionalism, God is the immed. cause of everything, and intermediate causes are merely occasions. Malebranche carried this out in a mystical way, Bayle rationalistically and he himself conceded that there can be no talk of freedom—Church teaching contains a mass of what are in the end purely traditional definitions. With regard to actus: prognosis, προθεσις, διοικησιν (actually putting it into effect) re. the object:

2 Weltseele] *German,* world-soul **4** vermittelst des Gesetzes] *German,* by means of law **7** die entstandene . . . Inhalts] *German,* the arisen form of its own eternal divine contents **10** Selbstsucht] *German,* egoism **24** Religions-Geschichte] *German,* History of religion **28** προνοια] *Greek,* foreknowledge **38** actus . . . gratiosa] *Latin and Greek,* the act: foreknowledge, foreordaining, governance, [(actually putting it into effect) re. the object:] general, special, and most special providence; [re. the means:] ordinary or mediate, extraordinary or immediate providence, providence in nature [and] in grace.

providentia generalis, specialis, specialissima; re. the means: pr. ordinaria s. media, extraordinaria s. immediata. pr. naturalis and gratiosa.—

The concept of this teaching: 1) The substantial 2) dialectical 3) the concrete.—The substantial is the concept in gen.; with this concept one is at once in the world of Spirit, yet in such a way that it has a relation to nature. God as the eternal Spirit is the principle both of nature and of the Spirit, and of the law in both. It is these laws one particularly has in mind in considering providence. Thus 1) all chance occurrence is excluded from the world of Spirit. In nature everything is indeed bound by law in such a way that it is governed by nec., so that even what is monstrous has its law; but according to its Erscheinung everything falls away into indeterminacy. What happens by chance is what is without thought, not determined by itself. In nature, Spirit is not für sich. If chance is entirely excluded, then everything is determined by thought, i.e., the realm of Spirit 2) everything lacking a plan is excluded. A plan comprises both a decision and putting it into effect. Such a doubling is not found in nature. It is immed. identity. Nature does indeed act *according to* what can be thought but *without* thinking. Hum. beings can do it, [can] involve themselves in the doubleness, can get an ideality without reality. Nature is nothing but realization. The planned character of div. providence is alien to nature. God's plan is by no means different from his putting it into effect, his actions are decisions; in this way they are thoughts and as such have their reality in God. 3) Zwecklosigkeit. Purposefulness is not merely outw. in the organic, but also inw. But when the Zweck is the concept, then this points to reason and wisdom; but this points to Spirit. God's kingdom is das Reich der weißesten und besten Zwecken. From God's side the Zwecke are always attained, but they suppose the reason and freedom found in creation and hereby the difference betw. Zweck and fulfillment; this difference is the history of the world.

The dialectical: Movement through different standpoints. 1) in faith in the div. in nature, auguries, haruspices. Nature religion is naturally like this, because it reposes in the immed. identity of nature and Spirit. In chance occurrences τυχη still rules nature under the determination of Spirit. God's will is not distinguished from chance occurrences and is thus superstition. 2) The understanding distinguishes what is natural from what is spiritual, but hum. beings have not thereby reached knowledge of God, but merely to negativity. Fate lies beyond what is natural, but the spiritual is the object for Wahn and Furcht, and everything is determined by unalt. ar-

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25 Zwecklosigkeit] *German,* lacking a goal or purpose **28** das Reich der weißesten und besten Zwecken] *German,* the kingdom of the wisest and best ends **36** τυχη] *Greek,* lot, fate, chance **42** Wahn . . . Furcht] *German,* madness [and] fear

bitrariness as in Islam. 3) In his certainty, God is elevated above chance and the power of nature, thus too over all arbitrariness. Providence gets its due in the conviction that God is absolute spiritual presence, all-knowing, omnipresent. Absolute thought and will are one. In nature and history the eternal Spirit is revealed in its eternal governance of the world.

The concrete, God's unity with the world that has been created and preserved by him, unity with the Spirit that rules in the world. 1) The ethical world-order. Is God concerned only with what is universal? in this sense the universal is nothing whatever. If, on the contrary, one understood this rightly, one could say that for God there only exists one person.—2) The result of hum. actions; this is the effect of div. providence. God's decisions are mediated through hum. reason and freedom. Ideas, as God's concrete thoughts, are the means by which God acts in the world, evil becomes a folie for the good. 3) Faith therein, constantly brought about by the div. Spirit, and increasing in the same measure as reason and freedom increase in a person. God's governance remains mysterious even to science; on the other hand knowledge cannot avoid knowing the nec. of the faith that has this mystery as its object. If one does not wish to know the nec. of this faith, then it will turn into doubt. God's plans may well be hidden, as Paul says, but one can have certainty regarding the nec. of faith.—

Christology.

The Unity of the Div. and Hum. Nature

The biblical teaching. The messianic prophecies. The chief element in the O. T. is the idea of div. revelation, which is not different from God's Son, and in the N. T. Xt's pre-existence. This preexistence was not unknown among the Jews, as in the Chaldean Paraphrases and the Rabbis.—The N. T. teaching on the div. nature in Xt, on the hum., on their unity.—Modern exegesis now recognizes this biblical fact or the fact that it is contained in the N. T. Even the rationalists [recognize it], even though they think that the doctrine is indistinct in the N. T. The supernaturalists will not allow this doctrine to be clearly stated, either; they hold fast to the practical subjects, but take a neutral position regarding what is properly dogmatic.

The Church's teaching.

M. Chemnitz de duabus naturis is a very acute text.

15 folie] *Latin,* foil **39** de duabus . . . communicatio idiomatum] *Latin,* On the two natures [is a very acute text.] The union of natures, communion, the communication of properties, union of natures [is the action] by which God assumed flesh; [the effect thereof is] communion. Personal union [is not] natural such that the two natures grow together into one, [not] accidental [but] necessary, eternal, [not] mystical, [not] moral, [not] sacramental.—communication of properties. *(See also explanatory note.)*

unio naturarum, communio, communicatio idiom. unio nat. is the action unitio, qua deus assumsit carnem, the effect thereof is communio.
unio personalis is not naturalis, qua duæ naturæ in unam coalescunt, not accidentalis but necessaria æterna, not mystica, not moralis, not sacramentalis.— communicatio idiomatum.

Concept of This Dogma.

The Christological efforts of modern times can here be used to provide an introduction for orientation in the historical development.

1. *The ecclesiastical-symbolic*-supernaturalistic [approach] gives no new definitions, but repeats. In opposition to this came rationalism and provided some stimulation. But rationalist Xstology is an abstract withdrawal to a pinnacle of subjective thought, so that Xt's historical Erscheinung is threatened. The hum. in Xt utterly outweighs the div. in Xt. The main thing is that he is the practical ideal, and that he made himself into this.

2. *The aesthetic theology:* remains in immed. feeling. de Wette's teaching about Xt's div. is not a concept but an aesthetic idea; the pious Xstn believes in and contemplates God in Xt, but klügelt nicht; one holds on to this doctrine as a beautiful image, although not as a poem but as ["]Ergebniß einer geschichtlichen religieusen Erfahrung."—Schleiermacher. What is progressive in S. is that he did not interpret the meaning of Xt solely as doctrine, but as life, yet in this regard he continued to think of a being of God in Xt, and of an Urbildliche, which thought cannot at all surmount.

3. *philosophical systems.*—Kant—ideal. To refute this it is sufficient to recall the gap it creates betw. ideal and actuality. In Fichte this gap is metaphysically annulled; it was stated in univ. terms that hum. beings should be united with God, but one cannot require anyone to hold that this was in an exceptional way the case with Xt; his merit will always be that he was the first to set this forth. In Schelling too, the gap is not filled in; he got beyond K's ideal and
266 Fichte's Ichheit and once more put forward the idea of incarnation. God's becoming-hum. is from eternity, but the relation to the Chr. doctrine of a definite moment in time and to a definite hum. being is missing here, whereas Schl's Xt becomes the symbol of the idea, and he [Schleiermacher] has to state that the Ch.'s teaching is inadequate; but a symbol is far from being a dogma and is close to being a myth.
The first revelation of God is the Son, it is immed.; the second reve-

20 klügelt nicht] *German,* is not clever about it **22** Ergebniß einer geschichtlichen religieusen Erfahrung] *German,* the outcome of a historical religious experience **25** Urbildliche] *German,* prototypical entity

lation is the world. These two are not absolutely different or sequential in time, but he is revealed to himself and revealed to the world. As revealed to himself he is in a state of indiff.; as revealed to the world [he is] in difference; in this consists the initiative for the concrete unity that is the world as hum. nature in unity with God; the God-Man reconciles differences. The task of dogmatics is to show that this is an eternal nec., without which neither God nor the world can be known, and in this section it deals with anthropology in the eminent sense.

1) The unity of the div. and hum. 2) the historical Erscheinung 3) the identity of both or God-Man.

Before one comes to know what is actual, one must have the possibility. 1) *hum. nature* 2) *the div.* 3) *unity of both.*

hum. nature: *as nature (nasci) begins with life, individuality, Selbstbewußtseyn, Ichheit, Geist, and therein Personlichkeit.*

as indiv. It has the vegetative animal life an sich, Fühlen and Empfinden, it comprises activity and passivity without being activity or passivity and is pure receptivity.—Yet already on entering the world the hum. being is something more; he is an sich a rational being, i.e., der Möglichkeit nach.—Naturlichkeit as opposed to Gemütlichkeit; this tranquil stillness is just as much feeling as it is thinking. The animal is only empfindende and is thus only concerned with what is particular, but to posit the particular as the universal is to think, it is wahrnehmen. Gemütlichkeit nevertheless starts out from Sinnlichkeit, and one mustn't make too much of this. All feeling is sinnlich, is a feeling of dependence; in this feeling and its Gemutlichkeit the hum. being is purely nature and as flesh and blood cannot know God's being. Knowledge properly speaking comes from thought and from the thought of God, but then it is not condescending but elevating, for its principle is that of the holiness of Spirit. Natur and Sinnlichkeit, Gefuhl and Gemüt are dissolved and incorporated into what is higher.

Selbstbewußtseyn: The moment in which he comprehends himself in himself and distinguishes himself from the world. As a Gemüths-Wesen he remains in immed. unity with nature, but as he attains understanding and volition he emerges conditioned by objectivity through education and instruction; spontaneity arises when 267 what corresponds to it is offered from the outside. In the first instance, this occurs in language. He gains knowledge of the sensu-

14 Selbstbewußtseyn] *German,* self-consciousness **15** Personlichkeit] *German,* (Persönlichkeit), personality **16** Fühlen] *German,* feeling **17** Empfinden] *German,* sensation **20** der Möglichkeit nach] *German,* according to possibility **20** Naturlichkeit . . . Gemütlichkeit] *German,* naturalness [as opposed to] mindedness **22** empfindende] *German,* sensate **25** Sinnlichkeit] *German,* sensory nature, sensuousness **26** sinnlich] *German,* sensory **31** Gefuhl . . . Gemüt] *German,* (Gefühl), feeling [and] mind, disposition **35** Gemüths-Wesen] *German,* a being with mind

ous, the finite, [the] conditioned. If he also comes to understand the div., this too is because this comes to him as if from outside. In Ichheit, the hum. being is indeed actual, but not in truth; he is not in truth until there is reason in understanding, freedom in volition; thus he is Spirit. [An] individual who has soul and body as elements. But how does the hum. being arrive at reason and freedom and at personality? here, the hum. being points beyond himself to the div. personality, the absolute identity of reason and freedom; the absolute prerequisite for becoming reason and freedom is religion. Hum. nature is ιδιοσυστατος, but is also ανυποστατος, and only becomes this [hypostasis or essence] by incorporation into the div. nature.

The div. nature: Hum. nature develops out of finitude, is born, lives, suffers death. All of this is negated by the div. nature, and even the expression "nature," which stands in relation to becoming, is only a characterization of the div. substantiality; Sinnlichkeit and Gemüthlichkeit are also negated in God. Only sensuous thinking ascribes affects to God. God is the holy, i.e., absolutely spiritual love. Hum. beings arrive at understanding, learn to understand their world and make it the object of their willing, but in this way remain in finitude. In God as absolute truth the distinction between thought and object is also negated; God's thoughts are true not because they are in accord with things, but because the latter only exist through God's thought.—Hum. beings too are capable of grasping absolute truth, but they need div. enlightenment; as the nat. man he knows nothing of God; through God can he come to participate therein—In a hum. being the elements of personality are reason and freedom, and freedom that knows itself is his personality; God is the true and holy Spirit. Hum. beings as spirit are different from God as Spirit. Rom 8:14. 2 Cor XII:4–6; [a hum. being] only becomes Spirit by this reciprocal negation in which likeness is difference. If one does not suppose with scripture a possibility of union and identity, then Xt is inconceivable. Moreover, even difference would not admit of being thought, if it were to be absolute.

Unity: abstractly it is known in hiddenness. The hum. being is ein Geist and God is der Geist. The hum. being is the Unendliche in Endliche, God the Unendliche in Unendliche. Hum. existence is woven into die Erscheinung; the infinite Spirit is the negation of all finitude; thus far we have only reached the level of difference. Neither the div. nor the hum. Spirit are without a Beziehen. The truth of
268 their difference is the hiddennes of the one in the other. As the hidden Spirit, it exists an sich; having the attribute of individuality,

10 ιδιοσυστατος . . . ανυποστατος] *Greek,* resting within itself [but is also] without essence (or without hypostasis) **35** ein Geist] *German,* a spirit **36** der Geist] *German,* the spirit **36** Unendliche . . . Endliche] *German,* infinite [in] finitude **37** Unendliche . . . Unendliche] *German,* infinite [in] infinitude **40** Beziehen] *German,* relation (literally "to relate")

hum. spirit is what is untrue therein, yet, as scripture says, [it is] a temple in which God has his dwelling; in baptism he is acknowledged as such. If the hum. and the div. thus have an inner relationship, then this is more than neutral difference; but it is still immed., an sich, possibility; it is a concealed relationship. Col 3:3.—But there is the possibility of a closer relationship[.] The hum. being has still not arrived at his own self, how could he have arrived at God[?] *Mediation:* removes the hiddenness and makes manifest the one in the other. This mediation is religion, which prepares the way for the hum. being to become God and for God to become hum. Both parts constitute the nec. inner movement of consciousness. In religion, the hum. and divine Spirit abandon their reciprocal distance, which is not some kind of annihilation; the consciousness of God is the truth of hum. consciousness. Hum. beings recognize the div. Spirit as that toward which their longing is directed; from his side, God shows and reveals himself in his truth and holiness, God's eternal goodness, in which he condescends to hum. nature. One can, with Schelling, call this God's eternal becoming-hum. In an abstract and extern. sense, this is also conceded by the rationalists, thus by Scott in his *Dogmatics*, but not as immanent. Religion is the consciousness of God not only in terms of its content but also in terms of its form. It is not only nature and history that make up the content of consciousness. Consciousness is not only natural; thus, in beginning it is not merely hum.; and thus, it continues onward, though essentially div.

As mediated, the relation of God and hum. beings to each other is always relative; an sich it is absolute. Insofar as they are Spirit there is no difference; God is the one who is identical with himself in his absoluteness, the hum. being the one who is identical with himself in his Ichheit. The secret of this unity is solved in the concept of personality, which sublates both natures in identity; the sublated Ichheit is posited as absoluteness; the sublated absoluteness [is posited] as Ichheit. In Chr. dogma this is defined as Entäußerung Phil[ippians]. By annulling himself as Ichheit, the hum. being has overcome his nature without giving it up, similarly in the case of God. The movement issues from the div. side alone; hum. nature cannot assume the div., but the reverse [can take place]. Therefore Xt's becoming hum. is always analogous to grace.—This idea was already dominant in the O. T., where whoever saw God would perish.—The unification of the div. and hum. natures is a becoming, a process, this is a step forward taken by modern philosophy. Historical development is nec. for it, as Paul says, when the full-

33 Entäußerung] *German,* renunciation, alienation *(see also explanatory note)*

269 ness of time came. The idea of hum. beings' div. upbringing is implicit in this. That hum. beings' self-relation also becomes their God-relation is div. upbringing. The step-by-step course of progress shows how the hum. spirit has had to fight its way to this point.—
5 *Die geschichtliche Erscheinung* or *the historical Xt:* Proof is easy for faith—it is written. Unbelief opposes this. If the dogmatic concept is not developed, then the historical cannot be known. The only thing that really follows from what is said in biblical texts is that they say it. When faith grasps this it has die Wahrheit an sich. But it is still not
10 known in its truth. Neither are criticism and interpretation sufficient, and it becomes almost a matter of accident whether the true dogmatic meaning is produced or not. The dogma of Xt as the God-Man cannot be deduced from the dogma of redemption: on the contrary, the former is the basis for the latter.—

15 1) in Xt's sinlessness. Xt is placed in the midst of the world, but is also elevated above hum. beings. The Son of God. This seems to be a contradiction, but is merely the idea of the God-Man stated of a definite person.—The hum. being Jesus as the individual subject and yet the universal being predicated of him is a similar contradic-
20 tion. When we say Jesus Xt we place both parts in one person. The universal Xt has attained his personality in Jesus.—Without sin. This is necessarily comprised in divinity as holiness; for the hum. being it is not given by nature. But in the unity of the God-Man sinlessness is nec. supposed, and what can remain without sin and
25 has been without sin must also be supposed to be so in its principle. Therefore it is taught that Xt is born of the H. Spirit. The principle of sin is removed from Xt's birth; thus a pure humnty is once more portrayed.—But this sinlessness does not preclude a free development. We must get rid of the view that it was only a nec. of na-
30 ture, and the possibility of sinning ought not be excluded. If nec. alone, and not freedom, is the basis, he is set below hum. beings; but if the possibility of sinning is excluded, he is elevated above hum. beings, far too high above. The highest freedom cannot be the work of a natural process; on the other hand, because the direc-
35 tion of oneself and one's own will is given, if pure humnty is to be maintained, it [self-direction, one's own will] must be bent to the div. will at every moment.

2) *Die Verheißung und die Erfüllung:* Here those which, from God's side, are eternally united are separated; both are traced back to the
40 unity of the divine decree, which is eternal. God's eternal decree determines both the time for the Verheißung as well as for the Erfüllung. The successive realization of the fulfillment is located

5 Die geschichtliche Erscheinung] *German,* the historical appearance **9** die Wahrheit an sich] *German,* the truth in itself **38** Die Verheißung und die Erfüllung] *German,* The Promise and the Fulfillment

here.—In relation to the fulfillment, prophecies often show themselves in a very outw. way as riddles or chance occurrences, the fulfillment of which is not based in what has been predicted. They must be interpreted as a cohesive totality, or else die Beziehung becomes entirely arbitrary.—God's purpose in sending the Savior is always unalterably the same; the redeemer is the object of constant expectation, but yet he is not "in" that expectation. One may not say that, as a part of God's intention in sending the redeemer, it was also intended that this would only be allowed to happen at a later time. The intent is the beginning of its being put into effect. The opposition of sin and grace had first to be driven to a crescendo before fulfillment could come. God's apparent favoring of one people is only another expression of God's universal love for all, which because it shows itself as result must also be posited as principle. The consciousness of sin had to be developed, and while the attention of the entire pagan world was directed toward actuality, Israel sighed under the Law.—*Die Erfüllung:* The O. T. theophanies: they are merely transitory manifestations, merely shadows of what is to come. Also in the O. T. the outw. relationship remains. That Xt, he alone, is the promised messiah, that is the explicit teaching of Xt and the apostles. This has been denied by saying that the one who was promised was someone other than Xt (the [entire] Jewish people, an individual prophet, etc.), or it has been shown that particular features of what was promised do not fit with Xt. Both are ways of denying the promise.—The fulfillment had to hold much more than the promise.—This is nec. because it had to be elevated over the historical Verlauf of the promises. It is only from the idea of God and of humnty that it can be known whether revelation corresponds to the idea; yet this is not an outw. reflection, which could be arbitrary, nor a matter of the idea only being in us in thought and the actuality being later, but it is only χn consciousness because it knows that Xt is Xt. Experience cannot give any Abschluß, for one experience can possibly be contradicted by another. Judaism remained stuck at this level of experience. But the development of all peoples is striving toward this one.

Xt is the midpoint of world history: The difference betw. Xt and other world-historical persons is only quantitative. But in saying this, one relates one-sidedly to his hum. standpoint. Only if he is the midpoint, only then is he unique, for there can only be one midpoint.—In all finite religions, the necessity, if not the consciousness, ihre Erledigung zu finden in Xnty. Judaism had this in the Messianic prophecies, for in spiritual respects one cannot know one's limits

4 die Beziehung] *German,* the relation **27** Verlauf] *German,* course (as in "course of history") **32** Abschluß] *German,* conclusion **40** ihre Erledigung zu finden] *German,* of their completion is found

without already being beyond them. Judenthum and Romerthum
271 were the two world-historical peoples who lost out to Xnty. What they both had in common was pride, especially the Jews.

Xt as God-Man: Xt is more than the midpoint, he affects all of history. Strauss's theory—that one doesn't doubt the identity and reality of the div. and hum. natures, but not in one individual, that this is not the way in which the idea is accustomed to realize itself, but [rather] in a manifold of examples that reciprocally complete one another. Humnty is the God-Man.—We started with the unity of the div. and hum. nature and proceeded to the historical Erscheinung; it now remains merely to establish both parts as one.—Strauss's theory is true insofar as Xt's Erscheinung is not to be understood ex abrupto but only in continuing connection with the whole of humnty; the mechanistic view of Xt's appearance as Deus ex machina is characteristic of supernaturalism. Strauss's mistake is that he never went further than this to the true div. communication and the true hum. reception; for him humnty remains a kind of in-between thing. Only when one attains this level, only then can the meaning of the manifold historical manifestations that preceded it be seen.—With the idea of humnty, one is indeed thinking of the infinite, because one has an abstract Vielheit; if one applies it concretely, this proves to be inadequate, and only the Einzelne is truly infinite.—Div. and hum. nature are united in Xt as never before and never since; never since, because the Xn community can never take Xt's place, as in that case one would be replacing the incarnation with the indwelling of Xt's Spirit in the individual. The community is confused with its center.—The truth of the doctrine of the incarnation is that Xt came as the individual, this very individual. The historical development too is formed on the basis of having an individual personality at its apex. It is said that Xt was nevertheless not able to manifest everything in himself (an artist, a general, etc.), but the moral-spiritual basis is contained in him, and this intensity is what is most important. When it is said that humnty is the Son of God, then real history is annulled, for the cult of genius is and remains sinful hum. beings, and none of them can be the redeemer. Xt is the individual and the absolute individual, *he is humnty but in der Einzelnheit* 1) as individual each is for himself; different from others, he is born, suffers dies, etc. In this regard, he can be compared with other notable individuals, for he has in common with them that he is this individual hum. being, subject to the lot of finitude. He belongs to a family ("and he was subject to them"), which he made clear even while on the cross. He belongs

1 Judenthum . . . Romerthum] *German,* Judaism [and] the Roman world, Roman civilization **12** ex abrupto] *Latin,* suddenly, out of context **21** Vielheit] *German,* multiplicity **37** in der Einzelnheit] *German,* in its particularity

to a state. He lives according to the customs and ethos of the nation. 2) To do justice to the historical, we must not overlook die Allgemeinheit in him, because individuality, family, nationality did not limit him at all. He incorporated this into himself, but went beyond it. What is limited in this is absolutely negated in him. In this he is different from all world-hist. characters and is the midpoint. In the world, he does not have anything für sich in the world, he is only for the world; he is unselfish in love, is without honor, renounces everything. This negative is his positive dominion over feeling and over all natural impulses; he allows for such [natural impulses] in himself, but he is higher than them. Even his love for Jn. is not limited in a personal way. In this, he is without like. He is a member of a family, but does not have the limited spirit of family life. He abolished Jewish particularism; he steps outside his genealogy "before Abraham was, I am"; therefore he does not belong to the Jewish nation. 3) Xt is a hum. being without any regard to family or nation. Son of Man. The power he has is div. By means of this div. concentration in an individual, the God-Man surpasses all limits of individuality and family.—Xt does not need any instruction, his essence and true nature are truth and holiness themselves, only appearing successively in his hum. individuality; even before his being made manifest, hum. nature was already hidden in him.—Die an sich seiende unity of God and humnty shows itself successively in the unfolding of his individuality. He was not recognized; the div. is still hidden; only in the resurrection did his div. nature become really clear and revealed. If Xt had been worshiped while alive [on earth], it would have been worship of an individual.

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The Doctrine of Xt's Two States

The biblical teaching.—The Church's teaching. It is to be recalled that 1) this doctrine only concerns the hum. nature, as God can neither be exalted nor humiliated. But one can however rlly say it only of the hum. nature in relation to the div. In both states the subject is the God-Man.—2) the hum. nature as such must not be counted as part of the humiliation of Xt: In and of itself it is not a degradation for God to become hum. 3) the conflict between the Giessen and Tübingen [theologians].—*the speculative definition.* This doctrine is the dialectical movement of the unity of the div. and hum. natures in Xt. unio, communio, communicatio idiomatum. The unity of both natures in Xt is historical and the unity is something vermittelte, which pervades the relationship between these natures to the point

2 Allgemeinheit] *German,* universality **23** Die an sich seiende] *German,* The in-itself existing **39** unio, communio, communicatio idiomatum] *Latin,* unity, fellowship, communication of properties **40** vermittelte] *German,* mediated

of Widerspruch; thus, e.g., that Xt dies, yet in such a way that the contradiction is shipwrecked upon the unity. The div. nature is not
273 the hum., the hum. not the div. Now, the unity of both is not immed., but [has] proceeded through the oppositions. What is exalted can only humble itself, what is lowly, raise itself; but only what is exalted can condescend to that to whose essence it is related, thus God can only condescend to hums. not to animals. If one holds fast to the unity, then one does not need to distinguish the natures at every step, as Calvinist method does, in order to prevent confusion; for identity comprises difference within itself. The Lutheran Church is more inclined to the identity, and to that extent the conflict between them can easily be settled. The two states must not be thought of as absolutely external to each other or as successive; they are in one another, the zwiefache is the einfache. αδιαιρετως. What matters is to grasp the opposites as one. The Jews could not fail to see the hum. in Xt, fasting, praying, downcast, suffering, and dying, but he says "The Father and I are one." The movement is spiritual and thereby free, a work of love, proceeding from the div. nature and suffusing the hum. The div. nature humbles itself, the hum. nature is exalted. But the hum. nature must not be thought of as merely passive, for in that case the relationship is merely outw.; the relationship is not mediated by anything outw., not even by the work of grace. The form this takes is the miracle. The div. nature's κρυψις and φανερωσις are both sides of this. Xt is himself a miracle even when he does not perform miracles. The unity of the div. and hum. nature is the principle in every miracle. It was incomprehensible how it could appear without miracles. This does not, however, prove individual miracles, which the God-Man can emphasize or de-emphasize. He withdraws from the crowd and will not perform miracles. He requires faith in all his miracles, and yet he also wants people to be beyond that. It is not the task of scholarship to understand particular miracles, but to understand the absence of necess. in such miracles. According to Daub, the miraculous is the unity of the historical and the dogmatic. The form of the miracle is a human Thun, its content a div. Thun. In the abstract idea of God miracles do not exist and there is no miracle; neither is there any miracle for the natural hum. being; such belief begins only when humnty has awoken to the idea of God and takes the form of wonderment. The elements of Xt's life are not just his Thatenor actions concerning him, but they are also dogmas. It is in the light of this that we must decide about what belongs to the two states. What makes them difficult to interpret is partly the sense-

14 zwiefache … einfache] *German,* double, dual [is the] single, simple
15 αδιαιρετως] *Greek,* undivided **24** κρυψις … φανερωσις] *Greek,* concealment [and] revelation **35** Thun] *German,* doing **39** Thaten] *German,* deeds, works

certainty of the eyewitnesses, partly the isolation of every single element, which is contradicted by their infinite content. What is sensuous cannot help the Spirit. There are many who have sense-certainty and see this as the main thing, whereby they easily lose what is spiritual, which, however, is what alone makes them into the objects of faith. The sensuous is also called the factual, although in, 274
e.g., the resurrection, the sensuous element is played down when Xt says ["]I am the resurrection.["] With the sensuous, space and time come into consideration. In these states there is indeed a succession, and thereby each has a für sich seyn peculiar to itself, before it passes over into the other [state]; this seems to annul the dialectical movement. But this succession must not be interpreted as something entirely outw., like a sequence of numbers. It must therefore be lifted up into the region of Spirit. These elements all belong to the domain of the miraculous and are objects of faith. Knowledge cannot want to dissolve this. Nor is it sufficient to regard everything as symbolic, as Schelling does, for the historical Xt would then be no greater than Osiris, and these mythological figures could thus rightly be seen as parallels with him. These elements must not be interpreted subjectively. Scientific study must know their nec.

Xt's Humiliation.

Xt's appearing in the form of a servant. This must not be understood with regard to his becoming hum. as such, for this is his forming himself into hum. essence from beyond the fullness of time and from eternity. Bound up with the servant form, as finite hum. being, are many sufferings, which only ended with death. But it is freely assumed in order to slay death; and his death is the redeeming death; and opposites are united, death and new life. Because his humiliation is not merely passivity, but also a That, he can thus take it back, that is the resurrection.—Hollenfahrt is the unity of death and resurrection; he is not yet resurrected, but he lives. The Church has always left what he was doing in the 3 days to everyone's free opinion.—The resurrection: an apparent death annuls death, actual death annuls [the interpretation of] the resurrection that serves rationalism. Scripture wants both parts, an actual death and an actual resurrection. The ascension. These 2 moments too follow one another in time; they cannot be essentially distinguished. After his resurrection only those who believed in him could *see* him. His spiritual corporeality is the beginning of the ascension. There is a fluid transition between the resurrection, the ascension, and sitting at the right hand [of the Father]. Weisse points out that there is no essential difference, and the fact that he shows himself to

10 für sich seyn] *German,* being-for-itself **29** That] *German,* deed, work **30** Hollenfahrt] *German,* Descent into hell

500 believers derogates from what is valuable in his manner of disappearing. The resurrection is thus not the emergence of the body from the grave, but the raising of the soul from Hades to God's right hand, which is to be dead according to the flesh and made alive according to the Spirit. Spiritually he will return, in the end, to judge, whereby there is a return to the beginning, and all other Messiahs are excluded.

275 *Redemption.*

biblical teaching: A prophet [is] not just his teaching but also his life which, as instructive, is his exemplary role.—Priest—King, i.e., he is prophet and priest ewiger Weise.—

The Church's idea. The old division into 3 offices.—satisfactio.—

The Concept of the Dogma.

Xt the prophet. The identity of the div. and hum. nature in Xt is knowledge, it is a revelation. Spirit has finally reached its highest stage in Chr. revelation, and thus every preceding form is not alien to it. The individual consciousness and subjective spirit finally find their truth in the univ. and objective Spirit. The subjective Spirit has its most forceful confirmation in the spirit of a people. The religion of the subject finds its truth in the religion of a people. In isolation it is enthusiasm. In the first instance it is *natural religion*, or ideal, the religion of art. Consciousness is therefore partly natural, partly aesthetic. The third is the movement beyond them both.—natural religion, it cannot achieve the ideal, it is lost in the world-soul, it is fetishism.—*The religion of art*, aesthetic religion. The movement from the idea to the ideal.—Sacrifice is everywhere the expression for the finite consciousness. The identity of the ideal and intuition is the religion of art.—In the end the people expresses its consciousness that it exists only by means of something higher—*revealed religion*. herewith, religion has raised itself to its second stage, to reflection. Its abstract way of thinking thus shows itself clearly in the prohibition: You shall not make any image of God. 1) the Jewish religion. This is where the prophets belong. Its element is memory, going back to what has happened in history. Tradition. on the one hand, it is said that God *has* shown himself to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; on the other hand, God is a Holy Being who cannot reveal himself to the people; he is in the other-worldly. But the Jewish people are thereby much closer to the real knowledge of God. As God's chosen people, it is the world-historical people.—The people know God only in abstracto, he is the highest being, ens su-

12 satisfactio] *Latin,* satisfaction **40** in abstracto] *Latin,* in the abstract **40** ens supremum] *Latin,* supreme being

premum.—The Israelite nation is situated betw. the two dimensions of time, past and future, but lacks present time; its God-consciousness is an unhappy God-consciousness.—Abstraction now ceases; identity shows itself. 2) *the Xn religion,* which is not just one more stage, it is the absolute. Jesus Xt is the consciousness of the hum. race as the Besondere in its universality and the Ich-ness of the Einzelne in which all negativity is annulled.—the preceding revelation is not the basis for the subsequent, but vice versa. Apart from the N. T. the O. T. is not merely incomprehensible, but irrational.— Whereas previously it was a people that was the world-historical, it is now an individual that is the world-historical. 3) *the χn religion* as redemption through Xt. a) the establishing of the true religion. This occurred through Xt, when he gave it such a content and such a form that it could from now on be the religion of all peoples; in it the redemption of the whole world is to be found. Xnty did not emerge as it essentially is, which is through God having an eternal consciousness like to God, the revelation that like the eternal God has neither beginning nor end. Xnty is as old as the world, contains all religions als seine Negationen an ihm.—The difference betw. the χn religion and the preceding is only one of form. The earlier religions are the untruth of Xnty. Xt knows God in the same way that God knows himself. What is hum. in Xnty is not what is imperfect, as in earlier religions. Xt is therefore not merely the founder of a religion, but his life is the chief thing. Xt's absolute knowing begins in all other hum. beings in faith. b) Faith. The apostles strive to raise the people to the level of this universal consciousness. But the teaching is not something different from the religion, just as it is not at all different from his life. The work of the community does not consist in teaching, but in believing and incorporating it[s object] into itself, being clothed in it.—The χn religion surpasses the knowledge found in hum. nature, which is that of the natural hum. being. The first impression is that its content is completely alien to him [the natural human being], and yet it exists only for him. He is incorporated into this teaching by the grace of the Spirit, whereby it comes to pass that the div. truth ceases to be alien to him. It is only in Xnty that hum. beings find the solution to the riddle of self-consciousness, and thus this alone is what makes hum. beings truly free.—Insofar as faith rests on something handed down, it is a matter of tradition; in scientific scholarship it is speculative; it has as its object not only χn truth but the certainty whereby it distinguishes faith from superstition and unbelief. With regard to

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19 als seine Negationen an ihm] *German,* within itself as its negations

content, every difference betw. esoteric and exoteric knowledge is annulled.

Atonement.
The High Priest.

1) The necessity of this dogma, 2) The possibility, 3) The actuality.—

Right from the start, Strauss interprets it abstractly, letting the idea and history become detached from each other.—

The necessity: for hum. beings, for God; *for hum. beings:* attention has been drawn to the fact that, by the time Xt appeared, sin had reached such a pitch that it was nec.; implicit in this is that in ordi-
277 nary circumstances it [the atonement] would not have been nec. [F]or God himself the magnitude of sin is the effectuating cause. It can be historically proved that it was the Pharisees, etc., who brought about Xt's death. But this approach is purely outw. and a matter of chance. But scripture teaches

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All categories acquire a much more positive shape: Werden becomes Selbstbestimmung and movement comes in Entstehen and Verg. Vergehen, however, is not cessation, but movement, Uebergehen. **2**

Uebergreifen. The negative is more than the positive, for the positive does not have the negative but the negative always has the positive within it, and thereby it grasps it and goes beyond it. Reality and negation are not merely in one another, but form one another.

Etwas is Anders nicht (it has Etwas outside itself)[.] Eins is nicht Anders (it has Anders in itself).

Uendliches ist Daseyn, was nicht unendliches ist, is nur, Daseyn ist Seyn durch sich selber, but what is truly infinite is Daseyn was sein eignes Daseyn ist[.]

Eins is always nur Eins and doch Eins; movement is implied by this.—Eins is nicht Anders and Eins—Identity Einheit. Quality is herewith over. Quality was a Seyn that was entirely Bestimmtheit and a Bestimmtheit that was entirely Seyn; it is Unity.
The Atomists did not say το ατομα, but τα ατομα and the other definition was το κενον; finally, therefore, all atoms dissolved themselves again.

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The point about Quality is: ist, it is Seyn that is Bestimtheit and Bestimtheit that is Seyn. Quantity is Bestimmbarkeit; therefore Seyn is still not annulled, but it is Bestimmtheit that is all-Bestimmtheit, that is no determinateness, a boundary that is no boundary. **3**

1 Werden . . . Uebergehen] *German,* Becoming [becomes] self-determination [and movement comes in] coming to be [and] passing away. Passing away, [however, is not cessation, but movement], transition. **5** Uebergreifen] *German,* encroach upon, infringe **10** Etwas . . . το κενον] *German and Greek,* Something [is] not something other ([it has] something [outside itself]). One thing [is] not another thing ([it has] something Other [in itself]). Being-there is infinite, which [is] not infinite, is only Being-there Being through itself, [but what is truly infinite is] Being-there which is its own Being-there. One [is always] only One [and] yet One; [movement is implied by this].—One [is] not something Other [and] One—[Identity] Unity. [Quality is herewith over. Quality was a] Being [that was entirely] Determinateness [and a] Determinateness [that was entirely] Being; [it is Unity. The Atomists did not say] the Indivisible, [but] the Indivisibles [and the other definition was] the Empty **23** ist] *German,* is **24** Bestimmbarkeit] *German,* determinability

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4 The boundary is a) auf sich beziehende, b) umschließende c) ausschließende. All of this is implicit in Number.

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5 Quantum is Determinateness that is becoming. Quality *is* Determinateness; therefore the transition from finite Quality to infinite
279 Quality is true, [it] *is.* Quantity is the boundary in becoming. Quantity is indifferent toward itself as regards its gradation; that by which it determines itself is external to it.

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6 Goal is a Quantity determined qualitatively, and it is a Quality determined quantitatively; it is qualitative insofar as it is quantitative and vice versa. Here determinateness *is.*

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7 Identity ist der mit sich identische Unterschied—Unterschied ist der von sich unterschieden identity.

8 Actuality as Verschiedenheit resolves itself into die Sache and die Bedingungen.

2 auf sich . . . ausschließende] *German,* self-referential, b) inclusive c) exclusive. **15** ist der . . . unterschieden] *German,* is difference that is identical to itself—difference is the [identity] that is different from itself **17** Actuality . . . die Bedingungen] *German,* [Actuality as] dissimilarity [resolves itself into] the things [and] the conditions.

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Seyn. . Nichts. . Werden **9**
Entstehen. Vergehen. Daseyn
Reality. Negation. Etwas.

Anderes.
Seyn an sich. Seyn für Anderes
Boundary.
Andersseyn Veränderung
Unalterability.
Finitude—Infinitude.

Reality—Negation (the negation of Negation)
Ideality.

Für sich Seyn—Für sich Seyendes—Eins
Eins—Nicht Anderes—Einheit.

Quality

Ein Eins.

Quantity.
Continuity — Discretion.
(Attraction) (Repulsion)
continuous discrete magnitude

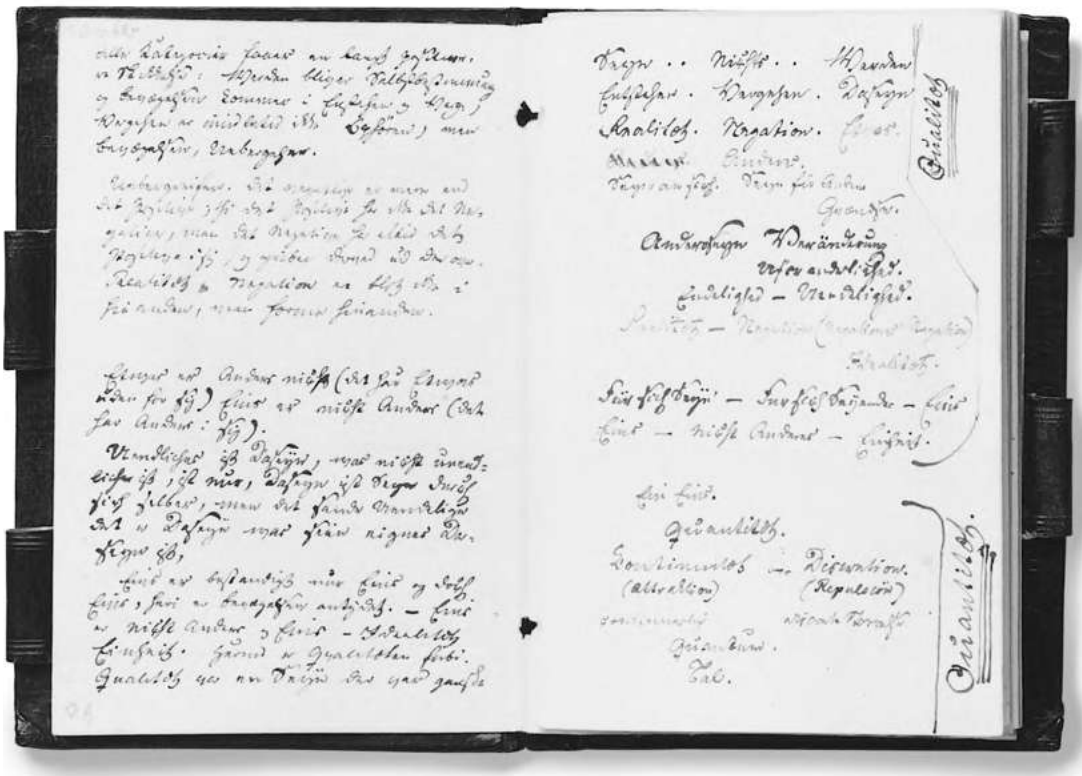
Quantum.
Number.

Quantity

extensive — intensive magnitude.
Degree.
Quantitative infinity—Sollen.
Quantitative relationship.
Goal.

Goal.

1 Seyn . . . Nothwendigkeit] *See explanatory notes.*



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Essence

Identity—Unterschied

Verschiedenheit, Gleichheit, Ungleichheit, Gegensatz, Widerspruch.
Positive—Negative
Ground—
Existence.
Gesetz—Erscheinung

Verhaltniß

Ganze—Theile.
Die Theile are to such a degree das Ganze, that every Theil is the whole.
Der Theil ist eo ipso die Theile.

Kraft—Außerung
Actuality
Possibility—Accidentality

Reflection occurs when the whole is its own moment

Possibility and accidentality are Außerungen, are Bedingungen.
Die Sache., Bedingung
Necessity.

Die Wirklichkeit als Entgegensetzung ist Nothwendigkeit.

NOTEBOOK 10

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1 *Hegel's Aesthetics 3rd Volume.*

The Types of Poetry.

A.) *Epic Poetry.*

The relationship betw. dramatic and epic collision. The latter leads everything back to the natural aspect of character, which is why courage is such an eminent motif for the epic, but is not dramatic, for [the dramatic] leads everything back to the inwardness of character. In the epic the hero has a fate, in drama he is his own fate.

The relationship betw. event, action, das Geschehen. The occasion presupposes a certain immediacy; this is also the reason an epic can have such breadth. On the one hand it concerns the hero, but he is not self-reflective as the dramatic hero is. This in-between situation—where the circumstances venture to demand just as much attention, is in no hurry to come to the denouement—is the occasion.

Subtypes of epic: idyll, didactic poetry, novel. The last [of these] presupposes as background a completely developed prosaic order of things and not the immediacy of the state as in the epic proper.

B) *Lyric Poetry.*

Epigram; romance; ballad; occasional poetry. a) hymn, dithyramb, paean, psalm b) ode c) song. α) Volkslieder β) gesellige Lieder γ) sonnets, sestinas, elegies, epistles, etc. a) *the oriental lyric* b) *the classical* α) the hymn β) the elegiac meter γ) the iambic δ) the melic lyric ε) the choral lyric. c) *the romantic* α) the pagan lyrics among the romantic peoples β) the Chr. lyric of the Mid. Ages γ) that which issued from Protestantism.

C)) *Dramatic Poetry*

p. 493. It could seem that, insofar as dram. poetry essentially posits the obstacle, the collision, in a sense quite other than that found in the epic, that this obstacle and delay must be its principle, but this is not the case; on the contrary, a progressive movement is [its principle], but this comes precisely from its having posited the collision. The natural number of acts is 3, which the Spanish willingly observe; the English, French, and Germans have 5. (in Tieck's *Phantasus*, incidentally, as far as I can remember, this is carried out with great artistry.)

The chorus and the monologue constitute the discrete moments of the dialogue. H. has not set this out entirely clearly. For regardless of whether the chorus is closer to the substantiality of the epic or the
286 flourish of the lyrical, it nevertheless indicates the surplus that cannot be reduced to individuality; the monologue, too, is more lyri-

9 das Geschehen] *German,* what happens **20** Volkslieder] *German,* folk songs
20 gesellige Lieder] *German,* literally, social songs, as, e.g., drinking songs

cal concentration [than it is epic substantiality] and, for its part, has a surplus that cannot be reduced to action and situation.
p. 506. "In diesem Sinne hat Aristoteles Recht, wenn er behauptet (*Poet*. chap. 6) für die Handlung in der Tragoedie gäbe es zwei Qvellen (δυο αιτια) Gesinnung und Charakter (διανοια και ηθος) die Hauptsache aber sey der Zwek (τελος); und die Individuen handelten nicht zur Darstellung von Charakteren, sondern diese würden um der Handlung willen mit einbegriffen."
p. 531. As Aristotle says, tragedy should arouse fear and pity. Hum. beings can fear two things, what is external and finite; the ethical power, which is determined by their own free rationality, when they turn against it. Pity too has 2 forms: being touched in the customary sense, which is affected by what is finite in suffering "bemitleidet und bedauert will aber der edle und große Mensch auf diese Weise nicht seyn. Denn insofern nur die nichtige Seite, das Negative des Unglücks herausgehoben wird, liegt eine Herabsetzung darin. Das wahrhafte Mitleiden ist im Gegentheil die Sympathie mit der zugleich sittlichen Berechtigung des Leidenden."
The main collision in Greek tragedy is in part the substantial, the family, the state, etc., and in part a more formal [collision], especially [well] portrayed in *Oedipus rex* and *Oed. at Col*., which deals with the degree to which a person is guilty for unconsciously and unintentionally doing what the gods have destined him to do. Greek heroes are not afraid to take guilt upon themselves.

Sophokles von J. J. C. Donner, Heidelberg, 1839. **2**

Oedipos Kolonæus.
v. 308 Antigone
Ich seh' ein Weib

3 In diesem . . . mit einbegriffen] *German and Greek,* In this sense Aristotle was right when he asserted (*Poetics*, chap. 6) that there are two sources (two causes) of tragic action, mind and character (thought and character), but the chief thing is the goal (aim, purpose, end); and the individuals do not act so as to represent characters, but these are included for the sake of the action. **13** bemitleidet . . . Berechtigung des Leidenden] *German,* but the noble and great person will not be comforted and pitied in this way. For insofar as it is only the negative side, the negative aspect of misfortune, that is thereby brought to prominence, there is a disparagement in this. True compassion, on the other hand, is the [kind of] sympathy that at the same time affirms the ethical justification of the sufferer. **29** Ich seh' ein Weib . . . Ismenes Haupt] *German,* I see a woman coming ever nearer to us, sitting on a colt from Etna; and, protecting from the sun, a Thessalian hat covers her face and head, sheltering them. Whom do I see? And is it something or nothing? And am I mistaken indeed? I believe it, and then again I do not believe it, and keep silent. Poor me! It really is she, coming nearer she is smiling to me with bright eyes; yes, now I see clearly, she is in the flesh, she alone it is, it is the head of Ismene.

Uns immer näher kommen, auf ätnäischem
Roßfüllen sitzend; und die Sonne abwehrend, schirmt
Gesicht und Haupt ihr bergend ein Thessalerhut.
Wen seh' ich?
Und ist es Etwas oder Nichts? Und irr' ich wohl?
Ich glaub's, und glaub' es wider nicht, und zweige still
Ich Arme!
Sie ist es wirklich: näher kommend lächelt sie
Mir zu mit heiterm Auge, ja nun seh' ich klar
Sie ist es leibhaft, sie nur ist's, Ismenes Haupt.

3 *Antigone.*
v. 844. Nicht unter Menschen, nicht unter Todten
Im Leben nicht heimisch noch im Tode.

4 It is quite remarkable: the wrath of the gods pursues the family of Labdacus, which is apparent in the fate of Oedipus; his daughters from his unfortunate marriage are Antigone and Ismene. Antigone, as we see, has nonetheless become engaged to the son of Creon. The family proceeds calmly on. This is Greek tragedy. Romantic tragedy could be linked to this, as, e.g., if I let Antigone be in love with all love's energy, but not give herself in marriage so as to thwart the deity of vengeance, seeing herself as being a sacrifice to its wrath, because she was of the family of Oedipus, but she would not let the line continue, lest once more it become the object of persecution by the vengeful gods.—

5 *Philoktetes.*
v. 96 Odysseus
Mir, Sohn des edlen Vaters war als Jüngling auch
Die Zunge langsam und die Hand zu Thaten schnell.
Nun durch Erfarung reifer, seh' ich auf der Welt
Vollendet Alles nur die Zung,' und nicht die That.

6 In *Philoktetes* even the situation itself becomes reflective vv. 878, 879.

12 Nicht unter Menschen . . . im Tode] *German,* Not among men, not among the dead, at home neither in life nor death. **27** Mir, Sohn des edlen Vaters . . . und nicht die That] *German,* When I too was young, O son of a noble father, [my] tongue was slow and my hand quick to act. Now, matured by experience, I see that everything in the world is accomplished only by the tongue and not by actions.

Philoktetes stands at the threshold both of being drama as well as that of being interesting. Philoctetes' increasing bitterness, and the increasing self-contradiction in his behavior that is tied up with it, is a deep psychological truth, but the whole is not ancient. **7**

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8 **Marheinecke**

that it is for all peop. Atonement presupposes a Widerspruch against God on the part of all peop. In the N. T. κοσμος means the fallen world. The I withdraws from God, sucht sich selbst, Selbstsucht and is Entzweiung, also Entzweiung from God. The transition of corruption from the Ich to the world is mediated through the categories Einzelnes, Besonderes, Allgemeines. Evil is the war of all against all. Corruption shows itself as *Thun*, in which the Gesinnung of the world comes to utterance. The Negative is essentially a lie, and the world lacks truth. This is the objective need. Corruption shows itself as *suffering*, this is Hemnung, Vernichtung des Lebens, der Schmerz. The world is in need of truth and freedom. Corruption is *guilt*; the identity of Thun and Leiden, is the burden of guilt, which rests on it but not in such a way as if laid upon it extrnlly.

The nec. of atonement from God's side. Corruption, then, cannot be in the div. nature itself. God is not the Ungrund behind evil, nor mere Abfall, which almost becomes a Zufall, and not der Fall, the Fall; it is the world that freely separates itself from God, and the world is the world rebuffed by God. Yet it has not completely ceased to be in relation to God. God says: fiat justitia, but does not add pereat mundus. The world may not be conceived of in God. God's righteousness wants to do away with sin by means of punishment. Without God's righteousness sin itself would not be unrighteous. Righteousness is moreover love, and this is the form righteousness takes. Objection. God punished an innocent man[.] Answer 1) it is freely taken upon himself by the innocent one 2) he is God himself. As the atoner, God first makes manifest his eternal love. God is the atoner and the atonement itself, which is just as much God's eternal That as [is the world's] creation and preservation.

Possibility. That which sets a distance between God and hum. beings cannot be that which unites them to God. It is indeed said that sin is the cause of atonement. Evil cannot be the basis of good. Evil must not be absolutely without any goodness; the good is the need of atonement. Hum. beings are in thrall to sin, but not destined to this thralldom. Atonement can anknüpfen this good.—

2 Widerspruch] *German,* dissent, protest, contradiction **3** κοσμος] *Greek,* cosmos, world **4** sucht sich selbst, Selbstsucht . . . Entzweiung] *German,* seeks itself, self-seeking [and is] split off **6** Ich] *German,* I **7** Einzelnes, Besonderes, Allgemeines] *German,* individual, particular, universal **8** Thun . . . Gesinnung] *German,* action, [in which the] mentality, character **11** Hemnung, Vernichtung des Lebens, der Schmerz] *German,* (Hemmung), restriction, annihilation of life, pain **13** Leiden] *German,* suffering **16** Ungrund . . . Abfall . . . Zufall . . . der Fall] *German,* abyss [behind evil, nor mere] falling-away, [which almost becomes a] chance or coincidence, [and not] the Fall (in the biblical sense). **20** fiat justitia] *Latin,* let justice be done **20** pereat mundus] *Latin,* even if the world should perish **28** That] *German,* action **35** anknüpfen] *German,* connect with

Faith in God, however it shows itself, is conscious of this: that the atonement is not a fiction, but that God, according to his nature, is eternal atoning love. No religion has entirely lacked this faith. Sacrifice rests on the idea that God himself is the atoner. In this there is a faith in 1) God's righteousness, by which he does away with everything finite as such, and 2) in God's love, which raises it up to God. 289 In all its forms, atonement proceeds from God. The content of faith is that God's love is effective; hum. beings are only der versönliche, der versönbare by faith, but they owe this faith to grace.—The div. nature is that which is allgenugsame and allgenügende, which satisfies all who want to escape the Widerspruch; it is not only genug for itself, it can genugthun itself; this is div. love, and this is where we find the history that is the history of all religions. Atonement is eternal, but this is as yet only the idea and the possibility, i.e., if atonement exists it can only happen through God. Actual atonement. If the idea contained no more than possibility, then it would be a weak and powerless [one], but if it is more or less realizing itself at all times then it has shown its perf. reality in the fullness of time. Without the idea, the actual aton. cannot be explained—The object of faith in the atonement is not a hum. being who is himself a sinner, but atoning love, the div. nature itself, yet not beyond actuality, the world, and the hum. race. Other religions lack the identity of the atonement and the atoner (priest—sacrifice as two different things). Moses was also a mediator, but only showed the possibility. If this was to become absolute actuality, then God himself had to become hum., to do and to accomplish what hum. beings ought to, and [this is what] the man-united-with-God took upon himself, something that was not fitting for God: the most profound humiliation. Satisfactio is thus in a double sense vicaria. What is great in Xnty re. atonement is that the idea and the reality are completely fused and cannot be torn apart.

Actuality. 1) The concept of atonement 2) its moments 3) der Zweck.

1) *The concept.* God becoming hum. in Xt suggests the atonement. Neither God nor hum. beings could bring about atonement, er ist an sich die Versohnung. The actual aton. is a Thun and a Vollbringen. In Chr.'s hum. nature the aton. became actual. Xt relates to the sin of the world, himself guiltless. Hum. nature indeed needs aton., but cannot atone. A pure sacrifice is required. Xt bears all the sins of the world. a) Aufnehmen der Sünden in sich b) das Vertilgen

8 der versönliche, der versönbare] *German,* the reconcilable, that which is capable of being reconciled **10** allgenugsame . . . allgenügende] *German,* all-sufficient [and] all-satisfying **11** genug] *German,* sufficient **12** genugthun] *German,* make sufficient **29** Satisfactio] *Latin,* satisfaction **29** vicaria] *Latin,* vicarious **32** der Zweck] *German,* the purpose, aim **35** er ist an sich die Versohnung] *German,* he is in himself the atonement. **36** Thun . . . Vollbringen] *German,* [an] action [and an] achievement. **40** a) Aufnehmen . . . derselben] *German,* a) the taking of the sins upon himself b) the eradication of the same

derselben. Yet these two must be understood as dialectically passing over into each other. His suffering was not a suffering in imagination. The sins of the world were taken up into an innocent person and borne by him. Yet sin always has an extrnl aspect, and is not the situation then just as extrnl as all other sacrifices? In the N. T. Xt is portrayed as priest and victim. It seems as if div. righteousness takes one who is innocent in place of the guilty. It is not the evil that
290 is alien to all that is good which the atoner takes up into himself; if it has no relation to the good then it is purely negative and has sunk to the level of physical determinants. Moral evil is evil only by virtue of a consciousness of the good. He only bore such sins in which there still was a glimmer of the need for atonement. His bearing the sins of the world thus gains in intensity; how could one who was gewissensfrie bear them? (for Xst does not have conscience, [he] is greater). The deeper the consciousness of sin, the more it is permeated by the good and its sublation possible.

The individual and the universal. if Xt is merely an individual hum. being, then the hum. race has not been coactive; if he has borne only the sins of the world and not his own, then there is no relationship. The first is rationalism, the second supernaturalism. Xt indeed sacrifices himself for his people, but this is only a relative sacrifice. Analogously, one could say that something similar is possible for the whole hum. race. The midpoint of world hist. is in Xt. he is an individual hum. being as well as the life of the whole species; as the center, he determines the whole periphery in himself, as einzelne hum. being he is the universal, as the universal the individual; it is all of humnty that, in him, offers itself to God as sacrifice. In this he is analogous to Adam the second Adam.

What really atones in Xt is in part the boundless love and self-denial in submitting to the Father's will. In his person, the Selbstsucht of the world is placed over against infinite love, and this relationship is an inw. one, so that the former is annulled and taken up into the latter. As the world's suffering passes into Xt's suffering, it is changed from nec. to freedom. By means of infinite love, infinite freedom takes the place of guilt.—God's relation to the atoner is not merely comforting and strengthening, that is an outw. relationship; the essential unity comes into view, he differentiates himself as Son of Man, prays to God; it is not the Father but the Son who suffers, but it is in the unity of both natures, and the div. is not unmoved by this. It is Xt's merit to give himself over to the uttermost finitude, in which he almost vanishes, but thereby finitude is

14 gewissensfrie] *German,* (gewissensfrei), without conscience **25** einzelne] *German,* individual

raised up. Xt's participation in all hum. affections means that they cannot remain in death, but in the resurrection.

The Moments.

The factual Zustände in which his Gesinnung is made manifest. [They] are posited an sich in the concept of atonement; the Erscheinungsweise are outw. Ein *Thun*, opposed to the world's evil Thun; a Thun des Einzelnes bezieht sich mittelst des Besonderen auf das Allgemeine. His self-reflectedness is not egoistic. His Thun is essentially spiritual and thus infinite. As infinite it corresponds to the 291
idea; and the absolute idea of atonement, which is active in him, excludes every other hum. Thun beyond what he does as atoner; everything that appears before and after bezieht sich auf Xstum. In the N. T. this Thun is called love, it is infinite love. Identical to his love, infinite love streams out to the world through his Thun.
Leiden. is spiritual and infinite; it is suppressed Thun; in no way must it be understood as purely passive. This suffering is first portrayed as *bodily* (crucifixion, etc.). Sensuous affection, corporeal blood is not what atones; it is only a finite suffering, but it is significant as the Erscheinung of the spiritual. *Sufferings of the soul.* anxiety in the soul is indeed inw., but nevertheless still sinnlich. He made the universally hum. fear of death his own. *Spiritual suffering.* a suffering in the ideas of the good and the true. All the sufferings of finite nature are taken up into this spiritual suffering. The one thief is the world durch die er leidet, the other is the world für die er leidet, this is the penitent thief. Death is the uttermost Widerspruch as the uttermost suffering; God is not without participation in it, but to suffer and to die is not God's destiny. Atonement is the return of Spirit from its self-opposition to unity with itself. The tranquillity of the Spirit in this movement through its opposite is what is lofty, and in this he is already lifted up. Death is the beginning of a new life; it is the return of suffering in Thun. The unity of Thun and suffering is *obedience*; this is the totality of the concept; Thun and Leiden are only its moments, are its Erscheinung. Under obedientia the Church comprises everything, subdividing it into activa and passiva. It does so extrnly as if acting and suffering appeared accidentally. Necess. and freedom, Müssen and Wollen, are united in obedience. Necty. is the law, freedom annuls this in itself and transforms it into will.

4 Zustände] *German,* circumstances **5** Erscheinungsweise] *German,* ways of appearing **7** Thun des Einzelnes . . . auf das Allgemeine] *German,* [an] action of the individual relates itself by means of the particular to the universal. **12** bezieht sich auf Xstum] *German,* relates to Christ **19** Erscheinung] *German,* appearance **20** sinnlich] *German,* sensuous **24** durch die er leidet . . . für die er leidet] *German,* through which he suffers, [the other is the world] for which he suffers **34** obedientia] *Latin,* obedience **35** activa . . . passiva] *Latin,* active [and] passive **36** Müssen . . . Wollen] *German,* having to [and] wanting to

The unity of these in obedience is dissolved in modern dogmatics. Rationalism lays most weight on Thun, and his suffering has only moral necess. in order that he not betray what is known to be true. It was not his will to suffer, death was not freely accepted. Death was the declaration that he would rather die than be unfaithful to truth, and it sealed his teaching. Xt was obedient to his duty. Death thus retains a merely outw. relation and does not become absolutely nec. Everything could have been achieved without death, and death as such does not make truth manifest.—Supernaturalism negates what is voluntary, mors voluntaria, thus it does not suspect, 292 think, that it [death] ceased to be nec. What is arbitrary has only the appearance of Müssen and is not at all an act of obedience.—The unity of both is infinite obedience. Xt is not a private person, and his death is not merely finite death. He becomes a sacrifice for his people, who take on the appearance of righteousness in the judgment, but this is only a finite obedience. Here, what is nec. is therefore what is free. Obedience is the freedom that has posited itself. He has annulled the law, it is fulfilled [in him]. Its power is indeed above him and external to him, since it is the Father's will. The Son does this will, this is necessity and law; but the Father's will is also the Son's. The difference is indeed posited but in the same instant is annulled. His obedience is infinitely free and infinitely nec. Atonement is absolute obedience. Obedience is geleistet for the sake of atonement; as it is geleistet atonement is accomplished.

Der Zweck der Versöhnung

By positing the idea of atonement, without an atoner, in the totality of humnty, Strauss has abrogated the historical process. It is only the subjective aspect, appropriation. Without the objective aton. there would be no consciousness [of it] in hum. beings. The mistake is that atonement realizes itself an sich immediately without a mediator; the mediator himself here becomes merely an idea that does not indeed have the power to bring about atonement in a single hum. being, yet indeed [does so] in all hum. beings. But hum. beings are not made at one with God, but they are to become so. Atonement is something otherworldly that, through Xt, becomes this-worldly. Otherwise Xt is meaningful merely as an example. The atonement of all hum. beings is conditioned by Xt's infinite obedience. The obedience of each individual is to be based on the obedience that Xt showed his father. This Zweck is not yet attained in Xt's death, and to this extent atonement is not accomplished, for humnty is still not actually made at one with God; to the extent that

10 mors voluntaria] *Latin,* voluntary death **23** geleistet] *German,* carried out
25 Der Zweck der Versöhnung] *German,* The Purpose of the Atonement.

Xt's death is vicarious, in his death he sacrifices all of humnty to the Father. Making this real is the task of faith. The sacrifices that had previously been made in the world were figurative sacrifices in comparison to the real one, which is Xt. Thus as everything here leads toward Xt's sacrifice, so faith strives in the opposite direction back toward Xt's sacrifice. Obedience is dearer to God than sacrifice. In Xt both parts coincide. Faith is the subjective appropriation. Faith is free: "Be reconciled to God." This takes place as the atoning facts of Xt's life, which as such are external to us, enter into us. Strauss sees this as a rhetorical Anklingen an der Speculation and mystical. But this is how it is with all objective truths when they enter into subjective life. There are still obscure elements left in faith. Only when the whole of humnty is actually made at one with God 293
is the Zweck of atonement reached; without this, atonement is merely possibility. Yet this is not to be understood as if everything depended on the inw. That is mysticism. This maxim is unethical, as it supposes improvement to be possible without the hum. being having been brought back to a relation to God. Mysticism and rationalism treat Xt's suffering and death merely as an outw., not as a spiritual fact. Equally unsatisfactory is [the idea of] Xt's merit if one only takes comfort in it in an outw. way, calming oneself through faith in atonement [but] without rebirth. Thus Xt's merit is alien to the soul. That is not true faith; it [true faith] joins the believer and the one believed in. Faith is the attribution of Xt's merit, and this happens by free grace, not merito. Faith is also action that incorporates Xt's righteousness in oneself, the only difference being betw. Xt's infinite and hum. beings' finite obedience; when Xt obeys, that means he atones; when it is said of hum. beings that they obey, this means that they have the possibility of being atoned or are atoned.

3. Xt's Royal Office.

This is the truth of his prophetic and priestly offices. Thereby these pass over from temporality to eternity. All power has been given to me. "Has been given" expresses the dependence; "all power" expresses the identity. his royal office is his eternal exercise of his prophetic and priestly offices. The realm of the Spirit, [when] thought concretely, is the Church. Here, in his transfigured humnty, Xt is King.

10 Anklingen an der Speculation] *German,* echoing of speculation **25** merito] *Latin,* by merit

9 III. III

The Doctrine of the Spirit.

1. *The Trinity.*

The biblical teaching: in the O. T. dark and hidden. Yet the Church ascribes this doctrine to the O. T., yet it is first taught in Xnty. A strict Jew cannot have the Trinity. It is true, as Calixtus said, that the Trinity cannot be demonstrated on the basis of the O. T. It is there only as a secret, it is thus there and yet not there. What is hidden is an sich but it is. It has the expressions Father, Son, Spirit and thus a self-differentiation in God, which nevertheless does not exclude the unity. All the texts that have been used seem therefore to have had this doctrine read into them rather than read out of them. Ψ 33. The high-priestly threefold Holy.—in the N. T. the distinction 294 between Father and Son is prominent. Spirit is also used πνευμα αγιον. Mt 28:29; 2 Cor 11:13. Paraclete does not mean help but the Helper. The gifts come from the Spirit; χαρισματα are thus distinguished from the Spirit, and the Spirit is further distinguished from ὁ κυριος and ὁ θεος. 1 Cor XII:5-6. The activity of the Spirit is described with personal qualities, see, hear, Jn 16:13. Sometimes the Spirit is not distinguished from God, where he is named in connection with Father and Son. omniscient 1 Cor 2; Jn 16:13. Omnipotent 1 Cor XII:4-11.—inspiration Jn 14:15; 1 Pet 1:21. The moral improvement of hum. beings Jn 3. The apostle swears by him, as by Xt. The sin against him is the greatest. Mt 12. [He] is called God Acts 5:3-4.—also the unity of Father, Son, and Spirit Mt 28:18-20.—Bretschneider does not want the baptismal formula to have any dogmatic significance.————*The Church's idea*; this appropriates all the traces of God's threefold nature that might previously have been found in the world. No people is entirely without a trace. Indians, Chinese, Persians have hints of it. The Platonic idea. Among the pagans, the Trinity generally passes into polytheism. In Plato there is the unity he calls πατηρ, λογος, νους, σοφια, and the world-soul. In the *Timaeus* he distinguishes the other principles from God. The question is whether he hypostatized the div. essences. In Neoplatonism these ideas are brought into connection with dogma, and the Church Fathers appropriated what was true in it as χn. The Alexandrian Jews too had a certain kind of Trinitarian doctrine, Philo: 1) the highest God, 2) λογος, δευτερος θεος, 3) πνευμα The Kabalists too had it in the midst of the strictest Jewish monotheism.—Symbolum apostolicum—The formulae vary inasmuch as [some are] more extensive and [some are] shorter. The formula only gained

14 πνευμα αγιον] *Greek,* Holy Spirit **16** χαρισματα] *Greek,* charisms, gifts of grace **18** ὁ κυριος . . . ὁ θεος] *Greek,* the Lord [and] God **32** πατηρ, λογος, νους, σοφια] *Greek,* father, reason, mind, wisdom **38** 2) λογος, δευτερος θεος, 3) πνευμα] *Greek,* 2) reason or word, second God, 3) spirit **40** Symbolum apostolicum] *Greek,* the Apostles' Creed

stable form in the apostolic Symbolum, which, after its redaction, only happened in the 4th cent.—
Paul of Samosata and Sabellius, absolute identity, without any Unterschied. Einerleiheit.—Photinus and Arius. here there is wesentlicher Unterschied. The Son is a creature.—they do not recognize God's absolute spirituality. Macedonius. The Council of Nicaea and Constantinople. nicænoconstantinopolitanum.—The evangelical Church adheres to the Roman symbols on this point. Condemn all who denied the Trinity esp. old and new Samosatians, Socinians.—Protestant dogmatics. The inner relationship betw. the 3 persons, characteres or proprietates personales. The Father's αγηνεσια, generatio activa. The Son's γενησις, generatio passiva. common to both is spiratio, the Spirit is processio e patre filioque. (The addition filioque). The Protestant Church defends it.

The Concept of the Dogma. 295

The relation of faith to the doctrine. The Church characterizes this doctrine as a mystery. Feeling and understanding find little nourishment, the understanding [finds] contradiction in it. It is indeed a mystery, but not absolutely unknowable. The task of speculative knowledge was to gain insight into the contradiction that emerged for the understanding betw. unity and multiplicity. Unity indeed goes forth into threeness, but threeness not back into unity. Abstractly conceived, the Trinity is not the object of faith. He believes in the objective personality; only in reflection does he seek to grasp the unity in the multiplicity. At this point, knowledge and speculation have entered in.—God is not the Father of all hum. beings in a general sense, he is rlly only Father insofar as he is Father of the Son and thereby Father of all. The Son is rlly a negative definition re. all other hum. beings; they are not the Son in the same sense as other hum. beings. Supernaturalism holds especially to the Son and the Spirit, rationalism to the Father. Faith is satisfied with the Holy Spirit, without bothering about his relation to the Father and Son. God as Spirit is the standpoint from which systematic scholarly knowledge sees the Trinity.

Objections to this doctrine. Reflection certainly holds that God can be thought of as triune, but it does not say that God is the triune. This is a Spaltung betw. Seyn and Denken. It is the reflective consciousness that raises the objections. The unity is firmly maintained in opposition to polytheism. We all believe in one God or, more

3 Unterschied. Einerleiheit] *German,* difference. Sameness, undifferentiatedness. **4** wesentlicher Unterschied] *German,* essential difference **7** nicænoconstantinopolitanum] *Latin,* Niceno-Constantinopolitan [Creed] **11** characteres . . . filioque] *Latin and Greek,* the personal characteristics [or] properties. [The Father's] uncreated, active generation. [The Son's] generation, passive generation. [common to both is] breathing, [the Spirit is] procession from the Father to the Son. **37** Spaltung . . . Seyn . . . Denken] *German,* split [between] being [and] thought

neutrally, we all believe in a God. This is correct, insofar as no religion has been so bad as [not] to have had a God. The question is, which God is it you believe in. Faith wants to give content to the idea. Thought must deal with this distinction. We do not all believe in one God, even if [we all believe] in a God. The abstract understanding, outw. and negatively: God is not the world, etc. One posits all differences as external to God and thus one thinks one retains only the unity.

The understanding conceives of the unity numerically and sees no reason to remain at 3; one could have an infinity, an endlessness.—Augustine says of the persons [of the Trinity] that they are in se invicem.

The understanding positions the persons as succeeding one another and thus imagines the Son and the Spirit as subordinate to the Father and less than the Father. All ideas about temporal succession must be removed.

The Dogma Itself.

However different the formulae that have been used, there are nevertheless certain attributes that are absolutely nec.: substantiality, subjectivity, identity.—Lessing says that the most perf. being 296 could not occupy himself with anything other than the contemplation of what is most perfect; here the difference [i.e., between the most perfect being, who is the contemplator and the most perfect, which is contemplated] and unity [i.e., the unity of the contemplator and contemplated] are made manifest; this is in fact the contemplation. Continuing, he says that God created a being lacking none of the perfections that he himself had. Here the mistake is to say that he created. "This being is God himself and not different from him, because as soon as one thinks God one thinks it, and one cannot think God without this; one can call it an image, but it is an image which is a perfect likeness. This is the Spirit, which is harmony." Schelling brought this dogma to philosophy. "The absolute became objective to itself in a counterimage, which, furthermore, is it itself. God transfers all his essentiality onto it, whereby he becomes objective." Hegel. —
In all of this one sees only constructions; it is a subjective definition, so that everything becomes nothing.

The dogma has these moments 1) God is absolute substance. Seyn as such. Abstract essentiality; one can just as well say: das Seyn ist Gott. he is known as being in sich, is causa sui. Spinoza. God is father. Here personality is already expressed; Spinoza identifies sub-

11 in se invicem] *Latin,* between one another reciprocally, i.e., they have a mutual and reciprocal relationship **38** Seyn] *German,* being **39** das Seyn ist Gott] *German,* being is God **40** in sich] *German,* in itself **40** causa sui] *Latin,* cause of itself, i.e., its own cause

stance with nature. He does not have his ground in another, for thus was the Son. God is Father without ever having been Son. 2) the Absolute Subject. für sich. In nature it is matter, etc. Nature itself is not für sich. Seyn or Wesen für sich is only possible in thought, is consciousness. Thought is only für sich. Thought is only for thought. The thought that is God is denkendes Seyn, reality and identity, substance and subject. If one maintains the difference between Seyn and thought, then there is nothing true in it, then it is a thought unworthy of God. In the Chr. religion God's für sich Seyn is hypostatized and represented in the idea of the Son. The div. being reveals himself as Father in the Son. An sich God is the undifferentiated. 3) The relationship betw. Father and Son is a negative one; the Father is not the son, the Son not the Father. It must be negated. It is at this point that we find the doctrine of the Trinity, manifest to everyone who knows that God is Spirit. er ist der Geist von Vater und Sohn. In these two God is another to himself, relating to himself. He is the identity of difference and identity. The Father is Spirit, the Son is Spirit, but this is not a different Spirit. Spirit as Father is holiness; the Son is truth; the Spirit is love, uniting both. Love is precisely the fact that the one is in the other. As love, the Spirit raises the personalities of the Father and the Son eternally up into itself; that is to say, [the fact] that they are personalities consists precisely in their being spirits.

2. **The Doctrine of Grace.** 297

1. Calling. Election. Predestination. Augustine.—Modern dogmatics. Both universalists and particularists appeal to scripture. Bretschneider is of the opinion that Scripture has a twofold teaching. In this way holy scripture is brought into contradiction with itself. Knapp explains the biblical contradictions as apparent and seeks to overcome them by philological means.

The Concept of the Dogma.

God's rule over the world is precisely this: that he is in the world as Spirit. Calling is the div. destiny of hum. beings, but this destiny is an sich, is still immed., the one can become a Werden für sich and therein a Werden für Gott, finally these two in unity.

Werden für sich is not without an immed. relation to God, but this relation is the ansichseiende. The way in which hum. beings develop is determined by nature and history; it is the finite life of the Spirit, or the finite spirit. But this implies a relation to God, immed.

3 für sich] *German,* for itself **4** Seyn . . . Wesen für sich] *German,* Being [or] essence for itself **6** denkendes Seyn] *German,* thinking being **15** er ist der Geist von Vater und Sohn] *German,* he is the Spirit of the Father and of the Son. **34** Werden für sich . . . Werden für Gott] *German,* becoming for itself [and therein a] becoming for God **37** ansichseiende] *German,* being in itself

and hidden; if one takes consciousness as "I," then the an sich empty "I" has its content in nature and history and is related negatively to its other aspect. In this "I" nature has become hum., has come to itself. For hum. beings, nature has immed. actuality. Nature receives a Beziehung auf sich selbst and a Richtung zu sich selbst. This Neigung to itself is Abneigung against that which exceeds it. This is Selbstsucht. Does not wish to be transfigured as Spirit. As they emerge from nature, hum. beings have the same tendency as nature, limiting themselves to the world in time and space.—The natural hum. being is also the [being] that lacks the truth. Abstract thought. Thus hum. beings are described in scripture as der selische.—

Werden für Gott.

Identity: The div. destiny, that the hum. being's Werden für sich is not the negation of its Werden für Gott, for such a negation is precisely corruption. 1) It is the Spirit's gracious work that there is a div. calling, that the relationship of identity an sich is present. This possibility is not the work of hum. beings but of God, gratia præveniens. 2) hum. beings have the Fähigkeit of being able to enter into this relationship, the possibility of which is div. grace. Yet this Befähigung is not the Thun of hum. beings, but, once more, is grace, for the rational moral being can as little bring itself into a relation to God than bring God into a relation to itself. But if this absolute relationship exists an sich, then the possibility is thereby given. This possibility shows itself in hum. beings insofar as they are rational and free. Although all peop. durch die Gnade berufen sind, yet bringen sie sich nicht selten drum. Here there is a contradiction betw. the universality of grace and the fact that not all become blessed. 3) The unity of this is the true election by grace. The abstract understanding can achieve nothing here, speculation grasps it. The div. decree is unconditional and yet conditional. The decree has a relation to hum. beings and, as its content, the divinely determined outcome concerning his blessedness or lack of blessedness. The Pelagians too conceded that freedom and reason were gifts of grace; but when hum. beings were thus blessed, this was made possible by grace—but reason and freedom are only possibility. It does not help to argue that the conditional election by grace is grounded in [God's] foreknowledge. This is an absolutely invalid separation of Wollen and

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5 Beziehung auf sich selbst . . . Richtung zu sich selbst] *German,* relation to itself [and a] tendency toward itself **5** Neigung . . . Abneigung] *German,* inclination or attraction [to itself is] aversion **11** der selische] *German,* (der Seelische), the soulish, (i.e., being defined as soul, a quality shared with animals, but not Spirit) **18** gratia præveniens] *Latin,* prevenient grace **19** Fähigkeit] *German,* capacity **20** Befähigung] *German,* making possible or giving the capacity for **26** durch die Gnade . . . nicht selten drum] *German,* are called by grace, [yet] they often miss it **38** Wollen . . . Wissen] *German,* will [and] knowledge

Wissen in God. God's predetermining action is not dependent on his foreknowledge; they are one and the same and Calvin is right on that point.—The div. decree is certainly not dependent on time and finitude[.] This decree is willing, choosing, and it is the election of grace; but the truth of this election of grace consists in all being chosen. The proper election of grace rests on a distinction betw. good and evil, and it is not part of God's eternal decree.—The contradiction is annulled, the universality of grace and the unconditionality of grace must be kept from all abstraction, from the difference betw. good and evil, as grounded in God: est homo a deo creatus prædestinatus. The hum. being as such in his immed. is the one on whom the unconditional decree of grace is bestowed. The unconditional and univ. grace makes itself actual and asserts itself positively. Even particularism cannot deny that hum. beings must hold fast to grace (stille halten), yet this is indeed a Thun. Insofar as the good is the [good] an sich, it is given; insofar as it takes effect [in] hum. beings, it is received. In relation to their an sich, hum. beings do nothing, but they are active in receiving it. The one relationship is negated by the other and thus [by] the contradictory truth; and re. hum. beings it is the instinct for the true and the good, by means of which [one] also escapes from this contradiction.—Hum. beings accept grace when they recognize their destiny; they do not accept it when they negate their destiny. On God's part, the decree is unconditional; on the part of hum. beings, election is conditional, [though] without grace ceasing to be unconditional. That grace is something conditional has its basis in its own unconditionality. The abstract disparity betw. div. and hum. freedom is what hinders one from being able to resolve the disparity, as if div. freedom was a Hemmung for the hum; [but] the div. is unconditional precisely by not limiting freedom that is external to itself, but [it] posits it and establishes it. The truth of moral freedom is unconditional freedom. 299

Conversion.

The biblical teaching.—Church's teaching. in the 16th century some new definitions were introduced that are not always consistent with scripture; all the Spirit's works of grace in bringing about convers. were mediated and tied to scripture. Faith *sola* justificans. 1) interna, not merely historical faith. 2) viva. 3) salvifica.

The concept of the dogma. Calling is the beginning of all the works of grace. It is the destiny of a hum. being, thought of without regard to whether he fulfills his purpose. Its purpose is the conversion of the hum. being. The possibility is contained in grace, which

10 est homo a deo creatus prædestinatus] *Latin,* the human being is created by God as predestined. **15** stille halten] *German,* remain silent **36** sola . . . salvifica] *Latin,* the only (power) that justifies. 1) inward, [not merely historical faith.] 2) living. 3) saving.

is revealed in Xt, and in the fact that in the midst of univrsl corruption hum. beings have nevertheless remained personal beings. Actuality emerges by letting itself convert and by converting, and conversion occurs when the call finds a disposition in hum. beings that is adequate to it, and the actions of both then coincide. For a hum. being to convert *to* God *without* God is a contradiction. But God will by no means convert anyone against his will. This movement must be mediated through its particular moments. The mediating factors are illumination, sanctification, and Begnadigung. These expressions themselves already suggest both moments.

Die Erleuchtung. 1) Wahrheit als Wesenheit Gottes. God is light and dwells in an unapproachable light 2) Hum. beings' relation to div. truth. Hum. understanding is dark and obscure by nature 3) The illumination of hum. understanding by means of div. truth.

1) Die Wahrheit Gottes. This consists in God's being Spirit; as Spirit, he is willing; as willing, he is thinking. Thought, in identity with being, is truth. The being of the Spirit that is God is thus truth.—"I"ness has all truth as its principle, but reason draws mistaken conclusions. In the question concerning the truth, the subject is obliged to abstract from itself.—God's understanding is an infinitive. But, as truth, God is also love and as such communicative.—The doctrine about God as inaccessible light must not be insisted upon in a one-sided way. Its revelation is the Son. Also the Spirit is called a light.

2) Darkness in the hum. spirit is presupposed.—The subject becomes conscious that it is lacking the truth, whereby the lack rises above itself and becomes a need. He sees this when he reflects on himself and on the world. Hum. beings thus have the idea of absolute truth as a premonition and a postulate, but as such already transcend themselves as sinnlich and verständig. As lacking, they are in the dark, but in being conscious of this [lack], or in their need, they are so no longer. They have the consciousness of needing a higher help. Hum. beings are fähig of truth; an sich this Fähigkeit is the div. calling. This thought of div. truth is in them by means of the div. truth itself, is no longer a merely hum. thought.

3) hum. illumination by means of div. truth. This truth is in hum. beings inasmuch as hum. beings are in God, and the hum. being who is in God is God himself.

Sanctification

1.) Gott als die Heiligkeit. All religions have an idea of the Holy, but merely outw., as can be seen in the mythologies.—This thought

9 Begnadigung] *German,* bestowal of grace **11** Die Erleuchtung. 1) Wahrheit als Wesenheit Gottes] *German,* Illumination. 1) Truth as the essentiality of God. **15** Die Wahrheit Gottes] *German,* The Truth of God **30** sinnlich . . . verständig] *German,* sensuous [and] rational **33** fähig] *German,* capable **40** Gott als die Heiligkeit] *German,* God as Holiness.

manifests itself in pure abstraction in the pure thought of him. The Jewish religion constitutes the opposite pole to paganism. Righteousness becomes especially prominent; love is lacking.—In Xnty holiness is not seen from the standpoint of the law.

2) Hum. beings' relation to div. holiness. As innocence, the holy is represented in scripture as the pure. According to nature, hum. beings are the "not holy"; according to consciousness, they are the unheilige.—Hum. beings feel the need of sanctification. This is need become conscious and is the first stirring of sanctification.

3) Hum. beings' sanctification by God. Just as much a div. as a hum. act.—Modern theology has gone astray on this point, especially since Kant. The role of the Spirit is altogether outw.—the Holy is not the natural, for it doesn't appear in nature; it is the historical and is partly holiness, partly sanctification. It is manifest in the lives of individuals. The apostles, instructed by Xt, went out into the world, spread the gospel. Enthusiasm is a part of piety. There is no Neid or Gleichgültigkeit in this. Out of this there developed the nec. of placing all the emphasis on self-denial, and making subjective holiness objective. Martyrdom. In the community the individual steps into the background and exists only in the society of others. The society of saints. This shows itself in the choice of means for every purpose. Der Zweck ist rein geistig so auch die Mittel. Hat kein Mittel, das ein nur sittliches ware, und auf der Sinnlichkeit abzweckte.—ihr Gottesdienst. Der öffentliche, ist nicht eine Zwangsanstalt.—Die Sittlichkeit, des Einzelnen in seinem Verhaltnißе zu sich selbst, und im Verhaltniß zu Anderen, die Sittlichkeit des Volks. das Gesetz wird heilig gehalten, ist die Anerkenntniß seiner heiligen Ursprung.

3) *Die Begnadigung.* 301

In the O. T. justification is understood almost solely in a legal sense—Hum. beings cannot do anything but believe. The second moment is renewal. The Catholics do not distinguish both parts, yet Protestantism also holds fast to the new life as the nec. consequence.

III. Freedom.

Biblical teaching. subjective—objective—universal.

7 unheilige] *German,* unholy **17** Neid . . . Gleichgültigkeit] *German,* envy [or] indifference **22** Der Zweck . . . heiligen Ursprung] *German,* The ends are purely spiritual and so too are the means. Has no means, except those that are purely ethical, and are directed at sensuousness.—their divine service (i.e., worship). That which is public is not a house of correction. The ethicality of the individual in his relation to himself and in relation to others, the ethicality of the people. the law comes to be regarded as holy, is the recognition of its holy origin. **29** Die Begnadigung] *German,* the granting of grace, pardon

302

10 *Copenhagen.*

The Stoics' four categories: τα υποκειμενα, τα ποια, τα πως εχοντα, τα προς τι εχοντα. (Tennemann).

Quantity.

Unity—plurality—totality.

Quality.

Reality; negation; limitation.

Relation

Inherence and subsistence; causality and dependence; reciprocity.

Modality

Possibility, impossibility—existence, nonexistence; necessity, contingency.

Judgments.

according to quality: affirmative, negative, infinite.
according to quantity: singular, particular, universal.
according to relation: categorical, hypothetical, disjunctive.
according to modality: assertoric, problematic, apodictic.

Conclusions

according to quality: singular, particular, universal.
Quantity: totality, analogy, induction.
Relation: categorical, hypothetical, disjunctive.

2 τα υποκειμενα, τα ποια, τα πως εχοντα, τα προς τι εχοντα] *Greek,* substances; qualities; disposition (literally, things having a way or "how" of being); relative disposition, (misrendering of τα προς τι πως εχοντα).

NOTEBOOK 11

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1

Schelling.

No 1

1.

he wished to be regarded as one who, in the Greek sense, in the Platonic sense, was dead.

2

2.

In speaking of revelation, he meant thereby that it contains something higher than reason. As Kanne had said, it was not worth the trouble of getting excited about everyday things; likewise revelat. would have no interest were it not to contain something more than reason.—He would strive for clarity and simplicity; others might take pleasure in making the simple difficult, but, however hard it might be, the important thing was nonetheless το αλεθες ραδιον. He would begin entirely anew, presupposing nothing.

Philosophy and Actuality.

Everything actual has a dual aspect: quid sit (what it is), quod sit (that it is). Philosophy can thus enter into a dual relationship with it; one can have a concept without knowledge[a] but no knowledge without the concept. In knowledge there is a duality whereby it is recollection. When I see a plant, I recollect it and refer it to the universal, inasmuch as I recognize it as a plant. This is also seen in the duality present in the Latin cognitio and in the duality of the Hebrew יָדַע.
Philosophy and Being.

[a] a concept is expressed by quid sit, but from this it does not follow that I know quod sit. 1

3

3.

Nov. 22

Philosophy could be called επιστημη του οντος and as far as it goes this is a quite fitting designation, because it at least anticipates the later development. The question then became, with respect to
306 the above-mentioned duality, whether philosophy pertains to both kinds of being (and, if so, whether it does so as a single science) or

13 το αλεθες ραδιον] *Greek,* the simple truth **22** cognitio] *Latin,* knowledge, recognition **23** יָדַע] *Hebrew,* to experience, to understand, to recognize **27** επιστημη του οντος] *Greek,* knowledge of being

[whether philosophy pertains] to only one [kind of being]. It could of course be said that, when I know something, I know it as a being—that, when I know a plant, I know it as a being. Objections of a Kantian sort follow, to the effect that being is an Accidens. But if it is then a question of something that is categorized not as accidental but as necess., then the response must be that we are still concerned only with content, not with being. In logic, too, movement takes place not im Bezug auf quoddítas but auf quidditas. In consequence, philosophy became either a doctrine about essence, as we used to put it, or about existence, as some more recent [thinkers] said. That which exists could be known through experience, and to that extent philosophy's laborious and nonetheless superfluous sublations appeared to have no necessity. But there was something that could not be experienced. This, then, must lie in reason. But in order to bring this to light, reason's entire content must be developed, beginning accordingly with the immediate. What is the immediate content of reason[?] *Reason is the infinite potency of knowledge*. As such it seems to have no content; but it has content nonetheless, though one also lacking its Zuthun—its "eingebornene, a priori *content*." *This is the infinite potency of being*. But all philosophy is action, is activity, is concerned with itself, is thought, philosophic thought. Thought then discovers in this content its changeable nature. In this respect, being might call to mind the old scholastic ens omnimode indeterminatum—something not existing—not this or that existing thing, but the existing in general. But being is not only aptitudo ad existendum—the scholastic ens is completely dead, only a nominal circumlocution.—In Wolf, the ens became "non repugnantia ad existendum" but our Seyn is the infinite concept of being itself, ist das ihr Natur nach in den Begriff Uebergehen. Yet this is not a matter of actual Uebergehen. The potency of Being, Seynkönnen, develops accordingly into being and into thought, but the whole movement is in the direction of quidditas, not of quoddítas; this actuality remains, in another sense, a mere possibility.[a] Seyn's potency is Seyn's source. But these movements are again besondere Moglichkeiten within this possibility. We thus have an a priori

[a] He illustrated this by appealing to geometry, which has no interest whatsoever in any particular triangle.

4 Accidens] *Latin,* accident **8** im Bezug . . . quidditas] *German and Latin,* with regard to "thatness" (concerning existence) [but] "whatness" (concerning essence) **19** Zuthun] *German,* assistance, cooperation **19** eingebornene] *German,* native, innate **23** ens . . . indeterminatum] *Latin,* altogether indeterminate being **26** aptitudo ad existendum] *Latin,* aptitude for existing **26** ens] *Latin,* being **27** non . . . existendum] *Latin,* (that which is) unopposed to existing **28** Seyn] *German,* being **29** ist . . . Uebergehen] *German,* is the transformation, according to its nature, into the concept **30** Uebergehen] *German,* transformation, passing over **30** Seynkönnen] *German,* potential being, the equivalent of the preceding phrase, "potency of being" or "being-able-to-be" (*Danish*, Værens Potens) **34** besondere Moglichkeiten] *German,* particular possibilities. (Kierkegaard often misplaced or omitted umlauts, as here in Möglichkeiten. His German usage will be transcribed as he wrote it, without noting such slips.)

science, a science of pure reason—whether it is philosophy, I do not know—though surely it is proper to it—philosophia prima, Ontologia. Since Kant's *Critique* , this has been the focus of concern—but K[ant] understood pure reason subjectively, not as it is presented
307 here, as the infinite potency of knowledge. The question now is *whether it is philosophy but not die Philosophie; or whether it is die Philosophie; or whether it is not philosophy at all.* But before we move on to this inquiry, it is necess. to examine the content of the science of reason. The content of the infinite potency of knowledge is the infi-
10 nite potency of being. But this potency is the transition to being. Potency is thus without Seyn; it is rather the transition to Seyn. If it becomes being, it is no longer power but is ausser sich, has lost itself, [and] is an εφισταμενον. it does not cease to be, but it ceases to be the power to be. But potency is the power to be; therefore inas-
15 much as it is, it ceases to be, and it is this ambiguity.

4 4.

Nov. 23

[I]t began with a repetition. One might ask, What is the immed. content of reason? Some have held it to be God: reason is Gott-Setzen
20 but God is nevertheless something actual, whereas reason's initial content is not something actual; its content is the opposite of the actual, i.e., Seyn. As its derivation indicates, reason is Alles-Vernehmen; it thus possesses a priori, but not actual, content; it is omnibus æqua, excluding only Nichts. [T]he foeminini generis of the word (Ver-
25 nunft) also suggests this feminine quality, while Verstand is masculine. Therefore its content is Seyn, in the sense of the το περιφερες, which changes instantaneously.

Immediate possibility comes first, and it is a conceptless possibility; for the concept is potency, while possibility is begrifflos, macht-
30 und sinnlos, schrankenlos. We do not find it in nature, though nature presupposes it as υποκειμενον. Potency is defined as infinite, but the true infinite is limited only by itself. Potency permits two contradictoria. One who is healthy only potentia is to the same degree sick potentia; one who is learned only potentia is to the same
35 degree unlearned potentia, and, the reverse: one who is unlearned

2 philosophia prima, Ontologia] *Latin,* first philosophy, ontology **6** die Philosophie] *German,* the philosophy (here in the sense "*the* philosophy") **12** ausser sich] *German,* outside itself **13** εφισταμενον] *Greek,* something that remains in place, is motionless **19** Gott-Setzen] *German,* the positing of God **22** Alles-Vernehmen] *German,* all-perceiving **23** omnibus æqua] *Latin,* all-inclusive **24** Nichts] *German,* nothing **24** foeminini generis] *Latin,* feminine gender **24** Vernunft] *German,* reason **25** Verstand] *German,* understanding **26** το περιφερες] *Greek,* (that which is) turning, i.e., the changeable, becoming **29** begrifflos . . . schrankenlos] *German,* conceptless, powerless, and meaningless, unbounded **31** υποκειμενον] *Greek,* the underlying, substrate **33** contradictoria] *Latin,* contradictory propositions, terms, or states **33** potentia] *Latin,* potentially

potentia is to the same degree learned potentia, to the extent he can become so. The transition to Seyn, in accordance with potentia, does not exclude not being able to make such a transition. Seyn's potency to become Seyn is equally a potency not to. Only when the transition has actually taken place is the other excluded; but the other is also posited thereby, for to exclude it is ausser-sich-setzen. This was illustrated as follows: Capability is a will at peace. A transition a potentia ad actum is a transition from not-willing to willing. 308 In this will one pictures a willing and a not-willing; for the infinite potency of course contains both and encompasses the opposites. Nicht-Uebergehen-Willende is actually impotence; capability accommodates this by exclusion. [T]he Uebergehen-Willende makes the transition, but the Nicht-Uebergehen-Willende is peace (Gelassenheit). But in making the transition the Uebergehen-Willende excludes the other from itself, and posits it thereby, forcing it out of its Gelassenheit. But if, in potency, these two (das Uebergehen-Willende and das Nicht-Uebergehen-Willende) do not exclude each other, then they do not exclude a third possibility, the free hovering betw. being and not-being. This is also the case with the first potency; but what we are speaking of here is still further from being, and becomes a being for itself only by being excluded from the others[,] exclusum tertium (here a wordplay with excludere pullos, because everything proceeds from this). In this way we see that potency's infinity brings a totality with it—not an indeterminate succession, but eine geschlossne Allheit. Infinite potency is not exhausted by the first possibility; as long as it does not abandon possibility, it is instar omnium (in the sense that it is just as much the impending as the opposing); but in abandoning its place, it surrenders it to another power, and it becomes the material for its realization. It grounds itself by making itself a υποκειμενον, does not recieve its ground from something that precedes it but in something that follows for there is nothing that precedes it; [it] becomes a relative nonbeing, for that which subordinates itself as a υποκειμενον *is* not in the same sense as that to which it subordinates itself. Being has excluded non-being. Non-being will now negate, for it is posited by this exclusion; the first passes as υποκειμενον, over ex actu in potentiam.

6 ausser-sich-setzen] *German,* to posit outside oneself **8** a potentia ad actum] *Latin,* from potency (or potentiality) to act, from possibility to actuality **11** Nicht-Uebergehen-Willende] *German,* not willing the transition (e.g., the transition to being) **12** Uebergehen-Willende] *German,* willing the transition **14** Gelassenheit] *German,* calmness, composure **22** exclusum tertium] *Latin,* the excluded third, or middle **22** excludere pullos] *Latin,* to hatch chickens **25** eine geschlossne Allheit] *German,* a closed totality **27** instar omnium] *Latin,* as all, valid for all **36** ex . . . potentiam] *Latin,* from act to potency

5

5.

Nov. 24

The first potency of Nur-Seyn-Konnen is only the first; the second is Nicht-Nur-Seyn-Konnen. He was asked how it could be posited in the original potency given that, according to his own explanation, it had of course been first posited by the other.—2nd potency is pure being. Potency is opposition to actual being. Pure being is no more actual being than potency is. "Actual" refers to that which has evolved a potentia ad actum. Otherwise it [pure being] 309 would not be pure being. But it [actual being] is not potency. No, it is not immediate potency, but it can become mediate potency. [B]eing is potency; a being is not potency. [I]t realizes itself in the transition from actu ad potentiam außer sich.

Thus, the third (tertium exclusum) becomes that which in its potency is being. The first potency is only potential Geist, because it can be the opposite—the second is not [Geist] because it is not free—but the third is Geist.

Nature ends in selbstbewußtes Können. It then enters into a new process. Philosophy therefore has two developments: philosophy of nature and philosophy of spirit.

6

6.

Up to now, the science with which we have dealt excludes all content that is foreign to reason, excludes all that which, exceeding reason, must be left to experience. It [reason] first arrives at its true content when it has eliminated everything alien. The necess. content of reason is potency—which does not have being outside itself, does not relate itself as ought-being to being-outside-itself, but remains in itself, is essence, das sich Entaußernde, which is not existentiæ obnoxium, [but rather] what is called the highest essence, which does not have essence as something outside itself but is itself essence, which in Seyn remains what it was, which is at once potency and Aktus. Das Denken is thereby bey sich, is freyes Denken, the self-possessing concept. Idea (Idea is in general das gewollte). In this science, the new one, that is, the idea is only concept, not the concept in its transition to existence. The first science is therefore negative and does not conceal or deny its kinship to Kant's *Critique*. The

[a]Recapitulation. There has always been an inclination to get hinter das Seyn; for a long time it was understood as merely in opposition to revelation, but all actual being is in question. I have the latest Seyn. (1) das unmittelbar-Seyn-Können, (2) das seyende Seyn, which constitutes the transition ab actu ad potentiam 3) the third potency, which is the unity in which potency is being, which has as much being as no. 2, and as much potency as no. 1, without having being outside itself.

3 Nur-Seyn-Konnen] *German,* mere potential being **4** Nicht-Nur-Seyn-Konnen] *German,* not mere potential being **13** außer sich] *German,* outside itself **14** tertium exclusum] *Latin,* the excluded third, or middle **15** Geist] *German,* spirit, intelligence, genius **18** selbstbewußtes Können] *German,* self-conscious potency, self-conscious capability **28** das sich Entaußernde] *German,* the self-externalizing **28** existentiæ obnoxium] *Latin,* dependent existence **32** Aktus] *German/Latin (or "actus"),* actuality **32** Das Denken] *German,* thought **32** bey sich . . . Denken] *German,* present to itself, [is] free thought **33** das gewollte] *German,* the willed, the desired

4 hinter] *German,* behind **10** das unmittelbar-Seyn-Können, (2) das seyende Seyn] *German,* immediate potential for being, (2) being that is **14** ab . . . potentiam] *Latin,* from actuality to potency

idea is not a result but das Stehenbleibende. This is also a negative concept. The concept of God is apprehended as the necess. content of reason, as the final, concluding concept of reason. [S]till, it must not take on the appearance of knowledge in the sense of existence; it has quid sit not quod sit; he [God] is neither said nor shown to exist. This system, if you will, could be called a system of emanation, as long as one keeps in mind that it is backward, as God is the final logical emanation of the system; here, the concept of God is of a purely regulative, not constitutive, nature. In this science one cannot begin with God. In the other science, by contrast, potency cannot be prius, as in everything finite, but here existence is prius and potency is posterius. Therefore the final potency in the first science is the reverse Seynkonnende, which has Seyn as prius but not as posterius. Here we may say that God is necess. existence, if he exists. At this point, the first science has reached its limit, and this Umkehrung paralyzes it. Its object becomes experience. This new science does not follow along the same path, but starts over again from the opposite end. This philosophy could be called philosophia secunda (an expression already used by Aristotle, though in his case to designate physics); it is indeed true philosophy, and it would be difficult to show that the first is that. It is *the philosophy of identity.*

310

7. **7**

The a priori content of the science of reason is then the whole of actuality, though only what it is, not that it is; it is not tempted by the latter. If it wants to demonstrate existence, then it must turn to another science, and this [in turn] must resolve to begin with what is ausser der Vernunft. This science of reason is the philosophy of identity, whose starting point is indifference, and whose conclusion is the identity of subject and object. [H]istorically, it is linked to Fichte and his *Wissenschaftslehre*, which, beginning with the I, posited everything from itself. By and by, everything came in by means of subjective reflection, just as in Descartes. Fichte grasped das Seyn in der That; for the Ich is present only in the act whereby it posits itself and emerges from its potency. The error in Fichte was that he nevertheless understood everything subjectively. In this way it was easy to view the subjective-objective in the All of self-consciousness. Identity phil. [by contrast] did not begin with the Ich, but with the Ich as potency, and in this way nature entered philosophy. This occurred in the *System des transcendentalen Idealismus*, in which the

1 das Stehenbleibende] *German,* the enduring **11** prius] *Latin,* prior, antecedent **12** posterius] *Latin,* posterior, subsequent **13** Seynkonnende] *German,* being-able-to-be **15** Umkehrung] *German,* reversal **18** philosophia secunda] *Latin,* second philosophy **33** der That] *German,* the deed **33** Ich] *German,* I

objective method was brought to bear. Seyn's subject is Seyn's potency—neither subject- nor object-indifference. In immediacy, the subject is not-yet-being; consequently, it is that which has Seyn before it, is το μη ον. After it has made the transition, it is again non-being, but not in the same sense. This can be clarified by the distinction Plato drew betw. ουκ ον and μη ον. There had been perplexity surrounding this, but early on Plutarch shed light on the matter by distinguishing betw. μη ειναι and μη ον ειναι. In this way, sickness and error are not altogether nichts, not ουκ οντα but μη οντα. (Plato's *Sophist* was directed against the Sophists' attempt to prove
311 that error is nonexistent; but if this were true, then truth would be equally nonexistent). In the same manner, when I doubt sensible objects, the doubt itself nevertheless presupposes that they exist quodam modo.—But non-being always remains the subject, rather than, as Fichte maintained, the nicht-Ich; the subject abides in things, but in such a way that it is converted into the object. In this way, this philosophy preserves its subject-object character throughout. [R]elative-non-being is the real linchpin of identity phil., whereby it demonstrates that it has abandoned Fichte's subjective tendency. Every relative-non-being perishes, becomes the basis for something higher. [D]er Mensch is Seyn, but relative, and therefore a new world is possible. [T]his higher is the existing subject-object, not possibility but actuality, absolute identity as the other for everything other.—Philosophy is now presented in this philosophy as the pure concept of reason. It has been misunderstood inasmuch as, without taking note of the fact that it is striving toward its point of culmination, people have thought that its highest proposition was something to be proven.

[a] In this relative-non-being also lies doubt. Doubt must indeed not be understood subjectively, as something that intervenes, but is in the system; it is movement.

8 8.

The phil. of identity did not presuppose truth but arrived at it, beginning not with immediate certainty but with wavering: everything betw. beginning and end was understood to have only relative truth. Its method was one of ascending but also descending, inasmuch as what appeared to be the subject in an ongoing καταβολη was made into an object—but everything was, nevertheless, mere thought[.]—If there is to be a system of the actual, everything must be reversed.—Everything in this method was relative; everything was, for a moment, at the center, only to find itself at the next instant once again at the periphery. Everything was merely

4 το μη ον] *Greek,* non-being **6** ουκ ον . . . μη ον] *Greek,* (absolute) non-being [and] (relative) non-being **8** μη ειναι . . . μη ον ειναι] *Greek,* is not [and] is non-being **9** ουκ οντα . . . μη οντα] *Greek,* not existing [but] non-existent **14** quodam modo] *Latin,* in a certain manner, to some extent **15** nicht-Ich] *German,* not-I **21** [D]er Mensch] *German,* the human being, "man" **35** καταβολη] *Greek,* establishing, beginning

brought to Erkennbarkeit. This philosophy has been accused of making everything the same, Einerlei; this is true in the same sense that everything is einerlei in the voltaic pile, a discovery that was, remarkably, contemporary with this philosophy—everything in it is of one substance, one material.—[T]his science is therefore purely a priori. (Kant declared everything that can be derived from the Vermögen of knowledge to be a priori—we [declare to be a priori] everything that can be derived from the infinite potency of Seyn. [T]he a priori cannot be known from existence. Kant says: the a priori is everything that one could know on the basis of rational knowledge without needing to learn it through experience. Vernunft-Erkenntniß and the a priori are one in his view.)—[T]his science is purely logical durchaus. It might seem, then, that all progress in thinking here is tautological or analytic. (Kant called that which exceeds the nature of things the synthetic. [B]ut this became an accidental [designation]. [I]t was existence[.]) In this way, all a priori knowledge became analytic or tautological; but this is something whose nature is precisely to become something other and is therefore at once both synthetic and analytic. Granted, the transition occurs only in possibility, and not into actuality. Thus, as far as God's existence is concerned, it can be shown that if he exists, he exists necess., but not that he exists. Like the philosophy of nature, this science contained only species. It was immanent, not transcendent, it was true, and so true that, even if nothing whatsoever existed, it would still be true, just like geometry.—K[ant]'s *Critique* was therefore negative philosophy, with this expression taken in all its truth (but in saying so one immediately voices a positive philosophy, albeit one that did not exist).

312

9. **9**

The pure science of reason is, then, only negative and has nothing to do with existence. But existence can also be the object of science. A revelation, which of course always presupposes an actually existing God, would be an instance of this. Only when it comes to know itself as negative does this science of reason reach completion, but this is impossible without having the positive outside itself, at least as possibility. But if the positive does not arrive soon, the negative easily becomes obscured, and one mistakes the logical for the actual.

The phil. of ident. has been criticized for producing God, either as

1 Erkennbarkeit] *German,* recognizability **2** Einerlei] *German,* of one sort, the same **6** Vermögen] *German,* faculty **11** Vernunft-Erkenntniß] *German,* rational knowledge **13** durchaus] *German,* throughout

its final result (though such a God would surely lack all interest), or through the system, with God producing himself. The phil. of identity is wholly innocent on both counts, as it by no means claimed to produce the actual God as a result. Kant was accused of an odious idealism, particularly with regard to sensible things; to counter this, he composed a defense in the 2nd edition of the *Critique of P. R.* This was a mistake. K[ant] was idealism, and the philosophy of identity was a scientifically executed idealism.—The phil. of identity was no more a system than geometry is.

Both in its starting point and in its conclusion, the phil. of identity is opposed to Spinoza; for him, God is a principle; here, he is the end; for him, objects are logical emanations from God; here, God is the final emanation in the logical process. Spinoza was, in
313 fact, the first to introduce into phil. the confusion between the negative and the positive. God, in the form of blind, *existing* nature, was transformed into a principle, and in so doing the limits of logic are already transgressed, because he begins with the existent, and then has things emerge from God's nature by logical necessity. (The confusion consists in making something follow from an existent by logical necess.) He merely assured us of this but never demonstrated it. Because the positive science was not yet at hand, one could be tempted to regard potency as God's nature and the latter as the triumphant God, returning into himself. This was a transfigured, a sublimated Spinozism. The temptation to do this was great; for when the demands of the negative on the positive are not satisfied, it [the negative] itself is transformed into the positive.

Hegel did this; he made the philosophy of identity into positive philosophy, the only philosophy.

One can readily agree with Hegel's definition of phil., that it is the science of reason insofar as it becomes conscious of itself as all being; one must simply bear in mind that alles Seyn is not actual Seyn; reason reveals itself der Materie nach as Alles Seyn. This really ought not be lacking in the definition. Whether Hegel tacitly assumed this, or whether he himself was not aware of it, is not known.—

10 10.

Concerning the whole of his work, Hegel remarks, in a matter-of-fact fashion, that he did not merely want to presuppose the Abso-

31 alles Seyn] *German,* all being **32** der Materie nach] *German,* in accordance with its substance

lute as existing with respect to intellectual intuition, but to achieve it scientifically.

The Absolute is here named for the first time in these lectures, and we shall now approach what it might mean. The phil. of identity presupposed the indifference of subject and object or, put more simply, the infinite potency of Seyn as the immed. content of reason. Everything lay concealed in this unity, first and foremost the unmittelbar-Seyn-Können, and thereafter the ensuing possibilities, also the potency der nicht übergeht. This could almost be regarded as the Absolute, for it was freigesprochen from making the transition.—The Absolute could be called indifference, for it is omnibus numeris absolutum; it is equally the potential for the one (the not-Absolute) and for the other. But indifference is merely absolute potency, not the Absolute; it is the potential and material Absolute. What then does Hegel think[?] The phil. of ident. also posits the Absolute as the end; therefore, Hegel must think that the phil. of 314
identity wanted to have the Absolute as the end, but as the result of existence, and intellectual intuition was an awkward medium for this. If absolute indifference were to exist, then everything that emerged would also be an existent. Hegel thinks that absolute indifference was assumed to exist; he believes that this philosophy was a system of existence, and he erred by appealing to intellectual intuition, of which nothing was known, which perhaps was something accidental, subjective, a Privatissimum for chosen ones.

The words "intellectual intuition" have always been linked to the philosophy of ident. without the latter having deserved it in any way. In the first presentation of the phil. of identity, and the only one acknowledged by the author as authentic (in *Zeitschrift für Physik* 2d B.), the phrase does not occur at all. It is mentioned in an earlier treatise, in the first volume of the same journal. This expression belongs to Fichte. He called for an intellectual intuition, the content of which was: Ich bin. The expression was chosen in contradistinction to sensible intuition, in which subj. and obj. differ. The phil. of ident. then called for abstraction from the subjective implicit [in Fichte's thought, and] from immediate *certainty;* for the Ich is the determinate form and therefore not the entire content of reason; only when it is abolished does one arrive at the pure content and essence of reason. Potency, therefore, is not an existent but is νοουμενον; and it goes without saying that that which is the eternal prius for all of existence cannot itself exist in turn. Hegel impelled the phil. of ident. in the direction of an existential system. The phil. of ident. was required to withdraw into pure thought and to

9 der nicht übergeht] *German,* that does not develop (e.g., from the possible to the actual) **10** freigesprochen] *German,* absolved **11** omnibus . . . absolutum] *Latin,* absolute in all respects **24** Privatissimum] *Latin,* private matter **32** Ich bin] *German,* I am **39** νοουμενον] *Greek,* thought, the known

maintain within it an abstraction from all existence outside reason. Potency exists in reason. But the phil. of ident. does not attempt to prove the existence of potency. Hegel accuses it of not having proven it at all. But that is of course unreasonable. If one must use the expression "intellectual intuition," it can be used differently. In an intuition in which subj. and obj. are one, one could speak of reason's own intellectual intuition. That the phil. of ident. did not presuppose potency as existing can be seen from the following: How does infinite potency relate to actual thought? Not as object but as material, as that without which thinking cannot occur, but which nevertheless is not thought in actual thinking, as that which in thinking is not-thought.

Therefore Hegel did not have, as he himself said, the bad [form of] intell. intuition. On the contrary, he has logic as the science that must prove the existence of the Absolute, at which point he proceeds to another science. The fact that this science is a portion of science in its 315 entirety is already suspect. Hegel is therefore in the situation of having proven the Absolute twice, first in logic; for already there he of course arrives at existence, and then in the second science.

11 11.

Perhaps Hegel's Seyn was what one might call essence, we [call it] potency. Not at all—Seyn is only as actus, as purus actus. Hegel himself says that Seyn is immediate certainty (here, too, a subjective starting point is plain); this cannot be potency but actus. According to Hegel, Seyn is that which lies at the greatest remove from the concept; more or less what we mean by ["]that which is posited farthest from itself." The determinations of the concepts are now successively posited and annulled in this pure being, right up to the idea that at the outset was excluded. Seyn is subject to wear, and, when it is worn away, the idea, the actually actualized idea, comes into view. This idea is defined in roughly the same way as the Absolute in the phil. of ident., but it is, in addition, the actually existing idea. The logical [realm] culminates here, as does the purely rational—if not to say negative—phil., as this term ["negative"] can be misunderstood. In this way philosophy was made into a system, into a behauptende, dogmatic system. But this was by no means what the phil. of ident. wanted; and insofar as one wanted to take the word "system" in another sense, the phil. of ident. was this already. It is systematic by way of method.

22 actus . . . purus actus] *Latin,* actuality, act, activity, action [as] pure actuality
36 behauptende] *German,* asserting, affirming

Hegel was thus the creator of a system that ultimately became too burdensome, even for him.—

Hegel himself says: ["]Logic is a purely subjective science, without any content; only the philosopher traverses all these stages; its content has nothing actual corresponding to it in actuality. Thinking has only itself as content, has the whole concretion of actuality outside itself, is, right up to one's arrival at the idea, a shadowy kingdom of pure essence without any concretion." In this he is different from other philosophers; for their philosophy found itself immediately in the midst of nature, even if not in actual nature. All concepts were a priori, such that objects correspond to them; in the Hegelian philosophy every relation to actuality is cancelled. Other philosophers possessed in concepts what one otherwise has in intuition, had experience as a confirmation and justification, even if they did not draw on that experience. [T]he metaphysics of pre-Kantian phil. had as its content only the concepts qua concepts (ontology), but, since Bacon's falling away from ontology, such a metaphysics lost its significance; all the nations have turned to experience. 316 After Kant, loyalty to metaphysics was maintained, but this did not exclude experience[;] the phil. of ident. joined thought to nature[;] thus it had objective logic (Hegel himself of course calls his subjective); for it had a relation to the object. Hegel excluded nature from logic. One could object: Where does the phil. of ident. make room for the treatment of concepts as concepts[?] Answer: It has no place for concepts that have the real outside themselves, but, in its successive advance, it must come to the point where it has the concepts as impressa vestigia in what went before, up to the point where the concepts show themselves as the free possession of consciousness. The logical forms can be treated as natural forms the potencies of which have spent themselves in Seyn and now have come to themselves. Here is the place for logic; just as in actuality, the concepts first emerge with consciousness. Here again is a corresponding actuality. And of course the abstract cannot be prior to that from which it abstracts. Hegel assigns pure thought to logic, which is thus thought about thought; but such thought finally cancels actual thought. He is either concerned with concepts that are not actual and do not have actual content—and, when he moves on to nature, he then says that the concept has lost its power; thus he really has actual thought nowhere.

27 impressa vestigia] *Latin,* distinct tracks

12

12.

Dec. 8

The error in H[egel]'s logic is that it does not go further, that it omits philosophy of nature and philosophy of spirit. H[egel] of course wishes to ground the Absolute and not regard it as the outcome of another science. In Hegel's logic, the idea is thus in a state of becoming. Nature, then, is a world opposed to logic; and H[egel]'s nature is not a priori nature, whose domain lies in logic, but rather the empirical, which requires elucidation. But there is no necessity of movement in the idea, nor, surely, any movement by which it splits off from itself. The idea is ideality and reality, and it need not become real in any other way. In the idea, no necessity is assigned to nature; possibility is difficult to discern, and necessity still more so. Over against the idea, nature seems superfluous and accidental, and thus can have no place in rational science, which must, as Spinoza said, view everything modo æterno. Because the idea decides to posit itself, there can be no question of emanation. It is thus clear that H[egel] wants to present a system of actuality, be-
317 cause it goes without saying that something capable of freely choosing itself is an existent and not a mere concept. In the phil. of ident., the Absolute was something remaining within itself that cannot come further; therefore, it cannot in turn become a principle but is an end. What is the solution[?] It is this: in the pure science of reason there can be no question of nature's existence; it must occur solely a priori; it [nature's existence] must be entrusted to another science, to positive philosophy.

In the first edition of the *Encyclopedia*, H[egel] says, ["]nature has been determined, *rightly,* as the idea's self-degradation; in it, the concept is deprived of all its majesty, is not true to itself, is impotent; this is the concept's agony." In the 2nd edition of the *Encyclopedia*, it is simply stated that nature is the idea's self-degradation; the word "rightly" is omitted. I have not seen the 3rd edition; perhaps the entire passage is omitted there. But where, one may ask, has nature been defined as the idea's self-degradation[?] It might well be in a short work, *Religion und Philosophie*, which appeared in the form of a dialogue, one in which the relation betw. negative and positive philosophy was taken up (Bruno 1802).—

The idea does not self-degrade in nature, but rational phil. does self-degrade when it passes over into it.

But suppose now that the idea has immersed itself in nature in order to return, in this way, to spirit in the hum. race, where it can shed all the determinations of subjectivity and become object—

16 modo æterno] *Latin,* from the perspective of eternity

God. This is, of course, the other main problem[.] Let us now see what Hegel believes himself to have accomplished: "the earlier phil. posited God merely as substance and not as spirit[.]" We are already taught by Xnty and the catechism to believe in God as spirit, and for this reason it surely would not occur to a philosopher to presume to be the first inventor. In the phil. of ident. the Absolute was already conceived as subj.-obj., and this is ὁ εαυτον νοουμενον , and thus not mere substance. Thus, if this philosophy did not use the word "spirit," it was in order to reserve it instead for the actual spirit. Hegel also begins not with God but with Seyn, and the idea results from the movements. The idea is thus finale, not principle, and thus is mere substantieller Geist, not the productive, the infinite, Absolute Spirit, but only [Geist] by virtue of essence. Such a God arrives of course post festum, he comes only when everything is over, but is not the Anfang, is not the principle.

In the beginning, Hegel himself had had a presentiment that logic is only the negative, but later, as the demand for the positive grew, he forgot this and made logic the actual.

318

13. **13**

Dec 10

H[egel] now moves straightaway from logic to empirical nature, and here again God appears as a result rather than as the creator, etc. Now, one may say, "whatever is present im Ende is also im Anfange"; nevertheless, these can never be absolutely identical, for then there would be no movement whatever; as Anfang, it is nur Anfang, and as Ende, it is an Ende seiner selbst: "Movement is his process of realization, through an außernhafte series of manifestations reaching from beginning to end." Subsequently, H[egel] tried to arrive at a free creation; in the 2nd ed. of his *Logic* there is a remarkable passage: ["]the Absolute Spirit, in which everything exists as ground, and which concrete spirit knows, finally, as free, entschließende a creation that contains in reverse order all the preceding results; the Absolute turns into a principle from which all the preceding now proceeds." If H[egel] had done this and not merely talked about it, he would have arrived at positive philosophy and would have recognized the first as the negative. Here just a few words must be said regarding the expression that everything is present in the Absolute as ground: in the phil. of ident. it is said that everything preceding has its truth only in what follows, that every-

7 ὁ εαυτον νοουμενον] *Greek,* that which thinks itself **12** substantieller Geist] *German,* substantial spirit **14** post festum] *Latin,* after the celebration, i.e., afterward **15** Anfang] *German,* beginning **23** im Ende . . . im Anfange] *German,* in the end [is also] in the beginning **25** nur Anfang . . . Ende seiner selbst] *German,* only the beginning, [and as an] end, [it is an] end of itself **27** außernhafte] *idiosyncratic German,* external **32** entschließende] *German,* resolving (upon)

thing preceding justifies itself by serving as the ground of that which follows and is thus itself the ground. In the same way, heavenly bodies whose nature it is to fall, find their ground by making themselves the ground for something other. So much with respect to that expression. Ultimately, H[egel] arrived at free activity, but it must be insisted upon that this is not seen im Ende, but am Ende, when everything is over, which, however, in a way it is not, as it is only so in the moment when it is ended. He thus has the Absolute as final cause, because everything has tended toward it. But the whole series is a succession, a chain of final causes, one for each subsequent [cause]. In this way, inorganic nature [is the final cause] for matter, organic nature for inorganic, animals for plants, hum. beings for animals. If everything is to be inverted, so that the ultimate final cause becomes creative, then all the intermediate final causes must also become freely productive. He would have soon perceived the difficulty here. At this point, he did not make the attempt, however, for the expression was merely tossed off in passing; but he did intimate that the Absolute is that which is freely self-determining, prior to nature, not to mention prior to history—that it is the freely self-entaüßernde with respect to nature.

This aspect of Hegel, that addresses itself to religious interests, has been especially popularized: "It is not the idea, as in the phil. of ident., but the Absolute Spirit, der sich entaüßert in nature[.]" This account seeks to assume historic form, but when it adds that ["]it has always happened and always will happen," it is once again annulled. God is free insofar as he always sacrifices his freedom; he is im Proces and Selbst-Proces, who always does what he always has done—a cycle. This is reminiscent of Aristotle, who taught that God acts ως τελος, himself ακινητος. Or the account takes this form: ["]God is certainly an sich the Absolute zu vor (how can this expression occur in a purely rational science), but in order to become conscious of himself entaüßert er sich, sets himself over against a world, [over against] humnty, whose God-consciousness is his self-consciousness." If Xnity is also to be reformed, it would especially be with respect to the doctrine of the Trinity: "God must reveal himself because his essence is process, and this revelation is the world, and its essence is the Son, he [who] must return to himself through humnty, and this occurs through art, religion, philosophy; the hum. spirit is the Holy Spirit." What such a phil. wants is not apparent, as Xt cannot possibly satisfy it; philosophers must be offended by its attempt to join forces with Xnity; if I were to reproach it for anything, it would be that it wants to be Xn, for it need

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6 am Ende] *German,* at the end **20** entaüßernde] *German,* externalizing **23** der sich entaüßert] *German,* that externalizes itself **27** im Proces . . . Selbst-Proces] *German,* in the process [and] self-process **29** ως τελος . . . ακινητος] *Greek,* as end, goal, [himself] unmoved **30** an sich] *German,* in himself **30** zu vor] *German,* beforehand **32** entaüßert er sich] *German,* he externalizes himself

not take the trouble, because this is no more required of a purely rational science than it is of geometry.

An aside regarding the trilogy: art, religion, philosophy. The phil. of ident. was accused of adhering almost exclusively to art because neither of them brush aside the sensuous. The fact that the phil. of ident. also makes reference to religion was thus entirely overlooked; and it would indeed be odd not to mention it in an entire philosophy. The difference, then, was that it had neglected to place philosophy above religion, or that it had not included the final reflection through which phil. posits itself.

The phil. of identity presupposed nature and arrived at freedom, at individual action and the individuality of history, arrived at the power that does not lose itself in the process [of its unfolding], and [arrived] thereby at God as the über dem Seyn bleibende. But this concept is not like the others; it cannot be referred to experience; nevertheless, it does not leave us indifferent; a subjective and moral necessity demands that it be found. The pure science of reason has no basis for going beyond itself, but this necessity will lead to searching beyond itself for that which it does not possess, and here come *religion, art,* and *philosophy.*

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14. **14**

Dec. 13

The hum. spirit cannot be indifferent with respect to this potency that is über Seyn but tries to assure itself of its existence.

The first possibility. This occurs when the subject, the individual, attempts to abolish, as far as possible, everything accidental, both within and without, and in so doing usher this Über-Seyende into existence. This is religion in the subjective sense, so that not even asceticism is excluded. Religion is not yet precluded thereby. Rational science does not know of rational religion. Religion can appear in rational science, but [only] as going beyond its [rational science's] limits.

The second possibility. This occurs in objective production, in real production, i.e., art, particularly in poetry, in tragedy, where, as it were, one endeavors to conjure forth the colossal spirit from ὕλη. Not even sculpture is art, for it produces a likeness of the creation. It [art] is first and foremost poetry, tragedy. Rational science can recognize these efforts as necessary and assimilates them, but it always exceeds them and does not view them as identical with itself.

14 über dem Seyn bleibende] *German,* (that which) remains beyond being **24** über Seyn] *German,* beyond being **27** Über-Seyende] *German,* beyond-being **35** ὕλη] *Greek,* matter

The third is philosophy. That philosophy places this not only outside itself but within itself, but within itself not as [in] the preceding, not only as possibility, but as something in which it became as though identical with itself, which it therefore does not place außer sich but über sich. Negative philosophy ends by demanding positive philosophy, in which the Ueber-Seyende appears objective, in the same way as it does in art, and subjective, as in religion.

H[egel] thus gives these 3 instances: (a) religion of art, (b) revealed religion, and (c) philosophy. (In the second edition of the *Encyclopedia*, however, the expression [“]religion of art[”] is changed to [“]art[”] alone; and in any case it is only in an improper sense that this expression can be justified.) The difference, then, is that [“]religion[”] appears twice here. But rational science knows nothing of religion, of genuine religion, which it does not include even as possibility. Hegel knows nothing of what here has been called subjective religion.

And what kind of philosophy occupies the third place? It is clearly the one that he presupposes, the one from which he comes, and thus not a new philosophy. With the arrival of science and religion, the science of reason has already exceeded its limits; how can it now retreat into itself? The rational philosophy that we espouse also
321 posits a philosophy, but one that is außer sich, another philosophy. Hegel should have left the third place open, because he really had nothing with which to fill it.

Positive philosophy is therefore required by negative philosophy. Negative philosophy posits positive philosophy outside itself.

What was of importance was the correct presentation of negative philosophy—that it receive its due and enjoy the satisfaction that (in its true modesty, and with no wish to encroach on positive philosophy) it deserves. Here, too, I differ from Hegel; for he did not provide an adequate presentation of negative phil., either.

In the Kantian period, the expression “dogmatism” was used. Subsequently this fell im Verruf. A distinction must be drawn, however, between a dogmatizing and a dogmatic phil. The older metaphysics was dogmatizing and therefore never achieved what it aimed at, a rational demonstration of existence; therefore, it remained merely dogmatizing. This was destroyed by Kant, fully and forever. But pure rationalism is nevertheless contained only indirectly in Kant’s *Critique*. This should be presented. Only when this has been done will it be possible for positive phil. to show itself.—

5 über sich] *German,* beyond itself **33** im Verruf] *German,* into disrepute

15. **15**

Positive phil. has now become possible, and he challenged all to work toward it in their own disciplines. Those who busied themselves defending Hegelian philosophy presumably did not believe that it already possessed it [the positive] but that through this it could be achieved. Hegelian philosophy was thus to be employed in taking hold of the positive [philosophy]. This conduct betrayed a total misunderstanding of Hegelian philosophy; for it had already done this and, as we have seen, therein lay precisely its error. The aim of these efforts to propagate Hegelian phil. was to introduce the personality of God into rational science; presumably the basis for this was that positive philosophy, in particular, was said to tend in this direction. H[egel]'s Absolute Spirit was thus not personality, though Hegel nevertheless has it freely resolve to create. This, then, was a new misunderstanding. Did one not say that a rational science is, after all, in and for itself, necessary? Quite right, the one (the negative) is just as necess. as the other. Positive philosophy has an entirely new method; the positive need not be based upon the negative [philosophy]. Negative [philosophy] does not, in the same sense as the positive, have a prius; in the negative [philosophy], its prius is a posterius. Negative phil. craves positive 322 philosophy, but positive philosophy has no need for a grounding in negative philosophy. Negative philosophy delivers its conclusion to positive philosophy not as a result but as a task for it; and positive philosophy must itself find the means for carrying it out. In accordance with its concept, its beginning is an absolute beginning, and it needs no other beginning.

Thus 2 philosophies came into being, and unity is abrogated. So it is, and one need not fear this thought, for dual philosophy has in fact always existed. This is already apparent in the difficulty that forever accompanies the attempt to formulate an adequate definition of philosophy. If, for example, one says that it is a science that withdraws into itself, into pure thought, then this is a rather good definition of negative phil. But if it is to apply to the whole of phil., then all of actuality is to have only a logical coherence, and the illogical aspects of actuality rebel against this.—Consider in addition that these 2 orientations can be shown always to have existed in philosophy. Aristotle makes mention of two kinds of philosophers. The first he calls ["]the theologians.["] By this he has in mind primarily those under the influence of oracles, etc. But when he also uses this name to designate philosophers contemporary with himself, it

becomes apparent that he wants to designate them as dogmatic or positive philosophers. Among the other philosophers he reckons principally the Ionian physicists, Heraclitus (τα παντα ιεναι, και μενει ουδεν). This characterizes the science of reason, for that which is subject in one moment becomes object in the next, and so forth. Next, he refers to the other philosophers, the Eleatics, whom he says are swindlers, and who are of no help when it comes to giving an account of actuality. Swindle occurs here, as it does in every uninterrupted movement at [i.e., rotating around] one point. Socrates' dialectic was indeed directed as much against the subjective untruth of the Sophists as against the bombast of those more objective philosophers—[bombast] that was, as Plutarch says, like smoke that Socrates blew back upon them.

16 16.

If Socrates had called himself ignorant in the sense of meaning that he actually was so, such a declaration would of course have been insignificant, as there is nothing particularly surprising in the fact that an ignorant person is actually ignorant; in such a case it would be more surprising if he were knowledgeable. Lawyers say: 323 quisque præsumitur bonus, donec probatur contrarium; in the same way, philosophers say: quisque præsumitur insciens, donec etc. Socrates' ignorance was thus a docta ignorantia. But what knowledge was it, then, that he attributed to others and denied to himself[?] Not every thought is knowledge. What he seems to have had in mind was a Denk-Wissenschaft. Geometry is thus a science, but not a cognitive science, which is why it is classified as διανοια rather than as επιστημη in the 6th book of Plato's *Republic*. It is what we call a pure science of reason, with which Socrates was just as well-acquainted as were the Eleatic philosophers. He therefore posited, through his ignorance, a genuinely cognitive science. Was he ignorant of this as well? Inasmuch as he said this, it cannot have been meant, again, in any direct sense, that he was ignorant; for then it would be pointless to say so. But the statement that he was ignorant merely suggests the uberschwengliche. How far Soc[rates] progressed is difficult to determine, but the fact that he cloaks his account in myth is an enduring sign of his partiality to the historical. His disciple Plato also became historical in his final work, *Timaeus*, so much so that the scholarly development is difficult to follow. Soc[rates] and Plato take a more prophetic stance. Aristotle,

3 τα παντα ιεναι, και μενει ουδεν] *Greek,* all things flow, nothing abides **20** quisque . . . contrarium] *Latin,* everyone is presumed good until the contrary is proven **21** quisque . . . donec etc.] *Latin,* everyone is presumed ignorant until etc. **22** docta ignorantia] *Latin,* learned ignorance **25** Denk-Wissenschaft] *German,* purely theoretical (i.e., formal) science **26** διανοια] *Greek,* thinking **27** επιστημη] *Greek,* knowledge **34** uberschwengliche] *German,* excessive, exuberant

however, shows himself to be their Schüler by turning away from the exclusively logical to the empirical; daß es ist is to his mind the chief issue, was es ist, the second. He censures those who want to grasp actuality εν τοις λογοις. He criticizes Plato's doctrine of the participation of things in the idea, calling it κενολογειν. To say that the particular beautiful thing is beautiful only by virtue of its participation in the idea only has significance with respect to a possible explanation. He denounces and disapproves of the confusion of the logical order with the order of Seyn. Nevertheless, Aristotle resembles negative philosophy. This is apparent in the method of each. [N]egative philosophy is not logical in the Aristotelian sense; for the a priori is no empty logic, and necessarily, dem Inhalt nach, passes over into the empirical. Potency continually thrusts being away from itself until it arrives at that which thinks itself and becomes free thought. Prior to this, it was merely necessary thought. It is therefore not in opposition to experience but, on the contrary, it has no existence apart from experience, because it always points away from itself toward experience. On the other hand, experience also has the a priori within itself. Thus a path also exists from the empirical to the logical, and Aristotle walked this path, ascending step by step right up to his first science, or first philosophy. For both names appear (πρωτη επιστημη, πρωτη φιλοσοφια). His system is an analysis based on actuality. It is here that he continually coincides with negative 324
philosophy. Nature lifts itself by increments from potency's possibility; each successive step is the Ziel of the preceding; each serves, in its turn, as final cause, just as does the last. The series, Aristotle says, cannot lose itself in infinity. ὕλη, matter (which, in Aristotle, is potency, and must not be understood as merely physical; thus there is mention of matter in a [logical] conclusion) is successively done away with. He presents the final outcome as an existent, as his science is a science of the actual. Nevertheless, it is not ["]das["] but ["]was["] that principally occupies his mind. Nor does he make use of the final [end] as a principle; it is, for him, only a final cause, not productive, not τελος ποιητικον. This final end is τελος, itself ακινητον; everything is drawn to it, while it itself remains unmoved, just as the desired is the object of desire, but itself remains still. Aristotle defines the final [end] in many ways. He says that this final being is also the most blessed; but, because thinking is the most blessed actus of all, its actus must be thought; but what does this thought think—only itself, all else is unworthy. (This, however, is no mere thought about thinking; for this being thinks itself.)

1 Schüler] *German,* pupil **2** daß es ist] *German,* that it is **3** was es ist] *German,* what it is **4** εν τοις λογοις] *Greek,* through discourse, through reason **5** κενολογειν] *Greek,* empty words **12** dem Inhalt nach] *German,* in accordance with [its] content **22** πρωτη επιστημη, πρωτη φιλοσοφια] *Greek,* first science, first philosophy **25** Ziel] *German,* aim, purpose **27** ὕλη] *Greek,* matter **34** τελος ποιητικον] *Greek,* creative end **34** τελος . . . ακινητον] *Greek,* end, [itself] unmoved

The Neoplatonists next sought a positive philosophy. Aristotle cannot satisfy; to culminate in God in this way is not enough. This is significant not only because Christianity has developed in the world; but even before that, mythology had a historical reality that Aristotle could not fathom and did not know how to account for except as remnants of an Urwissen.

The question has been raised, Why did Charlemagne introduce Aristotle's writings in his schola palatina? Aristotle was indeed charged with atheism, and justifiably so, as he does not have God as a principle; he excludes active providence, inasmuch as he teaches only that all strives toward God, everything gravitates towards this Endziel. A writer in the 17th cent. answered this question, with all due naïveté, to the effect that ["]theologians were fortunate to be able to find fault with philosophy; if a union betw. these two powers were actually possible, the devil could tempt people to believe that Xnity was a hum. invention." There is, however, another answer, and Aristotelian philosophy has never been taught in its pure form.

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17 17.

[W]hat the Christian school [of thought] needed was a God who was Anfang and principle. This came in the form of scholastic philosophy, which rlly continued up to the time of Kant, though somewhat attenuated. Scholasticism posited three sources of knowledge: (1) experience; (2) κοινας εννοιας, (a) angeborne Begriffe, the first of which was ens universale, (b) universal principles, of which the most important was principium causalitatis (3) ratiocinium Vernunft-Schluß, as the source of a special kind of knowledge, e.g., conclusions that go beyond experience on the basis of inferences from what is given in experience. All rational knowledge became formal, and neither rationalism nor empiricism could develop. Everything was bound together under the authority of the Church. After the Reformation, this metaphysics was assailed by Descartes, on the one hand, and by Locke and Hume on the other. The latter broadened empiricism to such a degree that all concepts became mere results of experience, as when he taught that cause and effect were arrived at through long practice, something, incidentally, that the simplest observation contradicts; as when, for example, the child in the cradle hears a noise and turns its head in the direction of its source with no practice at all—this is plainly an instance of cause and effect. All dogmatic rationalism was thereby destroyed. Then

6 Urwissen] *German,* primordial knowledge **8** schola palatina] *Latin,* palace school **12** Endziel] *German,* final goal **23** κοινας εννοιας] *Greek,* universal ideas **23** angeborne Begriffe] *German,* innate concepts **24** ens universale] *Latin,* universal being **25** principium causalitatis] *Latin,* principle of causality **25** ratiocinium Vernunft-Schluß] *Latin and German,* reasoning

came Kant, bringing pure rationalism; over against it lies pure empiricism, beginning with Bacon. In its [empiricism's] magnificent striving, one has to acknowledge something divinatory, for how else is one to account for the religious conscientiousness, the enthusiasm, with which researchers expose themselves to danger, unless they have an inkling that something more is at stake, that this empiricism must at some point encounter a higher system.

What is the relationship of empiricism to positive philosophy? Genrlly, "experience" denotes certainty, either the certainty regarding extrnl objects, which we acquire through external sensation, or the certainty regarding intrnl objects, which we acquire through intrnl sensation—something thus belonging to the world of either internal or external sensation. Empiricism in this sense, viewed consistently, ultimately denies all concepts. But the concept of empiricism need not be bound to such ideas, or not only to such; it need not be limited to the sensible world. A freely acting intelligence, for example, does not fall within the world of sense; nevertheless, it can be known only empirically. Likewise, a free intelligence beyond the 326
world will only be knowable through Thatsachen. There exists, accordingly, an empiricism that, though supersensible, is still empiricism—a metaphysical and not merely sensual empiricism. This might then seem to agree with positive philosophy. [T]here is in fact a metaphysical doctrine of empiricism. Manifestations of this are: a theory that bases all philosophy on div. revelation; a theory that goes beyond all merely historical facts and refers everything to inner experience, claiming that reason is atheistic; a theory of the secrets of the div. essence that makes these into objects of intuition (theosophy, mysticism, speculative mysticism), which gives itself a scientific form while nevertheless staking a claim to objective knowledge. Pure rationalism has not been able to vanquish all these. They demand a positive philosophy, for which they themselves hitherto have substituted; but they show, in addition, that modern philosophy also has this opposition betw. negative and positive philosophy. What is the position of positive philosophy in this regard? It must have a relation to experience. Because we have only the two expressions, "philosophy" and "empiricism," positive philosophy must have a relation to empiricism. The element shared by all these theories is that they took their point of departure either from something occurring in, given through, experience, for example, Xt's Erscheinung, the miracle, or from an uberschwenglich feeling, or an immediate intuition. [P]ositive phil. is based neither on what is given in experience, nor on what is given exclusively for

19 Thatsachen] *German,* facts **40** Erscheinung] *German,* appearance

thought. [I]ts principle is neither in experience nor in pure thought. [I]ts principle is absolute transcendence, which comes zuvor thought as well as experience. Its prius is not a relative prius, as in pure thought; for the nichtseiende potency bears within itself the necess. of passing over into Seyn, carrying thought with it. It is an absolute prius that does not pass over into Seyn by necess.; it is therefore not prius des Seyns, but prius des Begriffs. Concept, as opposed to Seyn, is potency; the transition is thus from Seyn as prius to the concept as posterius. Potency is thus posterius, but potency thereby becomes the Ueberseiende. The transition from Seyn to potency is not a necess. transition. What follows from the absolute prius as its consequence does not follow by necess.

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18 18.

Pos. phil. is thus not empiricism in the sense that it arises *from* experience; neither is it based on an immediate given, nor does it arise from a given, through [a series of] conclusions. Rather, it *arrives at* experience, and demonstrates its prius a posteriori. Its difference from empiricism is then sufficiently clear, but is it not then identical to negative philosophy? Neg. phil. takes what exists in experience as the object of possible knowledge; the a posteriori, which it discovered a priori, remains outside itself; if it accords with experience, all the better, but the truth of its constructions rests on an inner immanence. Pos. phil. arrives at and enters into experience. The a posteriori is not elicited from experience; it arises from the absolute prius, and the a posteriori is derived from it by free thought (neg. phil. has necess. thought), as the actual rather than the merely possible. It is not the absolute prius that soll erwiesen werden but its consequence, the consequence that ensues as a free Fortgang, must be demonstrated—yet not out of experience but into it. This, then, is a priori empiricism. Neg. phil. is pure apriorism. In pos. phil., experience collaborates. Of course, experience in this connection is to be understood not as some particular experience but as a totality. With respect to the world, pos. phil. is thus a priori; with respect to the concept, to God, it is a posteriori. The demonstration it offers is rooted in the whole of experience. But the realm of actuality is not complete; therefore it is not concluded. The object of pos. philosophy is always adequate when viewed in retrospect, but it is never finished and complete because one can never know what freedom will bring to light. Pos. phil. is thus philosophy in the sense im-

2 zuvor] *German,* before **4** nichtseiende] *German,* not-being **7** prius des Seyns . . . prius des Begriffs] *Latin and German,* (something) prior to being, [but] (something) prior to the concept **27** soll erwiesen werden] *German,* ought to be proven **28** Fortgang] *German,* advance

plicit in the word: it seeks wisdom. In positive philosophy, the proof of God's existence is only there for the willing; the wise alone learn from experience. The demonstration [evinced by positive philosophy] thus lacks the necess. that would allow it to more or less compel the stupid. Neg. phil. is a system complete in itself; in this sense, pos. phil. is not a system. If, however, positive Behauptungen are required of a system, then pos. phil. is very much a system, neg. phil. not, because it is nichts behauptende.—But what stance does pos. phil. adopt with regard to revelation? It arrives at revelation, just as it arrives at everything else; it serves pos. phil. as a relative terminus ad quem; for pos. phil. its authority is no different from that of any other object. The observed movements of the planets are of course also an authority for pos. phil; for this reason, pos. phil. is not religious phil. If it adopted this predicate, it might seem to imply that neg. phil. is irreligious. But this is in no way true, 328 though neg. phil. does indeed position religion außer sich. Nor can it for that reason be called irreligious, because a theory that was truly irreligious can never claim to be philosophy. If, by contrast, positive phil. wished to lay claim to being religious, it would be far too vague a definition to rlly mean anything. It would have to characterize itself more specifically as Christian, Catholic, Protestant, etc., something that can only occur to those who desire a philosophy with special privileges. But in opposition to this, one could point to the dependence of all philosophy on Xnty; one could say, "Never would philosophy have come so far without Xnty"; but then philosophy could just as well be called empirical, as phil. would not have come into being without the existence of the world. But Xnty ought not be conceived engherzig, as mere historical fact. Ever since the world's beginning, Christianity has been much more than that. I would express this relationship between philosophy and revelation figuratively. As is known, Jupiter's four moons are visible only through a telescope, though some can see them with the naked eye, and still others, unable to see a fixed star with the naked eye, can only do so after they have seen it through a telescope. Similarly, there is much that philosophy would have been unable to see without revelation but that it now can see with the naked eye. In recent times, Xnity has been assimilated by Xnity but is so distorted in neg. phil. that it is scarcely recognizable. But by emphasizing Xnity in this fashion we return to the point at which the opposition between neg. and pos. phil, which history in its entirety displays, again becomes conspicuous. The most striking example of this opposition is provided by Kant.

6 Behauptungen] *German,* assertions **11** terminus ad quem] *Latin,* point to which, boundary point **28** engherzig] *German,* narrow-mindedly **37** assimilated by Xnity] "philosophy" *rather than* "Xnity" *was probably intended here (see explanatory note).*

19 19.

The opposition in Kant between neg. and pos. philosophy became particularly clear in his antitheses of reason, or in the antinomies, which are rlly neither more nor less than expressions for the relation betw. neg. and pos. philosophy. That which is the thesis could just as well be made into the antithesis and vice versa. It is noteworthy, however, that his thesis is always positive, that it always belongs to what we call positive phil. Thus when the antithesis affirms that the world can have no limits, this belongs to neg. phil., because it is only in saying that the world has a limit that one
329 first makes an actual statement, first [makes] a positive statement, first belongs to a positive phil.; on the other hand, that it has no limits belongs to neg. phil. and indeed indicates only that the idea of the world does not necess. imply its limitation. — Strangely enough, Kant discovers this contradiction only in cosmological ideas[.] (K[ant] had 2 kinds of antinomies, the mathematical and the dynamic). If it then happens, that is, if one makes the same conceptual error as Kant did, then the same contradiction recurs in all the transcendental ideas, psychology and theology as well. Hence the opposition betw. freedom and necess.; the soul is eternal or ephemeral; God is a blindly necess. essence or freedom. K[ant]'s antinomies are, however, not so dangerous; for, as the antithesis always pertains to a world (a merely thought [world]) different from that of the thesis (the actual [world]), the two do not contradict one another.

But will we now allow the separation betw. pos. and neg. phil. to remain? In considering this, one must assume a standpoint from which to view the matter, [a standpoint] that approaches phil. without any presuppositions. In this respect, phil. is different from all other sciences in that it provides itself with its object, must itself acquire it. It cannot exclude anything in advance, it must examine all possibilities, until it finds its object; but it must not accept these possible objects in a fortuitous way or allow them to originate elsewhere. It can acquire them only by starting with reason's univrsl possibility and by seeing how everything that emerges in this way passes over into Seyn, thus placing itself at the standpoint of possibility and apriority. Phil. is thus identical to a priori science. By continuing in this way, it arrives at the endpoint, which it cannot surpass and which it has not brought to Erkennbarkeit; but this is

the very thing that is most worth knowing and the purest knowledge achievable, because here potency is pure actuality. It reserves this ultimate for itself. As the science of sciences, it situates all knowledge outside itself in the sciences of which it is the science, but now it no longer situates them outside itself.

Pos. phil. does not merely have the truth as an endpoint, as does neg. phil.; neg. phil für sich cannot be called phil.; it first becomes phil. through its relation to pos. phil; neg. phil. is prima scientia; pos. phil. is the highest science; neg. phil. has primum cogitabile; pos. phil. has summum cogitabile; between the first and the highest science lie all sciences; just as neg. phil. precedes all other sciences, pos. phil. concludes them. Perhaps neg. phil. would not have developed so vigorously had it not imagined itself to be the whole of phil. There is, then, only one phil.; for neg. phil., in coming to consciousness of pos. phil., does not in this consciousness have pos. phil. outside itself, but is itself within pos. phil.

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20. **20**

Negative philosophy is misjudged if it is regarded merely as an introduction to pos. phil.; within pos. phil. it will of course appear in abbreviated form, but it cannot for that reason surrender its claim to independence. Neg. phil. will be more or less to be essential to education; it will be metaphysics, formative. It will always occupy a place of honor as humnty's own invention. It is no besondere Wissenschaft; it holds all sciences outside itself, is the science of sciences. Pos. phil., by constrast, is a besondere Wissenschaft. Pos. phil. is rlly within neg. phil. as potency, seeks itself in neg. phil. Negative philosophy is merely hinwegschaffende; it clears away everything that is not phil.; only in its final moment is it positive. It bestows upon itself, rightfully, the title "science of reason." Its content, however, is rlly reason's constant overthrower, as reason has no content in itself. Pos. phil. provides knowledge of that which in neg. phil. was the Unerkennbare. It resurrects the reason that bent its knee in neg. phil. Neg. phil. is reason's humiliation; pos. phil is its exaltation. Through neg. phil. alone, it would have yielded no result, but by demanding the p[ositive], it generated a positive result. In pos. phil., neg. [philosophy] triumphs. Pos. phil. is always the ursprünglich gewollte philosophy, and its development also shows how much later the purely rational problems begin to take hold; but pos. phil. often runs astray; then criticism steps in, the criticism that

7 für sich] *German,* by itself **8** prima scientia . . . primum cogitabile . . . summum cogitabile] *Latin,* the first science . . . the first (object) conceivable . . . the highest (object) conceivable **23** besondere Wissenschaft] *German,* special (or particular) science **27** hinwegschaffende] *German,* way-clearing **32** Unerkennbare] *German,* unknowable **36** ursprünglich gewollte] *German,* originally intended

it [positive philosophy] itself called forth with this error. Neg. phil. could of course stand alone, but then it would surrender all actual knowledge[.] [T]hough how could it [negative philosophy] wish to exist in this way—completely empty? Kant calls his philosophy critique rather than philosophy, and this is quite correct, as far as it goes. For how would neg. phil. respond to the justified claims made upon it? Or would it not be compelled to turn the whole content of feeling and representation into psychological curiosities and nothing more? It was actually thought that neg. phil. provided the foundation for pos. phil.; it would be more correct to say the reverse, that positive [philosophy] is the basis for neg. [philosophy]. In neg. phil., the lesser mysteries are presented, in pos. [philosophy] the greater. (As is known, the Eleusinian Mysteries were classified in this way). The Neoplatonists made a similar

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distinction, and called Aristotelian phil. the Lesser Mysteries in contrast to the Platonic, the Greater. The opposition did not fit there, but here it does.—

But how, then, is the transition to be made from neg. phil. to pos. [philosophy]? Neg. phil. deals not with the actually existent but with the Existiren-Könnende. Its ultimate is a potency undisturbed by any actus, where potency itself is actus and actus is thus nondisruptive. This is seyende potency, which first arises only in the concept, because it is always about Existiren-Konnende, around which everything turns. Science searches for existence. Seyende potency does not have Seyn as posterius; when it exists it has Seyn only as prius; it is a priori. Seyende potency is thus Seyn-Könnende reversed. In neg. phil., the first Seyn-Könnende is followed by Seyn. Neg. phil. comes this far. The earlier metaphysics did so as well, which was especially apparent in the ontological proof advanced by Anselm but rejected by Thomas Aquinas and the Thomists. It is curious that Kant did not present its defects better. The proof goes more or less as follows: the highest being (which obviously is nothing other than the highest potency) cannot possibly exist accidentally and consequently must exist necess.—that is, if it exists. This can also be shown in another way; in the major premise there is

22 Existiren-Könnende] *German,* being able to exist **28** Seyn-Könnende] *German,* potential for being, being able to be

mention only of necess. existence; no conclusion, therefore, can be drawn with regard to existence genrlly. The concusion is thus that he exists necess.—that is, if he exists. God cannot result from a transitus a potentia ad actum; then he would not be das aufrecht stehende Seyn-Könnende. He is the an and vor sich being (not für sich, which in combining two such different concepts violates ordinary usage); das heißt er ist das vor seiner Gottheit Seyende, also das seinem Begriffe und damit allen Begriffen voraus Seyende. But he is thereby das blind seyende, das nothwendig seyende, and it remains doubtful whether *God* exists. Thus I cannot presuppose that *God* is the an and vor sich Seyende, and I must forego the concept of God for the time being. I must begin with the blind seyende and see whether I can arrive at the concept and thereby at God. Potency or concept is the a priori, and thus das blind seyende is the 332
a posteriori. Neg. phil. also arrives at Seyen-Könnende, but it does so wrongly, as it begins with potency. If I am to make it known, I must arrive at it as posterius, and the whole thing is then turned around. This can only be done in a new science. And here we have actually arrived at Spinoza's principle, das allem Denken voraus Existirende.—Just as all philosophy will be destroyed by empiricism's eccentric dissemination, so, too, is pos. phil. always present in every philosophical development, and it can be said in this connection that modern phil. is a preparation for it. Descartes's question was not about the concept but about Seyn. "I am" became his point of departure, but it was subjective. The truth of the ontological proof is that it leads to pos. phil., and this is thus apparent in Spinoza. He grasped this beginning, however, only to proceed immediately to necess. thought. But because of this orientation toward being, his influence was great and powerful, and precisely on the best and most religious minds; his absolute transcendence exercised this effect; it exploded the opposition between thought and being. Jacobi himself struggles in vain against the abyss into which Spinoza hurls him. The relationship between Spinoza and Jakob Böhme has never really been illuminated. The orientation might be called the reaction of Orientalism to Occidentalism and Aristotelianism.

What is the relation of pos. phil. to reason?

3 transitus a potentia ad actum] *Latin,* transition from potency (or potentiality) to act, from possibility to actuality **4** das aufrecht stehende] *German,* the upright, proper **5** an . . . vor sich] *German,* in [and] before itself **7** das heißt . . . Seyende] *German,* that is, he is that which is prior to his divinity, thus that which is prior to his concept and consequently prior to all concepts **9** das blind seyende, das nothwendig seyende] *German,* blind-being, necessary being **11** an . . . vor sich Seyende] *German,* being existing in [and] before itself **19** das . . . Existirende] *German,* that which exists prior to all thought

21 21.

Das geradezu Seiende was thus the point of departure for pos. phil. In neg. phil. everything depends on the thought that precedes Seyn; in pos. phil., Seyn precedes thought. This geradezu Seiende could also be called nothwendig Seyende, but in modern philosophy this expression has, as a matter of course, so often been identified with the concept of God that for this reason it is not advisable to use it. It usually designates something to which necess. existence has been ascribed by way of a preceding concept. God is regarded as this something. But das blind Seyende is understood to be that which is without preceding concepts. This expression is used without further ado for the highest being. The highest being can only be the necessarily existing, but God is not merely das nothwendig Seyende; he is the nothwendig nothwendig-Seyende. This indicates its difference from das blind Seyende, which is only 333 einfach nothwendig-Seyende.—It does not, however, demonstrate that he exists. The nothwendig Seyende ist allein des hochsten Wesens Seyn-Konnen. In opposition to this, one might invoke the old proposition: in deo nil potentiale. To this it might be answered, it is a question here not of God's nature—according to his nature, God is sheer actuality—but of existence. Here it is a question not of potency's transformation into Seyn, but of purus actus. The final Existiren-Könnende is itself potency that consequently has Seyn not after itself but before.—Das geradezu Seyende could also be called das nothwendig Seyende. This requires no justification and does not even permit it; it is independent of all ideas. Pos. phil. relinquishes the concept and detaches itself from neg. phil.; it could thus begin perfectly well without neg. phil., just as Spinoza began with infinite existence. This geradezu Existirende has a relation to reason: is this g[eradezu] E[xistirende] idea, concept? If idea is taken in the sense in which it must be taken in neg. phil., where it is das gewollte, then this geradezu Existerende is not idea; in another sense it is idea, insofar as it "behauptet" nothing. Existence cannot be predicated of it, because it is itself existence; it is οντως το ον, when ον is understood not as noun, but as a verb. Seyn cannot be used attributively of it. One is reminded of the ancient Indian [saying] that it weder ist noch nicht ist; it is a pure quid, not a quod. It is a concept of reason, but one der nicht sich Seyn vorsetzt, sondern Seyn sich. Reason acquires it as its content aposteriori, but it is that

2 Das geradezu Seiende] *German,* being-that-simply-is **14** nothwendig nothwendig-Seyende] *German,* necessary-being that necessarily is **16** einfach nothwendig-Seyende] *German,* simple necessary-being **17** nothwendig … Seyn-Konnen] *German,* necessary-being is solely the ability-to-be of the highest being **19** in deo nil potentiale] *Latin,* in God there is no potentiality **34** οντως το ον] *Greek,* the truly being **37** weder ist noch nicht ist] *German,* neither is nor is not **38** der nicht … Seyn sich] *German,* that does not posit itself before being, but being before itself

which is placed outside Reason, ecstatic. Das unbedingt Seyende has no condition other than a negative one, that reason permit itself (sich laßt). [I]n neg. phil., reason observes itself, is objective with regard to itself. This is the unconditioned concept of reason and transforms itself into thought; it is the immed. concept of reason.— Kant said that what the earlier metaphysics desired was to arrive at a conclusion that would prove the necessary existence of a thing, but this was an impossibility. In this, he was perfectly correct.—The question has been raised whether one, with respect to Etwas existirende, could prove that it is a necess. existence—a foolish question because in saying "Etwas" one has already designated a particular.—Das blind Seyende and the concept are indeed always in relation to each other, as is already apparent in the relation betw. neg. and pos. phil; for neg. phil. culminates in the concept and pos. phil. begins with das blind Seyende.—Das bloß Seyende is absolute transcendence; but transcendence is always relative, i.e., with respect to something else. It must then be kept in mind that we posit this vor aller ideas; we do not place the idea first and then attempt to arrive at it—this was the transcendence of the earlier metaphysics. It is a relative transcendence and untrue; our transcendence is absolute and thus none. If I have first made myself immanent, then it is transcendence to change into absolute Seyn. Kant forbids reason to reach this transcendence by way of inference, but he does not forbid and cannot forbid inferring the highest essence from necess. being, for such a thing never occurred to him. Reason posits this being outside itself in order that the latter [mere being] can become its content, because aposteriori it becomes God.—Neg. phil. has the a priori comprensible Seyn as its content; pos. phil. has the a priori incomprehensible Seyn.—Phil. is above all the science of reason. If one wishes to distinguish once again betw. pos. and neg. philosophy, one may say that reason in neg. philosophy is *only* in itself (this ["only"] is obviously a negative determination); in pos. phil. reason has a relation to actual being. The science of reason applied to neg. phil. is used in a material sense, insofar as reason itself is its substance and material; applied to pos. phil. it takes on a more formal sense.

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The introduction is herewith complete.

1 Das unbedingt Seyende] *German,* unconditioned being **3** sich laßt] *German,* lets itself *(see explanatory note)* **9** Etwas existirende] *German,* something existing **15** Das bloß Seyende] *German,* mere being **18** vor aller] *German,* prior to all

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22.

January 3, 42.

In neg. phil. nothing is fixed, everything is fluid, until one arrives at the principle. Already here, the unfinished character of neg. phil. is apparent; it possesses the principle in reverse fashion, as the end and not as the beginning. Consequently, it ends with the principle. The principle is, namely, potency, which does not vorausgeht its Seyn but presupposes it. The principle is rlly nothing other than that which is safeguarded against all subsequent possibilities. The Pythagoreans distinguished between δυας and μονας and set them in opposition to one another. By the first, they meant more this double movement, this fluidity, and, by μονας, true being. In true science, positive science, monas must come before düas. This monas is both mere idea, as it is in the neg. phil., and also actual existence. Insofar as it is the latter, we begin not with potency but with Seyn, the Seyn that never moves a potentia ad actum, but that immediately is actus and always actus. Here, one might object: "an actuality that in this way precedes all possibility is unthinkable." There is some truth in this, and therefore it may also be said of this Seyn that it is das unvordenkliche Seyn. As such it is the Anfang of all thought, but is nevertheless not thought; it is the first object of thinking (primum quod se objicit cogitationi), which is not the content of thought but may become that. It might be objected that this, too, defies imagination; but to this the reply might be given that there are many instances in which such a possibility may be imagined prior to actuality, e.g., a machine or a work of art. Presumably there are other possibilities in which the concept is first given with the actuality, and only such concepts are truly original. To this extent Aristotle's dictum holds true: initium philosophiæ est admiratio, and Plato's: το παθος του φιλοσοφου εστι το θαυμαζειν. What is incomprehensible a priori philosophy now comprehends a posteriori.—The important thing is to maintain that pure being is pure being in the verbal sense, in actu puro, and its essence consists only in being the purely existing. One is reminded in this regard of the many formulations found in earlier theology and later in dogmatics: in deo essentia et existentia unum est idemque, which means: God's essence and concept consist in this, that he is, he is being; est

7 vorausgeht] *German,* precede **10** δυας . . . μονας] *Greek,* two-ness, duality [and] oneness **13** monas . . . düas] *Latin,* unity [must come before] duality **20** das unvordenkliche Seyn] *German,* the un-prethinkable being, being absolutely antecedent to thought **22** primum . . . cogitationi] *Latin,* that which first appears as an object of thought **29** initium . . . admiratio] *Latin,* the beginning of philosophy is wonder **30** το παθος του φιλοσοφου εστι το θαυμαζειν] *Greek,* wonder is the philosopher's passion **33** actu puro] *Latin,* pure actuality **36** in deo . . . idemque] *Latin,* in God, essence and being are entirely the same **37** est ipse . . . est ipse] *Latin,* he is himself his own being [and] his own being is himself

ipse suum esse and suum esse est ipse, i.e., his essence is to be; in deo non differunt esse et quod est. His essence consists in being, just as, with other things, their essence is the nonbeing, the accidental. a se 336
esse is not von sich seyn, but von selbst seyn, ultro esse, geradezu seyn. Aseitasis therefore always recognized as the highest. Spinoza made it a principle: id quod cogitari non potest nisi existens. God is that which cannot be preceded by the thought of non-being; indeed, God himself cannot even precede himself with the thought that he is not.

Being, then, is starrt and immobile; yet we must find a way to separate from it. [It] is the beginning, and it could be said: Once there was nothing other than this being. We will now attempt it. We have only rejected the potency that precedes Seyn; prior to it there can be no potency; that is a contradiction; but from this it in no way follows that it cannot become it nach der Hand, post actum; nachher it can become Seyn-Könnende. If we now assume this (here we express ourselves purely hypothetically and later will justify [the assumption]), then Seyende is raised to potentia potentiæ; and in this way first truly becomes Seyn-Könnende. This is true Seyn-K[önnende] because it has its Urseyn as something that is in itself a priori and prior to all possibility. Here, then, a possibility appears. To pure being it is a matter of complete indifference whether or not it appropriates this other being. But this possibility shows itself to be something new and unexpected because it comes after Seyn; but even though it appears in this way, so erscheint es doch zugleich dem Seyn von Ewigkeit her. That which precedes everything, even thought, is eternal. Eternity is among those qualities of God that the dogmaticians call negative, i.e., those qualitites without which God cannot be but that nonetheless do not suffice for his being; Spinoza's substance is also eternal in this way, but nevertheless not God. [T]his eternity is terminus a quo, which therefore is also called: von Ewigkeit. Science cannot remain poised at this point but immediately moves away from it. At this point, being apprehends something—it can will. This is not true of pure being itself; for it is sheer Gelassenheit. Being now manifests itself as lord, different from unvordenkliche Seyn, whose lord it was not. But more takes

1 in deo . . . est] *Latin,* in God there is no difference between being and that which is (or, in God, existence and essence do not differ) **3** a se esse] *Latin,* to be on the basis of oneself (i.e., independent of anything else) **4** von sich seyn] *German,* being from itself **4** von selbst seyn, ultro esse, geradezu seyn] *German and Latin,* being of itself, being of its own accord, simple being **5** Aseitas] *Latin,* of itself, underived [being] **6** id quod . . . existens] *Latin,* that which can only be thought of as existing **10** starrt] *German,* rigid, unmoving **15** nach der Hand] *German,* by and by **15** post actum] *Latin,* after actuality (i.e., after the fact) **15** nachher] *German,* afterward **18** potentia potentiæ] *Latin,* the potency of potency **20** Urseyn] *German,* primordial being **25** so erscheint . . . Ewigkeit her] *German,* it nonetheless simultaneously appears to being from all eternity **31** terminus a quo] *Latin,* the point from which **32** von Ewigkeit] *German,* from eternity

place. [T]hat which actually serves as object for a will is always the accidental, not being. If we now call unvordenkliche Seyn "A" and the accidental "B," then being becomes lord over B in positing B, over which it is lord, but it is also A's lord. In positing B, it ushers A out of its Gelassenheit and becomes its lord. Now being has a negation within itself, and no longer is pure being, but only der Potens nach is it actus purus.

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23

23.

Jan. 5

The expression for the beginning of pos. phil. is basically the principle presented in the last lecture, [that of] a being that is identical with essence, or whose essence, in itself, is being. [T]he concept of this being becomes apparent only subsequently. In the context of our present discussion, such being is not perfection, and we have not progressed beyond what dogmaticians call negative attributes. Dogmaticians often understand being as something positive, as a perfection, but by understanding it in this way, they cut themselves off from the path of science, by which one can proceed from the negative to the positive. Therefore, the identity of essence and Seyn must here be taken negatively, with essence understood not as an essence that is separate from Seyn, but [as] being; existing is essence. We will not linger in this negation but posit it only as Anfang. As Spinoza's example shows, nothing can be accomplished with sheer actus purus; one can detach oneself from it, insofar as it is possible to do so, through a subsequent potency. We say it is a possibility, and the subsequent potency is itself also only a possibility, articulated here only as a possibility. That which always has its Seyn ahead of itself is actually the sole Wollende, the only one that can give rise to something. Thus a hum. being whose existence is disturbed in some way is said to be unable to begin. A priori being, which begins by being being, is first actual potency. The truth of potency is thus to be found in the preceding being. If we wanted to specify a predicate for this existent and not simply declare, tautologically, that it is existent, then we might say that it is Existiren-Könnende, Seyn-Konnende, not in the sense of "before" but in the sense of "afterward." But it still remains only as a possibility; its actuality must be shown a posteriori. We see not what it is, but that it is. a priori it is only *possible;* that it can become Seyen-Könnende is a hypothesis. Being is the thesis; that it is Seyen-K[önnende] is the antithesis in the sense in which rhetoricians understand the word. We

6 der Potens nach] *German,* in accordance with [its] potency **28** Wollende] *German,* willing

said earlier that pos. phil. is related to free thought; this is apparent here as it has its beginning in actus purus, and one can only get further than this through freedom; there is no necess. transition from actus to potency. If we now assume that for this essence identical to Seyn—or, as we also may express it, that for Seyn's subject (which is no different from Seyn, is not an essence for itself)—if we assume that for this a possibility appears of being other than it is according to its unvordenkliche Seyn, then this possibility, insofar as it is possible, will continually manifest itself, and will do so eternally. The first consequence of this is that being becomes gegenständlich its unvordenkliche Seyn. Prior to this, being has its unvordenkliche Seyn an sich, (just as it can be said of a hum. being that he has a flaw an sich, that he is not conscious of it). [N]ext. [T]he actus of its existence is necess. only as long as it is not gegenständlich to itself, as long as it is an sich. As soon as this possibility shows itself, it separates what is necessary according to nature from what is necessary only actu and thus only accidentally necessary.—What exists necess. brings with it the actus to exist prior to thinking itself; der actus des Existirens kommt sich selbst zuvor. No potentiality precedes this existence, but from this it does not follow that being is not meant to achieve something afterward, even something beyond unvordenkliche Seyn. Prior to this, it can achieve nothing beyond it; it reconciles itself to this, wo vor es nicht kann. But in relation to its essence, this is something accidental, something that happens to it.—Unvordenkliche Seyn is = a se esse, is primum constitutivum. a se esse may not be translated as von sich seyn; it will either lead to the concept causa sui (just as Descartes and Spinoza understood it, notwithstanding the fact that in Spinoza it is a deceptive word; for thereby he comes into the contradiction with himself that God as causa sui becomes potency, δυναμις, and in consequence God comes as potency to precede himself as actus) or to that which reveals itself, posits itself.—but ultro, sponte, αυτοματως ον. [U]nvordenkliche Seyn thus manifests itself as the accidental. When I sow a seed in a particular place, I do not find it strange that it sprouts there, because I have a concept of it prior to its being; if, by contrast, a plant comes up in a place where I have not sown, I am surprised, because in relation to me it is accidental. If potency precedes unvordenkliche Seynde, then it is not the necess.; if it is only actu then it is also not the necess.

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10 gegenständlich] *German,* objective (in relation to) **18** der . . . zuvor] *German and Latin,* the actuality of existing precedes itself **23** wo vor es nicht kann] *German,* which is why it cannot **25** a se esse] *Latin,* being in itself, being on the basis of itself **25** primum constitutivum] *Latin,* first constitutive **26** causa sui] *Latin,* cause of itself **30** δυναμις] *Greek,* power **32** ultro . . . αυτοματως ον] *Latin and Greek,* of its own accord (voluntarily), being that is free

24 24.

January 7

Das unvordenkliche S[eyn] is not existence but precedes it. [I]ts essence is not as essence; it is altogether ecstatic; it has not sich entaüßert, but is entaüßert; it is antipodal to the idea but is itself an idea precisely on the basis of this opposition.—Nothing precedes
339 this actus purus, and thus it is eternal like everything before which nothing can come. All negative attributes are exclusions of every preceding potency.

Das unv[ordenliche] S[eyn] has Seyn an sich, is the an sich Seyende, the an und vor sich Seyende; but an existent, purely actu, existing without being defined according to its nature, is accidental, blind existence.

This is not the place to elaborate the many senses of the accidental; rather, I refer to the section on the accidental in Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. Here only a comment: the unwilled and the unforeseen is accidental, but something unforeseen is that blind being præ quo nihil potest.

It may also be said that blind Seyende is that which precedes its possible opposite. If I choose between +A and -A, and I choose +A, then -A is absolutely excluded. If I thereby become +A actu, then -A is indeed excluded, but not absolutely. Das Andersseyn, as we have shown in the foregoing, is not vanquished; it can arise subsequently. A doubt can come afterward, post actum, and render unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn] accidental, require of it that it show itself as necess., something for which, if one dare put it this way, it has not yet had the time. It will indeed manifest itself as necess. if this opposite steps forth.—[T]his law is indeed the ultimate ground of everything, this law, that nothing remains untried, unrevealed. This law is indeed not above God but freely posits God over against his unvordenkliche Seyn. Thus it is the divinity's own law, and it is only because das unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn] precedes all thought that this law appears as something foreign to God. It is only God's own idea that promulgates this law.—The dialectic of this world does not will anything anywhere to remain doubtful. Hegel reintroduced dialectic, but primarily in negative phil. Plato calls dialectic the royal art, an expression more or less tantamount to his calling it divine.—Dialectic rlly belongs to freedom and therefore to positive phil.—God lets that principle of opposition reign until the final possibility is exhausted; it is not only once and for all, but always.

The possibility of progress away from Starre rests on this contingency. What exists only actu is something accidental, but in its be-

17 præ quo nihil potest] *Latin,* prior to which nothing is possible **22** Das Andersseyn] *German,* Different *or* Other being **41** Starre] *German,* motionlessness

ing accidental being there is a possibility of a potency that would cancel that possibility. [T]he accidental is material potency and thereby an Andersseyn is zugelassen as a possibility.

Seyen K[önnende] is that which transcends Seyende. The concepts metamorphose. Seyende appeared as positive, but it is also only the actu Seyende, the impotent, and therefore the negative. Seyn-K[önnende] appeared as the negative, but it is positive; this is his strength. His divinity begins with S[eyn]-K[önnende]; he thereby is able to transcend unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn]. So it is with a hum. being, too. The more and more complete and profound his transformation and his Entaüßrung of his Seyn, the freer, the more divine; to free oneself from one's being is the task of all education. God is the living God and is therefore not imprisoned in Seyn. If one does not realize this, one ends either in pantheism or abstract theism, which assumes an intelligent originator of the world but declares creation to be incomprehensible to reason. 340

It could be objected that in this way we posit ein ungottliches Seyn in God and that thus we may avoid pantheism but fall prey to materialism, naturalism. This would be the case, too, if one posited God exclusively in this Andersseyn, for then he would simply founder in being. But (1) Andersseyn is not a blindly capricious potency, [and] (2) he has it within himself only as a presupposition of being God.

25. **25**

Jan. 10

In the preceding [lectures], we have indicated the possibility of an Aufheblichkeit des unvordenklichen Seyns. In place of existence actu we have instead existence natura, thus essential existence. It thereby exceeds mere actus and is free in relation to this existence, but it tolerates the actu. If necessary existence natura were to precede existence actu, then the latter would be a necessitated existence, but this actus purus is not [necessitated]; it is a se esse. The best image of this sort of existence is always innocence. If a concept preceded it, it would not be innocence. [T]he necessary existence natura is the true essence of existence actu, but not its cause; on the contrary, it is implicitly the opposite of existence actu. When the contingency of the first becomes manifest, true necess. existence emerges with no need of this actus; [it is] the necess. exist. even with the annulment of this actus, as it is necess. exist. natura. [I]t sees itself as the Seyn-Könnende that transcends this actu Seyende, as free.

3 zugelassen] *German,* admitted **11** Entaüßrung] *German,* externalization **17** ein ungottliches Seyn] *German,* an ungodly being **27** Aufheblichkeit des unvordenklichen Seyns] *German,* suspension of un-prethinkable being **28** natura] *Latin,* in accordance with nature

[It sees itself] as lord over both the Seyn posited in opposition to univ. Seyn, which it can will or not, as well as over unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn] itself—not, however, as that which posits it, as unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn] always precedes necess. existence natura. Upon the appearance of the first possibility, unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn] was ousted from its place, (loco motus), and lifted into the air, for possibility and unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn] cannot be uno eodemque loco[;] by a negation it was posited, not in the sense of something that precedes, but of something that is yet to come. Necess. existence natura is divine existence. This expression can now be used of being, because it has shown itself as lord, but the concept of God is precisely that of Herrlichkeit, i.e., lordship, and therefore, as Newton says, deus est vox relativa, includens dominationem. But what is the source of that which it is lord over, if not unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn]? For in the positing of possibility, unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn] is excluded and led back to itself, pushed back into itself as potency. It is thereby assigned the necessity of retreating back into actus purus, because potency is altogether foreign to it. It must then negate the new Seyende.—It appears now as lord of another possibility, that of hypostatizing the unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn] and removing it from itself precisely by revealing it as something accidental.—The third possibility is that of showing itself as free from the being of necess. being, of positing itself as spirit. Spirit is precisely that which is free to express itself or not express itself; posited as essence it is Seyn-K[önnende]; it is that which cannot become unlike itself; it abides in Seyn and continues to be S[eyn]-K[önnende], just as it continues, as S[eyn]-K[önnende], to be Seyn. I say that which is posited *as* essence, and this is of great importance. The particle "als" is quite significant. [P]ure being is not posited als being; it is merely einfach and precisely thereby admits the opposite potency outside itself; now by contrast it is posited *as* being, because it cannot cease to be being. Thus essence is posited here as essence, though hitherto only by way of ideal exclusion. It is spirit. The point may also be demonstrated in this way: it cannot be immed. S[eyn]-K[önnende], for its place is occupied; neither can it be Seyn-Müssende, because [that place] is taken; therefore, it is the S[eyn]-K[önnende] that is also S[eyn]-Müssende. The third possibility reveals itself to unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn] as the genuinely Seyn-Sollende; it appears as Schluß. Unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn] must now raise itself to necess. existence natura; this gives it the power to posit free being instead of das blind Seyende. God is not only spirit; he is more than spirit; he is not necess. spirit, but the absolutely free spirit. Thus Xnity, too, teaches that spirit is a person, and yet God is spirit.

6 loco motus] *Latin,* removed from its place **7** uno eodemque loco] *Latin,* in one and the same place **11** Herrlichkeit] *German,* lordship, majesty **12** deus est . . . dominationem] *Latin,* "god" is a word expressing relation, including (the relation of) domination **28** "als"] *German,* "as" **35** Seyn-Müssende] *German,* being that must be **37** Seyn-Sollende] *German,* being that ought to be **38** Schluß] *German,* conclusion

The same applies to spirit as to essence; for essence manifests itself prior to existence, but [also] after it, because it shows itself as the überexistirende.

26. **26**

Jan. 13

Necess. existence natura has the same relation to necess. existence that is merely actu as essence does to Seyn, and concept to Seyn, but in such a way that the concept does not precede Seyn but exists as überexistirende and consequently is more than essence, is überwesen, in the common understanding of the word. For this reason, and quite correctly, dogmaticians early on called attention to the fact that, when the word "essence" is used of God, it must be borne in mind that he is more than essence, is υπερουσια. 342

Unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn] raises itself to the Idea and is now actually God; previously, it was God only substantially or according to possibility. Only now is it actually God. Only the most exhaustive dialectic is capable of coming to this point and of detaching itself from unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn]. Dialectic has its true home in positive phil. The concept of God is that of essence as actus purus. At this point the principles presented earlier (in deo essentia et existentia non differunt etc), take on the opposite form: in God, actus is his essence. [T]he negative attributes are a priori attributes that precede his Gottheit.—There is no transition from the negative to the positive attributes; it cannot be a necessity.—Without unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn], God could not be; for he could not be lord, nor could he be personality; for lordship over Seyn is precisely what personality is; absolute personality transcends Seyn schlechthin.—God's existence does not admit of proof; but die Gottheit des Existirendes [can be demonstrated], though this, too, only a posteriori.—God knows himself to be beyond existence actu, [knows] that he is necess. existence natura; this transcendence is precisely his divinity qua existentiam transcendit. From all eternity, he sees himself as lord, capable of annulling his unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn], or, more accurately, of suspending it.

We now come to something new. Why does God suspend this unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn], why does he actualize this possibility, given that he is, already, lord; why does he actualize this possibility? It could be answered: In order to transform his blind affirmation into a conscious one. But for whom does he do it, then? [F]or himself—he knows it, of course. He can resolve upon this process only for the sake of something outside of himself (præter se). Aristotle

3 überexistirende] *German,* beyond that which exists **10** überwesen] *German,* beyond or transcending essence **13** υπερουσια] *Greek,* above essence, more than essence **20** in deo essentia et existentia non differunt etc] *Latin,* in God, essence and existence do not differ, etc. **27** schlechthin] *German,* plainly, absolutely **31** qua existentiam transcendit] *Latin,* by which he transcends existence **40** præter se] *Latin,* outside himself

says God always thinks only himself; discussion of the eternal subject-object is to be understood in the same way. Arist[otle] locates God's happiness precisely in this [thinking of self]. But must it not rather be considered the greatest limitation to be unable to escape from oneself[?] Hum. beings desire to come away from themselves, and they find their salvation in this; Joh v. Muller says that he is satisfied only when he is productive. Therefore God is happy because he is outside himself.—Between this suspension and return lies the whole world, or the world comes into being precisely through this suspendirte Aktus des gottlichen Seyns.—God
343 entaüßert sich not in nature; he does this auf unvordenkliche Weise, but because he entaüßert sich here, he enters into his concept and he suspends unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn] in order to posit another Seyn in its place.—In pos. phil., God has the same indifference in Seyn- and Nicht-Seyn-Können as in negative phil, and in this lies the real basis from which he advances all these possibilities as actualities. [T]he same potencies encountered in neg. phil. appear again here, but they do so as those having S[eyn] as their presupposition. If we anticipate the appearance of this process, it will be the actuality that comprehends all a priori possibilities in itself, a παν an all-being, from which not even the accidental is excluded but is subordinated to necess. This world is not merely logical but also real; but still, it is also logical, because the accidental is subordinated to the necess. This connection of the real and the logical is truly the most difficult to comprehend.

[I]t is a question of demonstrating accidental existence, appearance ex improviso. Necess. existence finds itself immediately in the Seyn that no potency precedes. But possibility is not therefore excluded; only the actual excludes by means of actuality, but possibility insinuates itself everywhere. This possibility has its source in unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn]; because if it were not, possibility would not be, either.—

27 27.

Jan. 14

A genuine possibility always presupposes a being. The potency for all existence, as [it is] in negative philosophy, is not genuine potency. The possibility that appears to unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn] can appear to it only as its own potency; it has no place outside it; in God it gives rise to a corresponding will over which he nevertheless is lord. If he posits it, then it is an intention, and the only way it can

10 suspendirte Aktus des gottlichen Seyns] *German,* suspended actuality of the divine being **11** auf unvordenkliche Weise] *German,* in ways prior to thought **20** παν] *Greek,* all **27** ex improviso] *Latin,* unexpected, unforeseen

come about is as a means. Unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn] must also be posited in this intention.— God is God by virtue of being lord over his substantiality and the unity in which unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn] and contingency are held together. Unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn] is indeed posited ex actu but is not, however, absolutely annulled; for not even God is capable of this. Der actus is annulled, and thereby it is itself posited as the potency of actus and must work to place itself back in actus purus.—Creation's υποκειμενον is Nichts, which means that it has its basis solely in God's will—will is Urseyn.—With respect to overcoming the accidental, an analogy appears in hum. life. Anger posits a foreign will in an individual, but then it acts in such a 344
way that the individual's true will reacts and the subject feels his freedom.—This overcoming could happen all at once; but here the previously mentioned indulgence toward the contrary appears; to borrow an expression of Plato, it must be restored through persuasion. If we now assume such an incremental overcoming, we must then assume a principle that determines the steps, a principle that must be independent both of the contrary as well as of that which gradually exorcises it, so to speak. It must be independent of both; for the first wants unconditionally to endure, the second unconditionally to oppress.—[T]his third is given in that third potency, i.e., spirit, a principle that is undivided and without affect. We thus have three potencies. The cause that occasions the whole movement is the first; we shall call it B. [T]his Seyn, which opposes unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn], is blind and mindless will. It acts exclusively upon Urseyn, which we must now think of in the form of complete negation. If this will is quieted, then a third is posited that belongs to both wills. (It should be remembered here that creation really has two moments: (1) the positing of schrankenlos Seyn, (2) die Verinnerlichung, because a potency is posited in Seyn. Creation is thus not simply positive; it has a negative concept within itself). The third to appear is a thing, something concrete. The second potency, like the original, could not actualize itself; it is genuinely negative and it is thus not the first; something must precede it. If we assume the whole development to have taken place, B is entwirklicht; A is again actus purus. The third potency is destined to enter into actuality when the others have withdrawn. Spirit alone is Seyn-Sollende. There is actually a 4th which is independent of all three, which, like all potencies, are exclusively potencies. Here we call to mind the old classification: B is accordingly causa materialis; the 2nd potency is causa efficiens; the third potency is causa in quam. The third potency, through sheer force of will, keeps every becoming in its

5 ex actu] *Latin,* from actuality **29** schrankenlos Seyn] *German,* unbounded being **29** die Verinnerlichung] *German,* the internalization **35** entwirklicht] *German,* deprived of actuality **40** causa materialis] *Latin,* material cause **41** causa efficiens] *Latin,* efficient cause **41** causa in quam] *Latin,* cause to which (here, "final cause")

proper place; it is therefore said, "He commanded and it was there," not in the sense of coming into existence, but of remaining in place.

28 28.

Jan. 17

The third potency is genuine S[eyn]-Sollende. From this it would seem to follow that the first potency is not-S[eyn]-Sollende, and thus a principle of evil, something that should not be included. It should indeed be remembered that there is a great difference between saying that something is not the S[eyn]-Sollende and saying
345 that something is the not-S[eyn]-Sollende, whereby it is posited as Something. For every nonmomentary action, that which serves as means is not the S[eyn]-S[ollende]; nevertheless it [that which serves as the means] is not to be dismissed and is a genuine Gewoltes. If this were denied, it would be tantamount to saying that God does not use means. This, however, is precisely the most unreasonable of all, for God always works through means or, as a Greek expressed it, always works through το ἐναντιον (the opposite). One could go on to say that, at the beginning of the process, das entgegengesetzte Seyn is really the S[eyn]-S[ollende]—that is, at that moment. At the end of the process the situation is altered; if it were now to assert itself, it would be the Wieder-Göttliche.

The content of the process is the production of a world in which all possibilities are actualities. The true God is, first of all, one who creates. Without potency and die Herrlichkeit, he would not be actual God. This is different from saying that God would not be God without a world; for, as "Herr dieser weltschöpfender Potens," he is God and needs no world. Before the world is, he is lord over it, that is, he is lord of positing it or of not positing it. The world is not a logical consequence of God's nature in the sense that the idea of it [the world] having arisen from his will is thereby excluded. Neither is what we have expounded here equivalent to what one so often hears, that God certainly has the freedom to entaüßere sich to nature, but in such a way that he himself is included in the process. He is the cause that remains external, he is causa causarum, is the ground of the Spannung of the potencies.

Creation necessarily requires an explanation; we certainly sense that it does no good to remain at the point [at which we say] it is incomprehensible; therefore we resorted to these flights of fancy. If creation is not to be emanation, there must be something in the middle, between the eternal div. Seyn and the being of the world.

13 Gewoltes] *German,* that which is willed **17** το ἐναντιον] *Greek,* the opposite **18** das entgegengesetzte Seyn] *German,* being that is posited in opposition **21** Wieder-Göttliche] *German,* anti-divine **26** Herr dieser weltschöpfender Potens] *German,* lord of this world-creating process **34** causa causarum] *Latin,* cause of causes **35** Spannung] *German,* tension, strain, discord

The world must have existed in Entschluß before it actually came into being, must have existed as possibility and future.—It is this Urmoglichkeit that frees the creator from the Seyn he cannot get rid of. But the entgegengesetzte Seyn is negated not all at once but im verschiedenen Maaße, and in this way the second potency also actualizes itself im versch[iedenen] Maaße, and in corresponding fashion, the third. Here, then, is an infinite multiplicity of possible positions of the potencies vis-à-vis each other, and the lord of these potencies has the power to experiment with them and position them in opposition to each other, the power to have them pass before him. This is the theory of ideas and archetypes, familiar from the culture of the Greeks. The idea signifies the seeing as well as the being seen. It exists as vision prior to becoming actual. This primordial potency, therefore, has been an object of attention at all times and for all people. It is that fortuna primigenia that was worshiped in Præneste and in whose arms Zeus lies.—mater and materia are closely related to one another—the primordial potency is υποκειμενον—the world's nurse is also a well-known conception—The Maya of the Indians is related to the German Macht and to the Machia of the Persians; Maia is that which stretches die Netze des Scheins in order to hold the creator fast and force him to create.— In Solomon's proverbs it is called wisdom.—When I discern here, again, a sign of that primordial potency, it might be objected that this is claiming too much for it, is too concrete an expression. One must remember that primordial potency, which is the original S[eyn]-K[önnende], is now no longer merely S[eyn]-K[önnende]; it has passed through Seyn—for this is how it emerged—and this must of necess. have some significance, for otherwise it would end with the whole process yielding nothing more than what entered into the process, or with everything emerging from the process unchanged. After having passed through Seyn, it is no longer mere S[eyn]-K[önnende]; it is instead the *posited* S[eyn]-K[önnende], which is master of itself—master of itself and, in addition, is something that has become. This is in fact the only way in which consciousness can arise; there is no immed. consciousness. This [consciousness] is knowledge of the process, i.e., wisdom. From this, the purpose of the process is also apparent; for God can will it only for the sake of such a will, i.e., one that is a companion in knowing.—With respect to this designation, one should also bear in mind that frequently a principle is named after its terminal destination.—In beginning with matter, one notices that it bears only the stamp of understanding, that it develops this [understanding] more and more, until it [the un-

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40 Entschluß] *German,* resolve **3** Urmoglichkeit] *German,* primordial possibility **5** im verschiedenen Maaße] *German,* in differing degrees **15** fortuna primigenia] *Latin,* primal fortune **16** mater . . . materia] *Latin,* mother [and] matter **19** Macht] *German,* power **20** die Netze des Scheins] *German,* the nets of semblance

derstanding] asserts itself in humnty. In madness, on the other hand, one sees potency ausser sich gesetzte. When it is said that everything great involves an element of madness, this really refers only to a mastered madness; the poetic is precisely a case of such mastery. The opposite of Wahnsinn is Blödsinn, in which the understanding lacks inner substance on which to work.

29

29.

Jan. 18

Will and understanding are often set in opposition to one another, and rightly so, when taken abstractly. By contrast, the will that masters itself is understanding. Thus, the primordial potency, when it is brought back to itself, is understanding. Until that time, it is blind will. Will is the understanding's subject (subjectum) and can be called understanding potentia. From this it is clear that primordial potency can with justification be called wisdom, and to what extent this is so. Verstand could also be called Vorstand in the sense of
347 Urstand (J. Böhme); it is that to which the entire process is linked. When it comes to rest, it is the actual subject, der wirkliche Unterstand der göttlichen Existents. It is spirit's Verstand that has become its subject, i.e., Unterstand. The same ambiguity is present in the Greek επιστημη, from εφισταμαι: I remain standing (the primordial potency brought to a standstill), and I gain power over it. Bacon says: scientia est potentia. The German word "Können" is also used in the sense of "Wissen."—The passage cited previously from Solomon's proverbs applies perfectly to Ur-Potens. "He had me before his path"; he had me before he ever stepped forth from his unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn]; for that which has a path must also move. It is before all his works; though not God, it is nevertheless not creature; it is therefore the midpoint betw. God and hum. being. "The lord had it," er bekam sie, as it did not exist in advance but came along gradually; he did not have it as Möglichkeit seiner selbst, but Alles Anderen. Varro (the Roman) distinguishes between principes dii and summi dii. Thus the world is coposited as prius allen Werdens. Now the thought is broadened poetically. The following must

2 ausser sich gesetzte] *German,* posited outside itself **5** Wahnsinn . . . Blödsinn] *German,* madness [is] idiocy **16** Verstand . . . Vorstand . . . Urstand] *German,* understanding [could also be called] standing prior to [in the sense of] primal state **18** der wirkliche Unterstand der göttlichen Existents] *German,* the actual understanding (i.e., substrate) of the divine existence **21** επιστημη . . . εφισταμαι] *Greek,* knowledge, [from] I know **23** scientia est potentia] *Latin,* knowledge is power (potency) **24** Wissen] *German,* knowledge **25** Ur-Potens] *German,* primordial potency **30** er bekam sie] *German,* he obtained it **31** Möglichkeit seiner selbst . . . Alles Anderen] *German,* possibility of himself, [but] of all others
32 principes dii . . . summi dii] *Latin,* the principal gods [and] the highest gods
33 allen Werdens] *German,* of all-becoming

be translated "like a child," not, as usually happens, as "als Werkmeister" (the Hebrew word means both). Potency was not yet ausgesetzt, and thus it was like a child in its father's house: "I played before him," showed him (the father) all that could come about, because it is all-possibility; "my joy was in the children of men." That the creator sets it in motion cannot be perceived a priori. It becomes manifest through experience that the necess. being is God. If the actual positing is a matter of indifference for God; if it is the same to him whether he remains with the intention or has it manifest itself, what then can move him to create[?] Although lord, he still lacks something, namely, to be known, and we make bold to attribute this craving to God.—He can be creator not as one, but as one in many. And this he is, for he is causa causarum, unity of causa materialis, efficiens, et in quam. Here we have arrived at monotheism. In speaking absolutely of God, I presuppose his Einzigkeit. This is already implicit in the language itself. If one does not go further, this may be called absolute Einzigkeit. But the content of a dogma must be something more than a tautology that signifies itself. Das reine Seyn can have no likeness because it can [have] nothing at all. [T]he particular existent always has within itself the potential to be another, because it does not exhaust its concept (thus, for example, a particular plant has within itself the potency of all plants of the same species). The reine S[eyn] has no possibility prior to itself and therefore it is that which is einzige in accordance with its nature. Pure S[eyn] is Spinoza's substance, but in this way Spinoza did indeed become a monotheist. Hegel even regards the Eleatic position as monotheism and speaks of several monotheisms. God's Einzigkeit is treated among the negative attributes. These negative characteristics are the ones that are attributed to God as substance. The one God is infinite substance. If one cannot go further, one can continue to insist that one is a monotheist and resign oneself to being called an atheist, both with equal justification.

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30. **30**

Jan. 20

Monotheism's general thesis does not go beyond the mere concept of God, does not arrive at the one God; this is theism, not monotheism. By mere theism is meant the doctrine that only thinks of God as infinite substance. As substance he is surely God potentia. Earlier theologians considered theism and atheism to be the same. If, however, one does not go futher than bare substance,

1 als Werkmeister] *German,* like a master builder **2** ausgesetzt] *German,* posited apart, set apart **15** Einzigkeit] *German,* uniqueness **19** Das reine Seyn] *German,* the pure being **24** einzige] *German,* unique, singular

nothing can be determined regarding God's relation to things and to the world. If this is to be resolved, and resolved in such a way that things are viewed only as qualifications of substance, pantheism emerges. Theism, therefore, is by no means the true contrary of pantheism, because theism itself, as soon as it wants to address this question, must define itself in a pantheistic direction. Monoth., therefore, is the doctrine of God as God nach seiner Gottheit. [T]he living God is he who steps forth from his unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn], posits an other in opposition to it, transforms this into potency, and frees his essence from unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn] as free essence, and thereby is creator. This is no mere unity of substance; the substantial has disappeared in potency. Potency is called "potency" because it appears initially as the possibility of a future movement; in actuality, they are actual elements. God is neither one, nor two, nor 3, but the unity, and not many gods but one God. The same development that leads to creation leads also not only to the einzige but to the gott-einzige. Monoth. does not teach that God is der eine, but der all-eine; nach den Gestalten seines Seyns, he is not one, and yet he is one; apart from his Gottheit, he is not one. Monoth. must not be merely negative, and it rlly is so only when it says he is one; it must be positive, and it is first so when it says that he is many. What is immediately behauptete in monoth. is multiplicity. John of Damascus says that God is more than einzig. In the O. T., it says not
349 that the Lord our God is one, but that er ist ein einziger יהוה, not that he is one, but that he is the only one as Jehovah. On the whole, monotheism is a restrictive concept; unity characterizes only die Gottheit. [I]t is the genuine opposition to pantheism, in which God remains sheer being. [S]heer being is the presupposition that makes monoth. possible; for the necess. of his Seyn makes it possible for him to become free. Monoth. posits a pantheism actually overcome. It has not only God, but the determinate God, ὁ θεος. In a certain sense, theism represents merely an absence, insofar as it has not yet arrived at the true God; but if it sets itself against the movement toward monoth., it is false. One cannot rest content in theism; it is the indeterminate, the potential, which goes over either into pantheism or into monotheism. Jacobi boasted of being a pure theist and agitated against pantheism, defining the word as the doctrine of Alleinheit, εν το παν. This, however, is also monotheism. The distinction is not to be found here, because here there is similarity. The distinction is that panth. thinks of only one principle, blind being, from which no system can be formed; alongside Einheit, he places an Allheit. So it was with Spinoza; his substance was not ein leeres

7 nach seiner Gottheit] *German,* in accordance with his divinity **17** gott-einzige] *German,* divine unique one **17** der eine . . . der all-eine] *German,* the one, [but] the all-one **18** nach den Gestalten seines Seyns] *German,* in accordance with the forms of his being **24** er ist ein einziger יהוה] *German and Hebrew,* he is a unique (single) Jehovah **31** ὁ θεος] *Greek,* the God **38** Alleinheit, εν το παν] *German and Greek,* all-oneness, one and all **42** ein leeres Eins] *German,* an empty one

Eins; rather, he posits two characteristics, ausgedehntes and denkendes Seyn. The first is Seyn's potency, transitting a potentia ad actum, which has lost itself; it is our Seyn-K[önnende], the first potency. [D]as denkende Seyn is our second potency; but actually the whole thing is merely modeled on Descartes. Where we now have a third potency, he regresses back into the substantial. His [Spinoza's] error, therefore, is not his doctrine of Alleinheit, but the fact that his Alleinheit is dead. From two sides, opposite charges can be brought against him—that he is not a monotheist, and that he is more than a theist, that his God is not empty. [T]he latter is of course the objection of theism.

Jan. 24 31. **31**

Pantheism is impotence, and its essence lies more in not-knowing than in knowing; panth. is negative, monoth. positive. Jacobi consistently conceded the scientific correctness of panth.; the only science, he says, is Spinozism, in which God and so forth cannot be grasped by reason. Theism is, in our time, really an improved version of deism, and there is something suspicious about the fact that it in particular has taken upon itself the battle against pantheism. Theism is in opposition to atheism only if one understands by the latter a system that wholly denies God, e.g., Epicureanism, which 350 posits chance rather than providence. In no respect does atheism stand in a closer relation to pantheism than to theism. In neg. phil. as well, theism is the only possible expression for the highest idea; if one fails to move beyond neg. phil., one has only theism. Theism is what is common to panth. and monoth. and is thus the potency of both, but it is actually not the potency of panth., only of monoth.—[E]ternal is that before which there is nothing, not even a thought, primum constitutivum. True theism must acknowledge this Seyn; only then can it encounter pantheism. The difference betw. true and false theism is that the false does not see anything in unv[ordenkliche] Seyn other than bruta existentia; true [theism] sees freedom in the an und vor sich Seyende, precisely because it has Seyn in advance. Even if theism has come this far, it is still not real monoth, though it is so potentia. In monoth., philosophy now comes into contact with Xn Ideas; God's Alleinheit finds its more precise expression in the trinity of God and, conversely, the trinity in Alleinheit. In order to prevent misunderstandings it should be remembered that Alleinheit is still not the Xn Trinity. Here, consideration should

1 ausgedehntes] *German,* extended **1** denkendes] *German,* thinking **32** bruta existentia] *Latin,* brute existence **33** an und vor sich Seyende] *German,* being that is in itself and before itself

be given to (1) the respects in which Alleinheit is different from trinity, [and] (2) which qualifications may be added.—Even before creation, God had three potencies; in creation they are active; consequently, there are here a multiplicity of potencies, of effective causes, which, however, are not independent but are [in] the one who works in all things, the absolute personality. Xn doctrine sets forth a multiplicity not only of potencies but of persons, each of whom is a God; we have only one person—three potencies, not 3 persons. What we call the absolute personality could be compared with what Paul calls ὁ θεος και πατερ, what the Church calls principium divinitatis; he can set in motion B and all other potencies.—If we look at the conclusion of the entire process, our first potency can be designated more precisely as Father. By his will, he posits another, merely possible Seyn entgegen his unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn], thereby positing his unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn] ex actu and assigning it the task of surmounting the opposition and returning to actus purus. Language has no other expression for this movement than "to give birth," generare, and this expression, in this context, is not used figuratively but entirely literally. By its will, the absolute personality is the cause of the opposing Seyn and thereby gives birth to the other; to give birth is not to posit an other, but to posit Another in such a way that it must actualize itself. The second potency (A^2) fulfills itself by overcoming B, is now its lord in the same sense as the Father, but as lord over Seyn is not only potency but personality. This
351 is the Son and is, through mastery of B, of the same Herrlichkeit as the Father; thus it is the same with the Son as it was originally with the Father. The divinity of the Son is one with that of the Father.—The same holds true of the third potency, in which God posits his essence, freed from unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn]. The vanquished B is given to the third potency as its possession. The second potency has B through continuous overcoming; from this overcoming, the third [potency] is in possession of B.

32

32.

Jan. 25

The first personality is the one that has the power to set in action nos. 2 and 3 without itself entering into the process, so that they remain outside as effective causes. B is not the Father but is the generative Kraft; the Father is the Father only in and with the Son, the actualized Son, just as the Son in turn actualizes the Father. Here, at the conclusion, Seyn is now common to Father and Son. The same is

10 ὁ θεος και πατερ] *Greek,* the God and Father **10** principium divinitatis] *Latin,* the principle of divinity **14** entgegen] *German,* in opposition to **18** generare] *Latin,* to generate **38** Kraft] *German,* power

true of Spirit. We do not have three Gods, for the same Seyn is common to all, as is die Herrlichkeit. As long as the potencies are active, they are only personalities potentia.—We hereby raise ourselves into another world. With personality, the div. world opens itself before us. At this point, the significance of the process for God is also apparent. Seyn is first with the Father as possibility; then it is entrusted to the Son, to whom, as it is said, the Father has given life. The Son then returns Seyn, as overcome, to the Father. Xt says somewhere that he who loves me loves the Father, and we shall come to him and μονην ποιησομεν. The same is said elsewhere of the Spirit: that we know, by the Spirit, that he is in us.

Here it is not a question of the truth of the Xn religion, but a question of understanding it. Accepting it is something else. The Spannung of the 3 potencies extends through all of nature; nothing expresses the perf. unity. Every Entstehen is a 4th among the 3 potencies. But this Spannung endures only until the end of nature. [H]um. beings, original hum. beings, have as such a relation to personalities; nature is related only to potencies. In the Mosaic story of creation, the one Elohim always speaks, but, when hum. beings are to be created, they (always plural) take counsel and say: let us create a hum. being, i.e., for ourselves. The Son is indeed present in the process, but as potency, not as personality. If the divine is first absolute in the 3 personalities, then, in relation to things, the process is the process der Schöpfung, and in relation to God it is theogony. 352
The scriptures say that everything is created by the Father through the Son; therefore the Son is involved in the process of creation. The Father is not in the process; the process strives only toward the manifestation of his divinity. Earlier, Dionysius the Areopagite used the expression θεογονος θεοτης. Basil M. calls the Son αιτια δημιουργικη, the Spirit αιτια τελειοτικη. The scriptures distinguish among εκ οὑ, δι' ου, εισ ον. The unity is the divinity common to the three persons. Hum. beings are enclosed not by the three potencies but by the three personalities. Thus the scriptures say that, after creation, humans found themselves in a divine enclosure, enclosed by Elohim, in the sense implicit in the Hebrew and in the German "Garten." This primal condition was more than a revelation. [W]hat is lacking up to this point, however, is an außergottlich Seyn; we have, certainly, something præter deum, but nothing extra deum; up to this point, creation is immanent. God goes beyond unv[ordenkliche] S[eyn], but keeps it enclosed within himself. We, however, must have a free relation to God; we must have our being in an außergottlich Seyn, and on the other hand we must have freedom in this

10 μονην ποιησομεν] *Greek,* we shall make our home [with him] **15** Entstehen] *German,* arising, generation, origin **24** der Schöpfung] *German,* of the creation **29** θεογονος θεοτης] *Greek,* deity born of god **29** αιτια δημιουργικη] *Greek,* creative, effective cause **30** αιτια τελειοτικη] *Greek,* perfecting cause, final cause **31** εκ οὑ, δι' ου, εισ ον] *Greek,* from whom, by whom, to whom **37** außergottlich Seyn] *German,* being external to God **38** præter deum . . . extra deum] *Latin,* beside God [but nothing] outside God

world, which would not be possible if it were div., or in that case would be foolishness on our part. Our development has its conclusion in this, that creation is concluded in God, but we see how der Kreis des Geschehens again opens up right here. Beyond nature, which can proceed no further, we find a human race, divided into peoples, and spirit and movement, while nature stands still. [W]hat is the origin of this new world[?] It was not in the original intention, in the immed. purpose of creation; it must then lie within humnty itself. But how could it have been within the power of humnty to make everything waver, after everything was complete, at peace[?] Another question is: What change took place and how did die außergottliche Welt, which we know from paganism, appear— an außergottlich Welt in relation to which revelation first became explicable—for to what end, otherwise?—and how was it possible except by means of a break in the unity of God, [a break] that cannot proceed from God? From whence did humnty receive this power? Instead of infinite causality, one must always think of an infinite passivity. We must understand that creation in not einfach Akt; it is positive and negative, and these two cannot both be posited by the same elements.

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33

33

Jan. 26

If creation emerged einfach, solely by the infinite causality of God, then freedom could not be preserved—there are multiple causes, each of which in itself is infinite but in relation to each other finite. From all eternity, the creator discovers in himself a potency, ein entzündbare Wille, This will is without limit, and thus impotent, is matter, substrate. The cause that posits matter is not the same as the cause that posits form. Matter as such is bestimmungslos. There are not multiple creators, for the causes in themselves produce nothing. There is only one creator; he teaches the causes to work together, as it were. That which appears, then, as the final result of creation, is free from the first cause thanks to the second, is free from B thanks to A, is free just as the weight, as the beam, in a scale. It also has a relation to the third potency (in quam), with respect to which only a free relation is possible. In creation's final production all Spannung is cancelled, and it stands among the 3 potencies, independent of them all, hovering, like pure movement, sheer freedom. Matter lies in the Spannung of the potencies, and already here

3 der Kreis des Geschehens] *German,* the circle of events **18** einfach Akt] *German,* simply an act **26** ein entzündbare Wille] *German,* a will that can be ignited **29** bestimmungslos] *German,* indeterminate **35** in quam] *Latin,* to which (here in the sense of final cause or telos to which things tend)

the immateriality of the hum. soul is apparent. Creation's ultimate production is not a thing, but Leben, Hauch, though only as conditioned; it possesses it only at that point, so long as it remains there. Humnty is posited in it, but as absolute mobility; it therefore has the possibility of positing itself apart from it. For this reason, hum. beings were commanded to remain at this point.—Hum. beings possess B, but they do so only as creatures and thus only as possibility, not as God, who possesses it in order to make it actual. Nevertheless, this possibility appears as the potency of a second becoming. He [man, Adam] is commanded not to move B. In Midrasch Kohelet, it is said that the creator speaks in this way to the newly created human: "Take care that you do not rattle my world; for if you shake it, nothing (nothing new) can calm it."—This prohibition shows hum. beings the possibility of doing just that.—For humnty, B is thus the Nicht-Seyn-Sollende, the forbidden fruit.—A supernatural will would have been needed to withstand the temptation; in a sense, the transition that occurred was a natural one.—But the consequence did not turn out to be what humnty wanted. Like God, man had wanted to set the potencies in motion; er wollte mit ihnen walten—but this is not his to do. Humnty was, therefore, υστερουμενος της δοξης του θεου (not glory for God, but the glory of God) because it wanted to lay claim to God's Herrlichkeit.—What hum. beings wanted was the same transformation, the same externalization (Auswendung) of potencies that God brought about, the same universio, so to speak. In God's self-concept, B is the most negated and inward-turned, whereas in creation it is the most 354 outward-turned. Such is div. irony, which thus turns a new face outward, for which reason we must be cautious. The world is unum *versum,* universum, that which turns about. In this way, hum. beings thought to gain eternal life by turning this principle outward. Hum. beings did not become the masters of it, but were mastered by it. This principle is not merely an außergottlich one, but wiedergöttlich. The world, divorced from God, is bereft of its Herrlichkeit, has no point of unity—which humans were to have been—and becomes wholly subordinated to externality; the one has steadily lost its elemental significance; everything disintegrates into Einzelnes. This extrnl world continually seeks its end and never finds it in this eternal appearance. Humnty had thought it could achieve a divine eternal life by means of this principle. Humanity could not, of course, annul the substance of the world, but it could

2 Leben, Hauch] *German,* life, breath **15** Nicht-Seyn-Sollende] *German,* that which ought not to be **19** er wollte mit ihnen walten] *German,* he wanted to rule by means of them **21** υστερουμενος της δοξης του θεου] *Greek,* lacking in the glory of God **24** Auswendung] *German,* turning outward **25** universio] *Latin,* turning around or toward a single point **28** unum versum, universum] *Latin,* turned toward one point, hence "universe" (i.e., "gathered into a unity") **37** Einzelnes] *German,* particulars

alter its shape; instead of unity in God, it became Zerissenheit. A new movement arises through this annulled unity, a new Spannung among the potencies; previously this was divinely willed; now it is posited by humans. God, as it were, is ousted from potency as humnty take his place. "Behold, the man has become like one of us"; people have wanted to translate this as "ist gewesen," but this goes against linguistic usage; people have wanted to explain Elohim with respect to his natures, but such a communicative pluralis, in which God sits himself down among his natures, is impossible. There is indeed designated a plurality of potencies through which God knows himself, i.e., in his divinity. This is the potency that was entrusted to humnty for safekeeping. In the calm of creation, in the calm of that principle, the second and third personalities were posited; through the transformation of this principle, these must in turn be cast out of their Herrlichkeit in hum. consciousness, so that the second personality acts merely as potency, not as div. personality, likewise the third, as πνευμα του κοςμου.

34

34.

Jan. 28

We must consider more closely the historical relation among these 3 personalities as they are presented in the N. T. The Son speaks here of obedience to the Father, in this manner attributing to himself a free, independent will, at least as possibility. This passage cannot be understood solely in reference to Xt's human nature, inasmuch as [Christ's] becoming human is itself presented as voluntary. To conceive of such a relation as the culmination of creation is impossible. There was only one personality, the Father; the Son had no independent Seyn, only a common Seyn. Thus, our perspective
355 here falls short of full agreement with the χn [perspective]. We have seen that that unity did not come into being at the end of creation; it remained only idea, and something new emerged, namely B, brought back to itself, which is the hum. being. Hum. beings possessed B as mere possibility; they could elevate it to actuality. It cannot be demonstrated a priori that they have actually done so. On the assumption that this has happened, it then follows that the 2nd and 3rd personalities in the divinity are as such entwirklicht and excluded from the consciousness over which B reigns; they are thereby in one Seyn, [a Seyn] independent of the Father, which they receive from [their own] humnty when they return to their Herrlichkeit; [they] receive it not simply as given by the Father, but as self-

1 Zerissenheit] *German,* fragmentation **6** ist gewesen] *German,* has been **8** pluralis] *Latin,* plurality **17** πνευμα του κοςμου] *Greek,* spirit of the cosmos

acquired. To us, the second personality is especially important. The Son's being is now suspended by the activity of humankind, as it was in creation by the Father's. In that unity at the end of creation, the Son was only in the Father, not independent of him. Now he is the Son of Man, as God's Son [he is] υιος του ανθρωπου. Since Kant's time, this expression has been understood to refer to the primal human being, the human being par excellence; but in the N. T. it is used not as a title of honor, but as a title of denigration. Now a new process arises in which the excluded second potency posits itself in its actus, a process that is not divinely willed, is even against God's will. This must, however, be said with great caution and not unconditionally; because then God might not have willed the world at all; but he did foresee, in addition, the Son as a personality independent of him. The activity of the Father extended only as far as that unity; were it to be broken, he would not be able to unite it again. A static world was possible through the Father and the Sohn begriffen in him (as demiurgic cause), but not a free world outside of God, extra deum. This world is possible only through the Son. In creation, the Son was counted on to save what must inevitably fall away from him. "All is entrusted to me by the Father"; this does not refer to the original entrusting in creation; τα παντα is in this case the created order, which is entrusted to his care. There would be no world of freedom ohne Voraussicht des Sohnes. En außergottlich world is necess. in order to gain freedom vis-à-vis God. When, by that Ur-That (sin), the world is posited apart from God, how does it survive, and how do the potencies maintain their power; for they exist, nonetheless, only through the will of the one who wills all in all. Will remains, but as Unwille, as Zorn.

35. **35**

Jan. 29

B had thus become master of itself, and the purpose of creation was thereby achieved, but humnty had the possibility of positing itself anew as B. Even at the conclusion of creation, God's unity is 356 and is not, as hmnty wills it. In the final moment of creation, therefore, unity was posited as the possibility placed before humnty.— After that Urthat, God effects this world's substance, not its form, because the world is the object of Unwille; he acts not as Father; this is possible only when the Son is. It had been within the power of the creator to take back the Seyn of the whole world, but then [in that case] he would not have created it at all. Consequently, there are two

5 υιος του ανθρωπου] *Greek,* Son of Man **16** Sohn begriffen] *German,* Son comprehended **21** τα παντα] *Greek,* all things **23** ohne Voraussicht des Sohnes] *German,* without the foresight of the Son **25** Ur-That] *German,* primordial act **28** Unwille . . . Zorn] *German,* displeasure, [as] wrath

ages: (1) the age of the Father, in which the Son is not outside the Father, but only in the Father; (2) the age of the Son—this is the entire time of this world; the Son exists as an independent person outside the Father. Here again there are two epochs. Humnty has fallen into B's power, the divine displeasure apparent throughout the entire race. In the beginning, when the power of this principle is unbroken, the vermittelnde person is in his highest negation and suffering (these words mean the same); he is aus seiner δοξα und Herrlichkeit gesetzt, in deepest abasement, finds no place in consciousness, is unfree, acts not according to will but according to nature, is Virken-Müssende. This is *paganism,* in which the vermittelnde personality does not act according to his will. It is the suffering of this second personality, as it is expressed in the O. T., in Isaiah, for example. The Messiah is the Lord's Anointed, but the Anointed is still not king. [T]he O. T. depicts not so much his coming suffering as his present [suffering]; he is in suffering from the time of the world's creation, as a potency posited in the deepest degradation, excluded from Seyn. When this potency has made itself lord over Seyn, he can then lead it back to God. With the freedom of the second person, a new age begins; he can do with Seyn what he pleases, in accordance with his div. will. This is Xnty. The content of this course of events is the content of revelation.

When humnty awakens that principle, the higher potencies are entwirklicht. Inwardly they indeed retain div. meaning; externally they are außergottliche powers. The development that now takes place is characterized by 2 things. (1) It occurs solely in hum. consciousness—there are Spannungen here; everything human is related to consciousness, and it takes place in a process analogous to the first; (2) this process is purely natural; divinity has no part in it and is in fact excluded. The two personalities do indeed participate, but because they are outside God they are related merely as potencies and natural powers. Nevertheless, this process is also a theogonic process. Paganism lacks this theogonic fundament; thus the apostle's words—the one in whom σπερμα του θεου remains does not sin—come to mind when one remembers that, in the N. T. 357 αμαρτια refers essentially to paganism as idolatry. In its new form, B is the God-negating principle; when it is again brought back to itself, it is the God-positing, actu-positing [principle]. This return would not be possible if the potency, which by its nature is destined to overcome B, did not retain its relationship to the process and participate in it—if it failed (no longer by the Father's activity but by its own) to become master of it and [thus] able to do with it what it

7 vermittelnde] *German,* mediating **8** aus seiner δοξα und Herrlichkeit gesetzt] *German and Greek,* placed outside his glory and lordship **11** Virken-Müssende] *Danish-German,* that which must act **34** σπερμα του θεου] *Greek,* God's seed **36** αμαρτια] *Greek,* sin

willed. The apostle Paul says of the pagans that they are αθεοι εν τω κοσμω; εν τω κοσμω is a more detailed explanation: they were without God and subjected to the cosmic potencies. It is here that the transition must be made to the Philosophie der Mythologie which must come first. The mediating personality, excluded from Seyn, must make himself lord before he can appear as personality and act in accordance with freedom. His Thun as free That is the content of revelation. The deeper presupposition of revelation is mythology. A Philosophie der Mythologie can present the mythological representations as well as the causes of these representations. These are found primarily in the mysteries, which form a Corollarium to mythology and the immed. transition to the Philosophie der Offenbarung. The Anlaß, das Vermittelnde, and Ziel are the same as in the first theogonic process.

36. **36**

Jan. 31

The creation was complete, but it was built on shifting ground. When one surveys the stages of the preceding development, it must be said that everything presses on toward the world in which God for the first time has a free world external to himself, to the world in which we live. All the stages traversed are doubtless actualities, but prior to this world they are mere ideas. The personalities cannot be posited without any relation to themselves; they have only stepped away from their divinity, acting as potency and necessity; they must follow hum. beings, cannot escape doing so, but must enter into the widergöttliche process. [T]his process is merely a repetition of the first process. Three things are to be noted: (1) the universal, (2) the various stages, and (3) the causes.

The stages of the second theogonic process are the same as the first theogonic process. It differs in that it takes place in consciousness. Once begun, it is a [process] independent of human freedom. It proclaims itself only through representations. These are the mythological representations. They can be explained neither as inventions nor as accidental confusion (presupposing a preceding revelation or science), but only as necessary Erzeugniße of a consciousness that has fallen under cosmic potencies. They do not come from without but are results of a distinctive life-process. Neither are they accidental interior productions (e.g., of a particular mental faculty, of imagination); they are the productions of substance. An explanation is thereby given of (1) the faith that humnty, befangne in this

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1 αθεοι εν τω κοσμω] *Greek,* without God in the world **4** Philosophie der Mythologie] *German,* philosophy of mythology **7** Thun … That] *German,* deed [as free] act **11** Corollarium] *Latin,* corollary **12** Philosophie der Offenbarung] *German,* philosophy of revelation **13** Anlaß, das Vermittelnde … Ziel] *German,* occasion, mediating [and] goal **35** Erzeugniße] *German,* products **40** befangne] *German,* captured

process, bestows on them. They are not merely imagined powers but the theogonic forces themselves, not mere ideas but the very forces that operate in nature and have also taken possession of consciousness; (2) its relation to nature and its Erscheinung. Mythology has been viewed as a theory of nature. But this is not the case. The same world-creating potencies are active in nature and in mythology.

One might ask: What did hum. beings do in that prehistoric time—and the answer must be: the time was occupied with developments that accompany mythology. Peoples acquired external history only after that inward process was complete. Until that time, humnty was in a kind of ecstatic state, from which it later progressed to a more besonnen [state]. In this state, humnty had no sense of external conditions. With each new people, the process advanced a step further. The mythologies of even the most diverse peoples resemble one another because what is present at a later stage was implicit in an earlier one, or what was present in an earlier stage remains implicit. Mythologies are thus not independent of one another; they are stages in the universal mythology-producing process.

How, then, does the upheaval that is the beginning of all mythology reflect itself in the beginning of mythological consciousness? At the conclusion of creation, this principle, which resides in humanity, is brought back to its an sich and is to dwell in hum. beings as intransitive Seyn-Könnende, is to remain there as potency. Because mankind did not do this, the principle presented itself to him as S[eyn]-Können. This possibility is capable of nothing; humnty must resolve to will it. In this condition (i.e., as long as this possibility merely appears before humnty, without humnty having made its choice), this possibility can appear only as the *feminine,* as something attracting the will, as the alluring. This stage is depicted in mythology as a feminine being [as] Persephone, who corresponds to the Duas of the Pythagoreans. Persephone, however, is only a reflection of the beginning of the beginning of this condition. The origin itself is surprising; only in the finale does consciousness become clear. Genesis teaches something similar. 3 things are especially noteworthy: (1) humnty's first sin is leading astray; (2) woman is the accessible side; (3) the seductive principle is the serpent. The serpent is an image of eternity, which becomes corruptible as soon as it is broken, which is suggested by the serpent's upright gait, by its standing on end. [I]t is natura anceps. In the Greek mysteries, it is also taught that Zeus approaches Persephone as a snake, for, as it is said, the Persephone who remains entirely within

12 besonnen] *German,* reflective **40** natura anceps] *Latin,* of a dual nature

is a maiden; the one who appears outwardly is a mother. [T]he mythological process is a universal fate to which the entire hum. race is subjected.

37. et 38. **37**

Feb. 1

The Epochs in the Mythological Process.

[a](he lectures for 2 hours at a time).

Epoch I. A. The process begins with the schrankenlos Seyn of that principle in whose power B finds itself. [T]he principle itself, not its representations, has seized control of consciousness, which is not free in relation to it. The essence of humnty is posited in the time that was prior to all nature; for that principle is nature's prius, and to that extent it is natur-widrige and wants nothing to do with nature, since it became the foundation of nature by becoming limited. It is a principle that consumes everything, allowing nothing to endure—the lasting prius that magically draws all potencies to itself (as ruhende Wille). If, however, it emerges, it thrusts the higher potencies away from itself, nonetheless wanting to retain its central position and not confess itself entgeistet. The battle is betw. this principle, which wants to be übermaterial, and the higher potencies. It is the same element as that which characterized nature's becoming. Every element stakes its claim to being the center, while a higher power consigns it to the periphery. It is the astral system; nature's primal principle becomes the world system. Sabianism (from Seba, army, host), the heavenly host. The object of worship is not the corporeal aspect of the stars, it is the truly astral, which is Ueberkörperliche, the fundamental basis for all sidereal movements, rather than a particular manifestation, e.g., the beneficent power of the sun. They arrive at this system neither through sense perception nor through thought, but humnty's inner being was posited together with this sidereal principle. [H]um. beings thus lived as wanderers, as nomads. It was the same necess. that underlay the sidereal principle and their nomadic journeys. They [humans] saw in the sidereal relations a prototype for their own lives. The oldest religion is thus in a certain sense monotheism, insofar as the object of worship was but a single principle.

B. Here, the subordination of the hitherto reigning principle to the higher powers means only that the principle makes itself conquer*able* without actually being conquered. Previously, the principle was Uranos, as heaven, lord. Now the principle becomes feminine. Ura- 360

12 natur-widrige] *German,* anti-nature **16** ruhende Wille] *German,* reposing will **18** entgeistet] *German,* devoid of spirit **19** übermaterial] *German,* beyond matter **26** Ueberkörperliche] *German,* beyond the corporeal

nia. Sabianism is not mythology. Mythology arises only through successive polytheisms. The first god is succeeded by a second, for Urania is only a transition. Here we have the first historical peoples, for whom the worship of the stars has already become material, as when the Persians worship particular heavenly bodies, the sun and the moon. It is the material. They also sacrificed to Urania. Babylonians, Assyrians, Arabs. [A]mong the Babylonians, it was called Melita. The second god is already foreshadowed by the Babylonian custom that in honor of Melita every woman had to commit public adultery in her temple. Among the Arabs this second god appears as Urania's son Dionysus. This is our second potency, which vanquishes that principle; it is the liberating god, but he can only act successively. The different representations of the god have their basis in this, differing with respect to the moment at which he is first born into actuality, differing with respect to the beginning of his activity, and [differing with respect to its] perfection. The period we are now describing is [that of] the peaceful existence of Urania and this second god. Is it the god of true human life.

C. The struggle betw. the principle that has become conquerable and the potency that leads it back to its an sich. Here new divisions appear with respect to the sequence of the conflict.

(1) Consciousness opposes the activity of the liberating god. It was feminine toward the other god only as long as he was not active; this principle now resists [the other god] as active. Phoenicians, Syrians, Carthaginians. Baal, the original name of Uranos. He does not acknowledge the other god but nonetheless has him alongside himself. [L]ikewise Molok, Chronos. The liberating god shows himself only after having defeated that principle. The liberating god remains an intermediary being; here he is like a negated god; he must acquire his divinity. Hercules of the Phoenicians. Heracles is a forerunner of Dionysus; he is the son of god, displaced from his divinity. Chronos is the false God; he can exclude him from lordship and kingdom but not from Seyn, just as the Messiah in the O. T. is depicted as the suffering one in the form of a servant. Among the Greeks, Heracles, having endured hardships, actually elevates himself to [the position of] god.

(2) Here, again, the transition is formed by a feminine being. Chronos becomes feminine; it is Cybele. These are the peoples who follow the Phoenicians and the Canaanites. The Phrygians, the Greeks, Rome (for whom the worship of Cybele always remained religio
361 peregrina). Through Urania, the process became possible; in Cybele it becomes actual, in a decided polytheism.

40 religio peregrina] *Latin,* a foreign religion

3) full-blown Polytheism.
Egyptian; Indian; Greek.

The principle of polytheism is a successive appearance of the potencies. Initially, there is only one potency (Uranos); next a second potency, destined to conquer. The first defeat of B, or what could be called its foundation, καταβολη, is Urania. From Urania to Cybele, there are only two principles; now, genuine overcoming takes place, and this becomes the substratum for that which truly must be; and thus we are dealing with the totality of potencies.—The entire mythological process revolves around only these 3 potencies. These are the causes and, as lords and gods of consciousness, they are the essential causes. In A (First Epoch) it is the excluding god; in B, the coming of the second god, his birth; in C, the coming of the third potency. Spirit can arrive only when the unspiritual has been brought to the point of expiration. The genuine overthrow.

The material gods, which originated together with the true causes, ϑεου γεννητου must be differentiated from the potencies. The formal and material gods must be distinguished. In the first period, when the principle wants to maintain its centrality but cannot, it sunders itself into a number of elements for consciousness; from these [elements come] the sidereal gods, which are caused and do not [themselves] belong among the causes.—In the second period, Urania and Dionysus are the formal gods, the truly active gods; the material gods are the star gods, the remnants of Sabianism that more and more pass over into the material.—In the third epoch, Chronos and Heracles are the active gods; Chronos is inorganic. The Greeks, too, have passed through this inorganic age. True fetishism belongs to the inorganic period; it is benighted worship.—In the following phase, Cybele and Dionysus are side by side. Cybele is magna deorum mater. she is the mother of the material gods, who come into being when the process begins. Gotter Vielheit is a simultaneous polytheism; Vielgotterei is successive polytheism.—The true inner understanding of mythology is contained in these 3 potencies. Mythology achieves this esoteric understanding only at its conclusion. From Cybele on, the third potency arises as soon as the first potency is powerful enough to overcome the second. From now on, every mythology contains all the potencies. But how, then, are the differences to be explained? They exist because the totality of potencies always manifests itself differently. Here again 3 versions are possible, though every mythology includes all 3.—[T]he 362

6 καταβολη] *Greek,* beginning **17** ϑεου γεννητου] *Greek,* born of God **30** magna deorum mater] *Latin,* great mother of the gods **31** Gotter Vielheit] *German,* god-plurality **32** Vielgotterei] *German,* plurality of gods

Egyptian [mythology] has the most heated battle with the blind principle, which is indeed mastered, but its last strength is consumed in the process. It is Typhon's struggle to the death, [the death of] the material principle. Osiris is the good divinity. Victory is uncertain; at one point, T[yphon] is torn to bits, at another, O[siris]. Only when Horos, the third potency, arrives is T[yphon] overcome. Isis is the principle, linked to God, which hovers between T[yphon] and O[siris] until it gives birth to Horos. T[yphon] himself becomes Osiris. He exists, in fact, only in his opposition to Osiris; when transformed into Osiris, he is invisible, the god of the underworld. The second is Osiris himself. The third is Horos, who is Geist. These are the formal gods. The material [gods] come into being in and through the course of battle and are like trembling limbs.

38 39. et 40.

Feb. 2

The Indian. [I]n Egyptian [mythology] consciousness still clings painfully to the material principle; here, however, consciousness is eccentric turmoil without any self-control; that principle is overwhelmed by the higher potencies. Brahma, which is that principle, has in a way disappeared, is verschollen, Gott der Vergangenheit without temple and worship, (in the same way, though not quite like this, Typhon was Gott der Vergangenheit), enjoying no adoration, altogether vanished, with no tie to consciousness.—Shiva, the God of destruction, rules in his stead—there is also the third potency, Vishnu. These 3 potencies do not unite in the Indian consciousness as they do in the Egyptian, still less than in the χn [consciousness]. V[ishnu] has his own particular devotees, who shun Shiva, and likewise Shiva has his. The masses are dedicated to Shiva alone, the higher classes to Vishnu. Indian consciousness shifts now to fable, to the legends regarding Vishnu's incarnations, particularly as Krishna. This is not mythology; it is simply Ausgeburt einer haltungslosen Imagination. Buddha is of no further concern to us, in part because he is genuinely alien to the Indians and in part because this teaching is really only a reaction against the mythology. Buddh[ism] and the mysticism, idealism, and spiritualism awakened by it serve to complete the unhappy Indian consciousness.

Greek m[ythology] does not give up the god who perished, as did the Indian Brahma; it preserves him spiritually. In Indian m[ythology], too, the process has its crisis, but this is only unto destruction; 363 Shiva is only the destroyer, not the liberator. The crisis ends in de-

20 verschollen . . . Vergangenheit] *German,* missing, God of the past **31** Ausgeburt . . . Imagination] *German,* offspring of an unstable imagination

cay; there is no abiding result. Then a fictive mythology appears, or that false tendency toward unification: spiritualism. The consciousness of unity remains in Greek m[ythology] and encompasses all its elements, whereas with the Indians it degenerates into that despairing nihilism. The Indian gods are also verzerrte; the Greek are beautiful, blessed visions in which the material principle does indeed vanish from sight but is coactive; the Greek gods are representatives of eternal elements, the gentle sound of the material principle, which in its disappearance leaves behind a beautiful world, but they are still only Erscheinungen, lacking flesh and blood; they resemble imaginings and yet they are, for consciousness, the most real of beings. The bestial has now disappeared. It is the same with the world of the Greek gods as with the principle of nature, which, after the pitched battle with the animal kingdom, ends in humnty's gentle strains. Just as when the material principle entirely verscheidet, so that the potencies, held in Spannung by this principle, cancel the tension and contact one another in unity, so, also, with the god-creating potencies in consciousness. The first principle is the material principle; it is hergestellt in its an sich; thus it is the invisible god, αιδης, Hades, at the moment it becomes invisible and in this manner still belongs among the material gods. He is the third, the deepest source of Göttervielheiten; only when he is overcome and becomes invisible does Gottervielheit, the whole Olympus, arise. He is invisible among the material gods; if he could become visible, everything would have to disappear. His dwelling is therefore a terror even to the gods. Likewise, if the invisible prius in nature became visible, all nature would perish. Something similar is found in Egyptian m[ythology], where the gods fear that Typhon may become visible. Hades, however, is not only this moment; he is Alles an sich, or matter, the common ground of the gods—not only of those who appear with Zeus as well as in the time of Chronos and Uranos—as pure potency and pure cause. Consciousness arrives at a univrsl concept of this god, who has become the stuff of all the gods; he is no particular god; he is a univrsl god and can have only one of the formal gods vis-à-vis himself; he no longer excludes the other potencies. The Greeks are conscious of this spiritual principle. Their gods are not partial gods but universal; like humnty, they are to be found at the conclusion of creation, enclosed by all 3 potencies. There is a difference betw. an exoteric and an esoteric doctrine of god. But these two doctrines of god are contemporaneous and do not cancel each other. The esoteric arose when the material principle was brought back to the inner realm; it arose

5 verzerrte] *German,* deformed **15** verscheidet] *German,* passes away **19** hergestellt] *German,* produced

364 through the process that posits the extrnl.—[W]ithout the esoteric, the exoteric is annulled, for if the emergent exoteric god were not to become esoteric, then the extrnl exoteric plurality would be impossible.—The mysteries contain the genuine esoteric doctrine of God.—We have two transitional phases: (1) the material principle renders itself conquerable (2) it is actually overthrown. Both transitions are represented by a female god. Is there not a third moment in which the material principle is not an object of actual overcoming but is actually overcome, in which consciousness occupies a middle ground betw. a past in which the material principle disappears and a present in which it aufgeht[?] In any case, consciousness represents the feminine element. At every stage, god is determinate and is succeeded by another. In the same way, consciousness is in each of its stages determinate, but it is also more, as it is god-positing in general. Likewise, the goddesses, too, are more[.] Rhea and Gaea are consecrated to the future. Demeter, a feminine being, is the consciousness that stands betw. mythology and mystery. Demeter (Ceres of the Romans) continuously sides with the material principle, in its defeat begriffne, but still only begriffne. The female god is always a consciousness either of the god who stands over against her or of the one who is to come, either the consort or the mother. Demeter later becomes mother; at present she is Poseidon's consort. Poseidon corresponds to Dionysus and is the material prototype. Subsequently, Demeter is the consciousness devoted to Dionysus's influence, as the actually overcome. Demeter [is] what Urania and Cybele [were] earlier. [T]he material principle is now overcome, consciousness must give up the excluding god, cutting off this principle from itself; consciousness certainly feels itself bound to it, but it feels, too, that this bond lacks reality. Persephone is this consciousness. [T]he material principle is isolated as belonging to the Vergangenheit, as belonging to the Gott der Vergangenheit—it is forcibly torn away, plundered; this is the significance of the ravishing of Persephone. Demeter will not acknowledge it; she clings to the material principle and grieves; therefore neither will she acknowledge the emergent Göttervielheit, the Dionysian plurality of gods (somewhere Dionysus is depicted with the attributes of Zeus). Consequently, Demeter must be reconciled. This is the limit of exoteric mythology. With her [Demeter's] pacification and compensation for her loss, genuine Seyn-Sollende, which cannot enter into that plurality, begins to show itself. Here we have the mysteries, the Eleusinian mysteries. The mysteries of Demeter. [T]heir content is not agricultural or physical truth, as a French author has claimed,

11 aufgeht] *German,* emerges **19** begriffne] *German,* comprehended

writing, among other things, that the whole thing was a course in agriculture. With agriculture, the unstable life ceased and true human life began, but because of this the astral also ceased. It is thus the significance of agriculture for morals that concerns us here. It is for this reason that Demeter is also called θεσμοφορος. Isocrates groups the mysteries and agriculture together as the gifts of Demeter. Sabianism is always [to be found] where there are no fixed dwellings; Tacitus mentions the Germans in this connection. Because hum. beings turn away from the universal God, from the boundless, they demand limitation; but when they have experienced the shortcomings of civic life, they again long for that limitlessness, for the wide dome of heaven. Among both the Greeks and the Romans, Uranos and Chronos become fused in the same representation. When thoughts then turn from the restrictions of civic life to infinity, the latter was pictured as a golden age, and Chronos was the god of this golden age: "Then it was forbidden to fence in one's fields!" [T]hus the Romans assigned the golden age to Saturn.—Among the Phrygians, Cybele was the foundress of agriculture.—Curiously enough, although the Babylonians placed so much emphasis on their edifices and on the land, the people who followed them (the Phoenicians, etc.), wholly abandoned this and turned to the sea. The Egyptians, in contrast, regarded the sea as the Typhonic element.—Demeter thus expressed this duality: that the astral principle perished and that agriculture emerged. One could perhaps go further: none of the proper types of seeds is found growing wild. A Spanish author who traveled widely in South America points out that certain plants, otherwise not found there, appeared on their own when humans dwelled there. Thus human nature seems to have a secret relation to nature, the power to tap into it. Perhaps people wanted to suggest this with Demeter.—Neither can Persephone be said to have physical significance. She in fact resembles the seed of grain, but Persephone does not signify the seed; it must rather be said that the seed of grain signifies Persephone. Persephone is die Potens des Gottsetzens in dem Bewußtseyn, varying according to its being purely inward or appearing externally, just as Persephone both concealed herself in the inner realm and at other times appeared. True monotheism existed as potency in primal consciousness because its opposite was possible. Its opposite appeared in relative monoth. in order that the true unity could reveal itself as actual.

5 θεσμοφορος] *Greek,* lawgiver **34** die Potens . . . Bewußtseyn] *German,* the potency of positing god in consciousness

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41.

Feb. 3

Persephone is thus the true mythology-positing principle, its germ; she must really be concealed. When she appears, she herself becomes a moment in a theogonic process. Here, however, only a natural monotheism, different from revealed monotheism remains.

One learns of Demeter's reconciliation from Homer's hymns. Demeter says, "I will institute the mysteries so that you will be able to reconcile my mind. The mysteries are also called Dionysian. Up to this time, Dionysus was merely the second potency, the liberating god. Customarily, his activity announces itself in unrestrained excitement, orgiasm; liberated from the material principle, consciousness becomes Taumel. Initially he [Dionysus] is contemporary with Urania. [T]hese excesses are also called "Sabazia," which indicates the destruction of the older religion (the word itself alludes to Sabianism, which perishes here, forming in this way the transition to genuine mythology); nevertheless, they were not common [practice] but only hidden ceremonies. In Egypt, there is an analogy, the phallic ceremonies.—Dionysus is an element that pervades all mythologies, and without this element, there is no mythology. Therefore Sabianism is not really a mythology. The idea of Dionysus, however, transcends Dionysus himself, and only then does the idea appear in all its magnificence. This Dionysus is the son of Semele, a mortal mother, whose mortal element was consumed by her relation to Zeus. Although the cause of all the material gods, Dionysus is the youngest in mythology; he was concealed in Zeus after his birth. His first opponent was King Lycurgus, who is mentioned in the *Iliad*. It is curious, all the same, that Homer's Dionysus is not the finished god but the growing one.—Then Pentheus, King of Thrace, finally Orpheus. He was torn to pieces by the Maenads. Orpheus is the representative of a previous age that is at odds with Dionysus's own age. This consciousness fragments. Homer himself is the final consummation of exoteric mythology. Homer's power consists precisely in the force with which he excludes the past. In it, there is always the power to suppress the past. Homer is beautiful youth. Homer belongs to the time in which the Greek people separated themselves from the universally hum. in such a way that they were not really a people. Dionysus is Occidentalism; Orpheus is still Orientalism (perhaps Orpehus is related to ορφναιος the dark).

14 Taumel] *German,* frenzy **41** ορφναιος] *Greek,* dark

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42. **40**

Feb. 4

NOTEBOOK 12

NOTEBOOK 12

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Aesthetica.

20 November. 1842.

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2

Literature.

Casaubonus de Romana Satira.
Braemer von wahrem *Begriffe der Dichtkunst*.
Bacon de augmentis scientiarum [(]Tom 1. Lib. II p. 125).? He regards *the imagination* as the source of poetry; excludes from poetry satires, elegies, epigrams, odes, and divides it into the narrative, dramatic, and parabolic.
Baumgarten de nonnullis ad poema pertinentibus § 9. "ein Gedicht ist ein vollkommen sinnliche Rede.["] (cf. Curtius p. 354.).
Scaliger Poetices Lib. 1. cap. II. (cf. Curtius p. 352) declares [it to be] a blend of true and false (analogies to imitation and discovery).
Gatakerus annotationes ad M: Antonini Lib: XI § 6.
Athenæus Lib. VI. cap. 1. p. 223. a passage from Timocles on the intention of tragedy (cf. Curtius p. 395.).

9 ein Gedicht . . . sinnliche Rede] *German,* a poem is a perfected sensuous discourse

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3

All boundary conflicts within the sciences are the most difficult kind: the boundary between the doctrine of right and the doctrine of ethics, morals and dogmatics, psychology and morality, etc. Generally the particular science is dealt with individually, and then one has a lot to say. One does not think that perhaps suddenly everything can be revoked if the fundamental concept needs to be revised. This applies especially to aesthetics, which has always been well cultivated—though almost always in isolation. A large portion of aestheticians are poets. Aristotle is an exception. He easily sees that it has a relation to rhetoric, ethics and politics.

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4 The relation between aesthetics and ethics.—the transition—*pathos-laden*, not dialectical, which begins a qualitative, different dialectic.—To what extent are poetry and art reconcilable with life.—One thing is true in aesthetics, another in ethics?—cf Curtius p. 388.

[a] Marthensen?

[b] Poetry makes one soft. That was already Plato's opinion.

[c] The tragic wants to elevate, the comic to ameliorate. (The general nonsense about satire and the theater.—The significance of the theater—Lessing Rhabeck.—Its meaning in antiquity. A national institute. Hence, free.—now, paid-for.—The church.

5 What should the relation be between a lyric poet and his poem?

6 How does ideality arise for the lyrical poet—The epic poet has material and the muse; for the lyrical poet the muse is itself the material; the epic poet conjures the muse; the lyrical poet is in love with the muse, whether it be a happy love or not.

[a] In tragedy the hero is destroyed. This is supposed to reconcile me to actuality. Is it because this inspires me to a similar heroism? that I grasp how the greatness lies precisely in being destroyed in this way. If so, then I am indeed precisely in discord with actuality, because I assume that it is composed in such a way that the fate of that which is great is that it must be destroyed.

[b] Kant: "disinterested satisfaction." Is it the poet who gains this reconciliation in the production, or the reader and viewer by means of the poet's production? A poet is an unhappy individual, a corresponding sympathy.—

7 The comic is rlly a metaphysical concept. It brings about a metaphysical reconciliation—Hegel's exposition of the comic—Martensen's parroting—

[a] If the tendency of poetry were merely ethical, then punishment and reward ought to follow as quickly as possible upon vice and virtue, for the ethical demands seeing this consequence with infinite speed. What happened to the 5 acts and the complication [in the plot]; for the complication is precisely unethical.

[a]If all poetry is imitation, from what, then, does the verse form arise?

Imitation—Invention.

The joy that every human being finds in imitation, even of that which otherwise terrifies him. cf. chap. 4. Is there not contained in this an indication of the unrest (fear and compassion) that poetry awakens and, at the same time, the calm that it brings.

[a]The aesthetic reconciles the imagination.

Boethius therefore belittles poetic reconciliation cf. Lib. I p. 9. "quis, inquit, has scenicas meretriculas ad hunc ægrum permisit accedere? quæ dolores ejus non modo nullis foverent remediis, verum dulcibus insuper alerent venenis? Hæ sunt enim quæ infructuosis affectuum spinis uberem rationis segetem necant, hominumque mentes assuefaciunt morbo, non liberant.["]

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8 A remark in *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* by Philostratus 2.22ff., pp. 258ff. the translation. cf also p. 523ff.

"All poetry is an imitation" (Aristotle.)—"better, worse, than we [are]"—Here poetry points beyond itself to actuality and metaphysical ideality.—where does the poetic mean lie—Immediately it goes beyond sympathy—Therefore we cannot say that we sympathize with Xst; The scriptures also say the opposite. cf Hebr. 4.

9 δι' ελεου και φοβου περαινουσα την των τοιουτων παθηματων καθαρσιν. Aristotle chap. 6. Dispute about this phrase (Lessing *hamburgische Dramaturgie*,— Correspondence with Nicolai and Moses M.). The meaning is undoubtedly this, that through pity and fear (the medium—their necessity and aesthetic meaning) tragedy effects their catharsis by ennobling sympathy. ελεος and φοβος as egoistic categories are the condition for acquiring an aesthetic impression. The effect is that ελεος and φοβος become purely sympathetic, that I forget myself in the aesthetic, purely sympathetic ελεος και φοβος. This is in fact the calmness that the aesthetic gives, not through the thought that others suffer more, but in being lost in the contemplation of the aesthetic itself, in the aesthetic suffering.

10 Homer is the original inventor of comedy: .. οὑτω και της κωμωδιας σχηματα πρωτος υπεδειξεν, ου ψογον αλλα το γελοιον δραματοποιησας. Aristotle chap. 4. Already here there is an element of the metaphysical; rather than arguing, one laughs.

17 quis, inquit, has scenicas . . . non liberant] *Latin,* Who has allowed these theater tramps visit the sick? They will not be able to relieve his pain with any kind of medicine and, moreover, will simply nourish it with their enchanting poison. It is these women, who, with their feelings' barren thorns, take life from the abundant harvest of reason and accustom people to sickness rather than ridding them of it.

11 δι' ελεου . . . καθαρσιν] *Greek,* with incidents of pity and fear, wherewith to accomplish its catharsis of such emotions **17** ελεος . . . φοβος] *Greek,* pity [and] fear **26** οὑτω και . . . γελοιον δραματοποιησας] *Greek,* so also was he the first to outline for us the general forms of comedy by producing not a dramatic invective, but a dramatic picture of the ridiculous

11 *Curtius translation of Aristotle's Art of Poetry p. 101*
Solon forbid Thespis to perform tragedies in Athens so as not to entice the Athenians into untruth. Thespis introduced one person. Phrynicus used feminine masks on the stage. Women never performed. Aeschylus two persons. (Dialogue?) Sophocles 3. (Situation?).

12 One can see that comedy approaches the metaphysical also by the fact that it has the universal as its object in a sense different from tragedy. Comedy developed from the purely personal.—Epicharmus, Magnetes, Chionnides lived between the 70th and 80th Olympiad; Crates around 450 B.C. He improved comedy; old comedy began. 436 B.C. Aristophanes lived. Lamachus's decree was issued in the year 400, and comoedia media begins.—In the year 332 the newer comedy begins with Menander. (cf. Curtius, p. 110.).

13 In ancient drama love was not the driving force. Yet now, in contemporary drama, this is always the case.

14 The epic lies in continuity; the lyric in discontinuity. The origin of the epic is therefore different from that of the lyric.

15 A remarkable definition of the beautiful. το γαρ καλον εν μεγεθει και ταξει εστι, διο ουτε παμμικρον αν τι γενοιτο καλον ζωον (συγχεῖται γαρ η θεωρια εγγυς του αναισθητου χρονου γενομενη), ουτε παμμεγεθες· ου γαρ ἁμα ἡ θεωρια γινεται, αλλ' οιχεται τοις θεωρουσι το ἑν και το ὁλον εκ της θεωριας, οἱον ει μυριων σταδιων ειη ζῳον. cf. Aristotle chap. 7.—With respect to

[a]The relation between the time of the play and the time in the play—Difficulty.—The category of time—

Why does tragedy require more history than comedy? Because tragedy is less probable. Comedy justifies itself metaphysically. There is a remarkable contradiction in tragedy: it wants to show the extraordinary, but in order that I might believe it, it attaches itself to the historical. Is historical certainty thus a higher argument than the certainty that is immanent to the tragic? Why does one so seldom see purely poetically constructed tragedies. (Riccoboni's tragedy: Arcagambis.) (Lessing Emilie Galloti—its origin. his correspondence with Nicolai.).—What an indirect proof against the absolute reconciliation of poetry and art, that I will not believe them in and for themselves when they manifest the extraordinary, but require an external proof. By contrast, I believe the comic and require no historical proof. If I am to depict a fool, I do not need to give him a historical name; indeed, I almost weaken the effect if I do this; if I am to depict a hero, I must make sure to use a historical person, otherwise no one believes it.

14 comoedia media] *Latin,* middle comedy **22** το γαρ … ειη ζῳον] *Greek,* Beauty is a matter of size and order, and therefore impossible either in a very minute creature, since our perception becomes indistinct as it approaches instantaneity; or a creature of vast size—one, say, one thousand miles long—as in that case, instead of the object being seen all at once, the unity and wholeness of it is lost to the beholder.

this passage, Curtius notes that Aristotle does not acknowledge that there are beautiful children. Perhaps it was not worth knowing whether this was in fact correct. He cites the end of the 4th book of Aristotle's *Ethics*, but this is a very careless citation.[a]

[a]The passage is 4.7, where he speaks of μεγαλοπρεπεια and then en passant remarks: εν μεγεθει γαρ ἡ μεγαλοψυχια ωσπερ και το καλλος εν μεγαλῳ σωματι, οἱ μικροι δ' αστειοι και συμμετροι, καλοι δ' ου.

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16 In the 14th chapter Aristotle arranges tragic plots according to their tragic worth in the following way: 1) a person, with full knowledge, wants to commit a crime, but is hindered in doing it; 2) a person, with full knowledge, commits a crime; 3) a person commits a crime unknowingly, but discovers this after the fact; 4) a person, unknowingly, wants to commit a crime, but is hindered in doing it. This latter has the most tragic worth. He gives examples.

In order properly to understand Aristotle's teaching on the different values of these plots, one must be familiar with his *Ethics*, especially the 3rd book, where he develops the distinction between the voluntary and the involuntary, acting from ignorance and unknowingly. This is especially important with regard to the distinction he draws between a voluntary action and an intentional action.

17 In relation to the comic significance of evil, one can compare a passage in Leibnitz's *Theodicee*, where he cites an English work in which Hell is conceived comically cf § 270. (the English prelate he speaks of must be King?)

2 μεγαλοπρεπεια] *Greek,* magnanimity, prodigality **3** εν μεγεθει . . . δ' ου] *Greek,* for pride implies greatness, as beauty implies a good-size body, and little people may be neat and well-proportioned but cannot be beautiful.

18 # Ideas for My Lectures.

1.

On the Concept of Poetry

2.

Movement through Aesthetics

3.

The Comic. Aesthetics Annulled.

Cultus des Genius.

NOTEBOOK 13

NOTEBOOK 13

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1 Philosophica.

Written from the back [of this notebook] are: Problemata.

Dec. 2, 42.

March 1, 46.

1 Philosophica] *Latin,* philosophical themes **2** Problemata] *Latin,* theses, problems

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M: Georgii Pauli Roetenbeccii Disputatio: de principio Aristotelico et Cartesiano. Altdorf. 1685. **2**

cited in Tennemann *Geschichte der Philos.* 3rd vol. p. 437.

Darvin *Zoonomie* übersetzt v. Brandis. In this work one finds baroque yet original or primitive thoughts. **3**

περας	και απειρον	**4**
περιττον	και αρτιον	
ἑν	και πληθος	
δεξιον	και αριστερον	
αρρεν	και θηλυ	
ηρεμουν	και κινουμενον	
ευθυ	και καμπυλον	
φως	και σκοτος	
αγαθον	και κακον	
τετραγωνον	και ετερομηκες.	

7 περας . . . και ετερομηκες] *Greek,* finite, and infinite / odd, and even / one, and many / right, and left / masculine, and feminine / at rest, and in motion / straight, and crooked / light, and dark / good, and evil / square, and rectangle

385

5 Erdmann *Geschichte der Philosophie*. 2 volumes have been published, in several parts. The second part of the second volume contains Leibnitz and idealism before Kant.

6 In Gotscheden's translation of Leibnitz's *Theodicee* (1763 edition Hanover and Leipzig), in a note on p. 80 on Malebranche's doctrine of passivity, a work by a professor Gabriel Fischer is named: *Vernünftige Gedanken von der Natur; was sie sey? daß sie ohne Gott und seine allweise Beschränkung unmachtig sey; und wie die einige untheilbare göttliche Kraft in und durch ihre Mittelursachen nach dem Maaße ihrer verliehenen Wirkbarkeit oder Tüchtigkeit, hier in der Welt alles wirke*. 1743 no place or publisher. The book was confiscated, he says.

In Gotscheden's translation of Leibnitz's *Theodicee* (pub. 1763), p. 81, a work by a Jesuit Thomas Bonartes *de concordia scientiæ cum fide*.

The Jesuit Friedrich Spee (the one who wrote *cautio criminalis*.) has also written a work in the German language on the Chr. virtues and asserts the power of God's love to forgive sins, even without sacraments and the mediation of the Chr. church. cf. Leibnitz' *Theodicee* 1, § 96.

Franciscus v. Sales de amore Dei.

Cardanus *de utilitate ex adversis capienda*.
Novarinus *de occultis Dei beneficiis*
} cited in L. § 260.

Theagenes and Chariclea a novel by Heliodorus, bishop of Larissa; it is mentioned in Gottscheden's translation of Leibnitz's work on King *de origine mali* (1763 edition); he cites Huetius *de l'Origine des Romans*. There are two German translations, an old one without year or place and a new one by the Lutheran priest, M. Agricola in Mannsfeld, Jena 1750.

Descartes (in his essay *de passionibus*) correctly calls attention to the fact that admiratio has no contrary term (cf artic. LIII). Likewise that cupiditas ought not have its contrary term in aversio, but ought to have no contrary (cf artic. LXXXVII). This is important for my theory of anxiety. cf JJ. p. 3 from the back. **7**

#

This is the birthmark of Descartes's philosophy[:] Having eliminated everything in order to discover himself as a thinking being in such a way that this thinking is precisely myself, he then discovers that he thinks God with the same necessity. At the same time, his system also demands that finitude be rescued in one way or another. The movement toward this conclusion is as follows: God can't deceive; he has implanted all ideas within me; ergo, they are true. In addition, it is also strange that Descartes—who himself, in one of the meditations, explains the possibility of errores by recalling that hum. freedom has predominance over thought—has nonetheless made thought the absolute, not freedom. Here we apparently have the elder Fiche, not cogito ergo sum, but I act ergo sum, for this cogito is something derived or it is also identical with I act; it is either the consciousness of freedom in action and thus it ought not be called cogito ergo sum, or it is the consciousness that comes afterward. **8**

#

It is nice to see the honorable seriousness with which Descartes has understood the idea that one ought to doubt everything, how he doesn't want to offend the established order, doesn't want to entice other peop. into the same doubt. There are plenty of examples of this in his Dissertatio de methodo. I've noted them in my copy. One indeed gets a rather different impression of Descartes when reading him oneself. He is of the opinion that one ought to believe a div. revelation even if it teaches quod naturali lumini contrarium. **9** 387

[a]NB.

This transition is apparently a *pathos-laden* transition, not [a] dialectical [one]; for dialectically speaking, nothing can emerge from it. This is important to me.
Anyone can understand a pathos-laden transition if he wants to, because courage is all that belongs to the infinitude that lies in pathos.
A similar transition happened when Plato let God unite the Idea with matter. (see Tennemann *Gesch. d. Ph.* 1st vol. p. 78, note.).
One can also compare this with that which later became known as systema assistentiæ.
Leibnitz later developed this in his harmonia præstabilita.

[b]The Platonic doctrine of the Idea. see Tenneman. 2nd part, pp. 370, 371. Odd that he denied it re. the origin of language. see Tennemann 2nd part, p. 343.

[c]Pathos-laden transition also in Spinoza. see cogitat. metaph. Pars 1. cap III conclusion. (on freedom and predestination.)

16 systema assistentiæ] *Latin,* cooperative system *(see explanatory note)* **19** harmonia præstabilita] *Latin,* preestablished harmony

2 admiratio . . . cupiditas . . . aversio] *Latin,* admiration . . . desire . . . aversion **18** errores] *Latin,* errors **22** cogito ergo sum] *Latin,* I think, therefore I am **37** quod naturali lumini contrarium] *Latin,* what is contrary to the light of nature

#

10 το γαρ κακον του απειρου, ὡς οἱ Πυθαγορειοι εικαζον, το δε αγαθον του πεπερασμενου.

εσθλοι μεν γαρ απλως, παντοδαπως δε κακοι.

cf Aristotle's *Ethics*. 2nd bk. chap. 5.

#

11 [b]Aristotle indicates that the proposition that virtue is the middle path is rlly only valid with re. to the so-called moral virtues. Here the observation is completely right because the things they struggle with are neither good nor evil; for desire and disinclination are, in and of themselves, neither good nor evil.

#

12 Aristotle distinguishes between 3 sides of the soul: παθη, δυναμεις, εξεις. (Garve translates the last term as abilities[;] cf chap. 5. In Arist. chap. 4 in 2nd book.)

#

13 With re. to Greek aesthetics, what Aristotle says in the 3rd bk. of the *Ethics*, chap. 2 is worth noting: "Something done in ignorance certainly cannot in and of itself be considered voluntary; but it can only be considered completely involuntary if it happens with displeasure and later awakens remorse." When it awakens remorse, it is understood as voluntary; and yet it is only at that moment that Aristotle thinks it can be considered involuntary.

#

14 One will also better understand the Aristotelian proposition about voluntary action if one keeps in mind that an important distinction is made between το

[a]One can see from his distinction betw. virtue and voluntary acts that he does not think virtue is posited as the midpoint every time [one chooses]. The voluntary act is discrete, virtue is continuous. Thus, quite profoundly, he says that the voluntary act is totally within a person's power, virtue isn't, except with respect to its inception, because it is an acquired ability (continuity) 3.8.

[b]The moral virtues pertain only to the irrational parts of the soul[;] cf bk. 6 chap. 1. cf. 10.8.

2 το γαρ . . . κακον] *Greek,* As the Pythagoreans conjectured, evil belongs to the class of the unlimited and good to that of the limited. Goodness is simple, evil manifold. **15** παθη, δυναμεις, εξεις] *Greek,* passions, capacities, dispositions **30** το εκουσιον . . . προαιρησις] *Greek,* the voluntary . . . intention, resolution

εκουσιον and προαιρησις (intention) such that something can be voluntary without being intended. (cf 3 bk. chap. 4). 388

#

In the 3rd bk. chap. 7 Aristotle rejects Socrates' and Plato's idealistic proposition that all sin is ignorance, but he doesn't solve the difficulty because he merely ends in a realistic counterposition. This problem, by the way, is of the greatest importance, and is a suitable topic for a monograph. **15**

1 [a]cf. Arist. *Ethics* 7.3

#

The identity of virtue and beauty is also evident in Arist. 3.10: φοβησεται μεν ουν και τα τοιαυτα, ως δει δε και ως ο λογος υπομενει του καλου ενεκα· *τουτο* γαρ τελος της αρετης. **16**

Aristotle gives an important definition of science in 6.3. The objects of science are things that are capable of being only in one single way; that which is scientifically knowable is thus the necessary, the eternal. For everything that is absolutely necessary is also absolutely everlasting. **17**

With regard to the concept of poesy, it would be good to remember how Aristotle differentiates between [the terms] ποιειν and πραττειν and how he defines art. cf. 6.4.— **18**

It is indeed true that one doesn't always find a rigorous systematic exposition in Aristotle, but there is scarcely anything written by him in which one doesn't sense the systematic thinker, whereas in our time we have plenty of systems in which there isn't a trace of systematic thinking. His *Ethics* is divided into the following sections: books 1-3 on the good, on virtue, and a host of other investigations; books 4–5 on development of the *moral* virtues, i.e., the virtues that have to do with the irrational part of the soul: courage, 389
moderation, generosity ελευθηριοτης., justice. 6th book on *intellectual virtues:* τεχνη, επιστημη, σωφροσυνη, νους, σοφια. Here A. no longer uses his comment about the μεσοτης of virtue. 7th bk. on **19**

11 φοβησεται μεν . . . της αρετης] *Greek,* Therefore, although he will fear even the things that are not beyond human strength, he will fear them as he ought and as reason directs, and he will face them for the sake of what is noble; for this is the goal of virtue. **19** ποιειν . . . πραττειν] *Greek,* create . . . act **29** ελευθηριοτης] *Greek,* generosity **30** τεχνη, επιστημη, σωφροσυνη, νους, σοφια] *Greek,* art, knowledge, moderation, reason, wisdom **31** μεσοτης] *Greek,* middle path

abstinence etc., pleasure. 8th book on friendship; 9th book on friendship. 10th book on pleasures.

20 Aristotle also presents love of self as the highest, that is, in the good sense[;] cf. 9.8, 10.7. "every hum. being's genuine self lies in this part, namely, the intellectual part." He thus recommends the contemplative life as the highest form of happiness. But happiness is in turn the goal of everything, and [he] defines happiness as an *activity* that is desirable in itself (cf. 10.6). cf. 10.8 on the happiness of the gods. Here it is easy to see that Aristotle has not understood this self deeply enough; for contemplative thought has entelechy only in an aesthetic sense. And the happiness of the divine doesn't consist in contemplation but in eternal communication.— Arist. has not understood the definition of spirit. He therefore still recommends external goods, if only as accompaniment, a drapery; but on this point [he] lacks the category needed to complete the movement.

21 In the last chapter of the 10th book Aristotle treats the relationship of ethics to politics, just as he also begins ηθικα μεγαλα with [the assertion] that ethics is part of politics. It is, by the way, strange that his own dialectic almost negates this observation, given that the contemplative life is the highest, and the lower pleasures lie in the exercise of political virtues. (cf. 10.8). But the contemplative life is isolation.—

390

22

Aristotle's *Politics*

In bk. 1 chap. 8 one finds some remarks about marriage that adequately show that the ancient Greeks weren't able to understand marriage.

In the 1st book one finds remarks of a general nature, on the origin of the state, domestic life, its meaning for politics given that the state is made up of families. How the various forms of government are reflected in the relationships of domestic life (master—servant—husband—wife—parents—children.). The 2nd book contains historical surveys of ideal plans for a state, as well as historical states.

10 entelechy] *Greek,* perfection

[The] 3rd book begins with an investigation of what a citizen is, what it is that constitutes a state, to what degree a state remains the same state when the form of government changes.

Leibnitz's Theodicee ubersetzt mit Anmerkungen v. Gottscheden. 1763. Hanover und Leipzig. 23

Introduction is about the compatibility of reason and faith.

p. 52. he uses the expression ["]to see["] for what one can know a priori from proper causes, ["]faith["] for what one infers from effects.

What I usually formulate this way[:] that Xnty lies in paradox, philosophy in mediation, is conveyed by Leib. by differentiating betw. what is above reason and what contradicts reason. Faith is *above* reason. As he says several places, he understands reason to be a chain of truths (enchainement), an inference from causes. Thus, faith cannot be *proven, grounded, comprehended,* for a link is missing that would make the chain possible, and what does this say other than that it [faith] is paradoxical[?] For this is precisely the desultory element of the paradox, which lacks continuity or, at any rate, only has retrospective continuity, that is, does not initially present itself as a continuity. In my opinion, nothing more should be said of Xnty's paradoxicality and unreasonableness than that it is the first form, both for world history and consciousness. 391

The entire dispute betw. Leibnitz and Bayle has its own great significance, and one is astonished when one compares it with the clashes of our time; for we have really regressed; I don't think Hegel rlly understood what it was about.

First Part on evil, God's goodness, etc.
To illustrate God's relationship to evil, he uses an image of a stream and the well-known law of nature l'inertie naturelle des corps cf § 30.

1 [a]In Bayle's *Dictionaire* under the articles: Manicheans, Rorarius, Xenophanes, one finds Bayle's polemic.

18 enchainement] (enchaînement), *French,* chaining together, sequence **37** l'inertie naturelle des corps] *French,* the natural inertia of bodies

Leibnitz thinks that the ground of evil is not to be found in matter, but in creation's ideal nature. (cf. § 20. § 31. The various expressions must be compared; in the last one he says: les raisons ideales qui la bornent)[;] what does he mean by that[?]

The idea of many possible worlds is rlly that with which he attributes knowing to God; for when there are many possible [worlds], a choice is presupposed, and a choice presupposes consciousness (§ 7). With this, he also explains God's foreknowledge of contingency. It is an element in a complete possible world.—scientia simplicis intelligentiæ, scientia visionis, scientia media.—

With the doctrine of sufficient reason, he shows that there is no indifferentia æquiliberii.

He returns to Aristotle. (cf. § 34.) I have underscored this in his *Ethics* where the needed passages are marked.

Leibnitz is no doubt right in his opposition to Bayle [when he says] that by making man the measure of all things one becomes entangled in contradictions. Like so many others, Bayle has basically made it appear that hum. beings have been given the dignified calling
392 in life to judge everything, et quidem, in relation to the way hum. beings are positioned in creation because of it. Leibnitz shows that everything is linked together; he establishes a teleology that includes hum. beings. cf. § 119 in *Theodicy*.

One can't deny that there is a weakness to all the responses L[eibniz] gives Bayle in § 121, 122, and ff.; he tries to avoid the difficulty by saying that the issue is not about the individual hum. being but [rather] about the entire universe.[b] This is foolishness, for if there is a single hum. being who has a legitimate reason to complain, the universe doesn't help. The answer is that even in sin, hum. beings are greater, happier, than they would be if it [sin] had never come; for even his disunity means more than immediate innocence.—

[b]In the end, though, he resorts to analogies from the external world[:] the fact that God lets it rain even though it doesn't serve the best interests of places with low elevation. cf. § 134.

4 les raisons ideales qui la bornent] *French,* the ideal reasons that limit it **11** scientia simplicis intelligentiæ, scientia visionis, scientia media] *Latin,* knowledge of simple intelligence, knowledge of vision, mediate knowledge **14** indifferentia æquiliberii] *Latin,* neutral equilibrium **23** et quidem] *Latin,* but especially

Epicurus had already annulled the principle of contradiction; his dispute with Chrysippus. cf. Leibnitz *Theodicy* §. 169. The dispute betw. Diodorus and Chrysippus; Diodorus claimed that what had not been and what would not be, was impossible; Chrysippus denied it and claimed that it was possible § 170.

On the relationship betw. what is right on all occasions and [what is right] on exceptional occasions; the proposition that Chr. doctrine asserts that something is right before God decides that it is[;] cf. § 182. Plato's *Euthyphro*.

By the way, skepticism is implicit here if the boundary is not precisely defined. The analogy that Leibnitz presents—that the rules of harmony exist before anyone plays [music] (cf. § 181)—proves nothing. In this way, only the abstract truth is proven. But Xnty is a historical truth; how can it then be the absolute truth? If it is the historical truth, it has of course appeared at a particular time and a particular place, and is thus only valid at a particular time and a particular place. If one would like to say that it existed before it came into being, like harmony does, then one says nothing more about it than one says about any other idea; for it is also απατωρ, αμετωρ, αγενεαλογητος; if one insists upon it strongly, then one enervates the essence of Xnty, for the historical is precisely its essential aspect, whereas in the case of other ideas, it [the historical] is the contingent. 393

L[eibniz] makes an especially important comment [in] § 212 [where he writes] that inferring from quantity to quality is fraught with great difficulty, as is [the inference] from equality to similarity. A Mr. Sturm is said to have written a book (Euclides catholicus) in which he presents this thesis: si similia similibus addas tota sunt similia. L. thinks one ought to say: si similia similibus addas similiter, tota sunt similia.—This is the difference betw. constitution and size, quality and quantity. A part of the shortest distance betw. two extreme points is also the shortest distance betw. the

1 [c]The difference betw. necessity and la raison du mellieur; the fact that a completely indifferent freedom is nonsense; these are the two cardinal 5 thoughts in Leibnitz's *Theodicy*.

2 la raison du mellieur] *French,* (meilleur), the reason for the best *(see explanatory note)*

24 απατωρ, αμετωρ, αγενεαλογητος] *Greek,* without father, without mother, without forefathers **34** si similia similibus addas tota sunt similia] *Latin,* if like is added to like, the result is like **35** si similia similibus addas similiter, tota sunt similia] *Latin,* if, in a like manner, like is added to like, the result is like

points of this part, mais la partie du mellieur tout n'estpas necessairement le mellieur, qu'on pouvoit faire de cette partie (§. 213.).

The English prelate whom Leibnitz cites § 270 can be none other than *King*. He gives hell a comic tinge. This passage deserves a second reading. Also *Fecht's* writing on the condition of the damned seems to contain something of this sort. This and the following § are worth reading.

A completely indifferent will (æquilibrium) is a nonthing, a chimera; Leib. shows this splendidly in several places; Bayle also concedes it (against Epicurus)

What is the relationship between the will and the concluding act of the understanding[?] Does it [the will] necessarily follow the understanding's concluding thought[?] cf. § 311.

On God's cooperation with the creature, begins § 377.

velleité is the expression of the passive will, volition for [the will] that acts. cf § 401.

Beginning with § 406, one finds a conversation composed by L. Valla to refute Boethius. The problem is how to unite God's foreknowledge with freedom. He shows that knowledge makes no diff. with regard to
394 my actions; thus, foreknowledge doesn't either. He clarifies all the difficulties by referring to Apollo (the one with foreknowledge) but lets the matter miscarry with Jupiter (with providence) and ends it with an admonition.

L[eibniz] takes the matter up at this point with the help of this theory of infinite possible worlds.

#

24 Leibnitz's remarks on King's book. § 4. [Even] if one modifies matter as much as possible, these qualities will always remain: extension, movement, divisibility, resistance.

1 mais la partie . . . de cette partie] *French,* but the part of the best whole is not necessarily the best that one could make of that part **10** æquilibrium] *Latin,* equilibrium, balance **19** velleité] *French,* weak inclination

#

The distinction Bonaventure makes, following some Church Fathers, between συντηρησις and conscientia cf. Tennemann *Geschichte der Philos.* vol. 8, 2nd part. p. 532 **25**

#

[a]also Leibnitz in his German letter to Wagner, the only German who is in Erdmann's edition.— 1

Abelard has written a work de prædicamentis[;] cf. Tennemann vol. 8 1st part. p. 186 **26**

#

Tennemann Geschichte der Philosophie 3rd vol. **27**
Aristotle.

In my copy I've underlined everything worthy of note, up to p. 120.

[a]In Berlin Schelling wanted logic to be πρωτη φιλοσοφια. 5
cf. my manuscript.

The whole investigation concerning πρωτη φιλοσοφια; the ambiguity here; first it's ontology, then it's theology. It seems to me that this confusion repeats itself in modern philosophy, cf. p. 67. 15

He classifies [in such a way that] all things are 395

changeable — unchangeable p. 72.
perishable imperishable
(heaven God.[)] 20

where are hum. beings to be placed?

He doesn't classify dichotomously, as Plato does:
substance—accident 25

he has a trichotomy:
matter—form—privation (στερησις.[)]
Matter indeed has a primordial form.

3 συντηρησις] *Greek,* preservation (of a tendency toward the good after the Fall; *see explanatory note)* **3** conscientia] *Latin,* conscience **7** de prædicamentis] *Latin,* on categories **14** πρωτη φιλοσοφια] *Greek,* first philosophy, i.e., metaphysics **36** στερησις] *Greek,* privation, lack

there are four kinds of causes (see p. 120). Material, form and Modell, the efficient cause, Endzweck.
p. 121. fortune and coincidence.

The transition from possibility to actuality is a transformation; that is how T[ennemann] translates κινησις; if this is right, then this proposition is of the uttermost importance (cf. p. 127[)].
κινησις is difficult to determine; for it belongs neither to possibility nor to actuality; [it] is more than possibility and less that actuality. cf. p. 128.
Subsisting and perishing are not κινησις.
there are 3 kinds of κινησις, with regard to quantity αυξησις—φθισις (decrease)
with re. to quality or accidents αλλοιωσις.
With re. to place φορα.

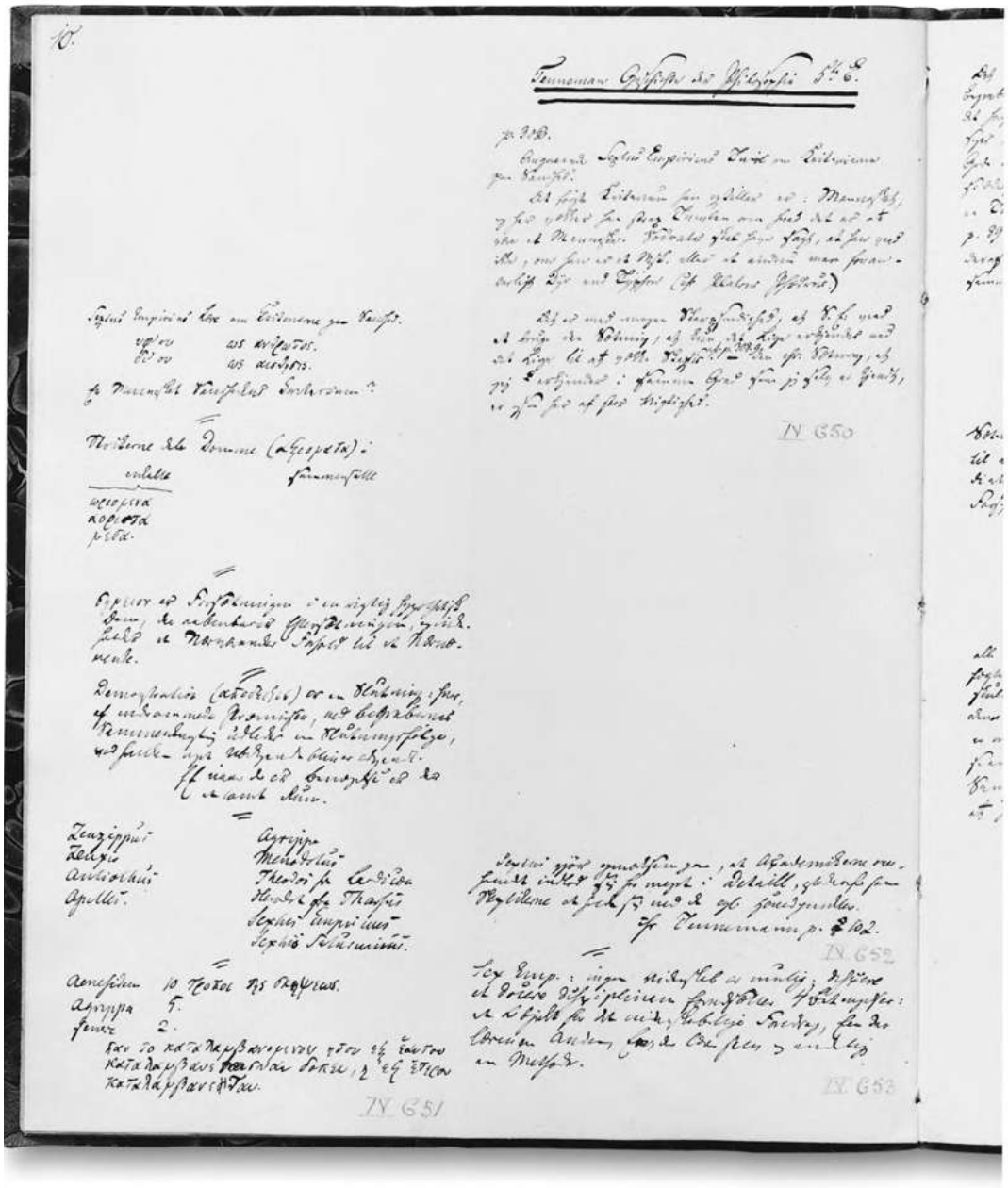
[b]All this deserves attention with re. to the movements in logic.

[c]Also the way in which the Skeptics denied movement. cf. Diogenes Laertius book 9 chapter 11 § 99.
Also Parmenides and, in general, the Eleatics' denial of movement[.] cf Tennemann 1st vol. p. 171 IV. 173 VII. p. 184. V. esp. Zeno p. 196.
On the other hand, Leucippus and all the atomists assumed movement. In order to explain it, they used empty space as the negative.—Empty space is to the sphere of natural science, what possibility is to the sphere of freedom; I think a significant parallel could be drawn here, which, strangely enough, I don't find at all in the Greeks, not even intimated.

28 **Tenneman** *Geschichte der Philosophie* 5th vol.

p. 302.
On Sextus Empiricus's doubt about the criteria for truth.
The first criterion he advances is the human being, 397 and then he immediately awakens doubt about what it means to be human. Socrates is supposed to have said that he doesn't know if he is a hum. being or an even more variable animal than Typhon (cf Plato's *Phaedrus*).

2 Modell] *German,* model, (i.e., formal cause) **2** Endzweck] *German,* goal, purpose, (i.e., final cause) **5** κινησις] *Greek,* movement, transition, change **13** αυξησις—φθισις] *Greek,* increase—decrease **15** αλλοιωσις] *Greek,* change **17** φορα] *Greek,* local movement



It is with great acuteness that S[extus] E[mpiricus], by using the proposition that only like is known by like, awakens skepticism[;] cf pp. 308–9.—here, the Chr. proposition that I know to the same degree that I myself am known is also of great importance.

Sextus draws attention to the fact that, in general, the Academics were too occupied with detail, unlike the Skeptics, who concentrated on the fundamental issues.

cf Tennemann p. 102.

═

Sex. Emp.: knowledge is impossible; discere et docere disciplinam presupposes 4 conditions: a topic for a scholarly lecture, one who teaches, one who is himself the learner, and finally a method.

29 With re. to the development of ethical concepts, the contradiction found in Zeno is quite interesting[:] he says that the highest good is indifferent with respect to time, and yet also says that the good person, the virtuous person, is the one who does the good throughout one's entire life. Only the virtuous person can be in possession of the highest good, and thus a determination

[a]Sextus Empiricus's doctrine of the criteria for truth.

υφ' ου ως ανθρωπος.
δι' ου ως αισθησις.

Are human beings the criterion of truth?

═

The Stoics divide judgment (αξιοματα) into

simple (ωρισμενα) compound

αοριστα
μεσα.

═

σημειον is the premise in a correct hypothetical judgment, which manifests the conclusion and contains a relationship of one thing to another.

═

Demonstration (αποδειξις) is an inference in which a conclusion is drawn from given premises by linking concepts together, and in which something unknown becomes known.

e.g., when there is motion, there is empty space.

═

Zeuzippus	Agrippa
Zeuxis	Menodotus
Antiochus	Theodos of Laodicaea
Apelles.	Herodotes of Tharsus
	Sextus Empiricus
	Sextus Saturninus.

═

Aenesidem[us's]	10 τροποι της σκεψεως.
Agrippa	5.
later	2.

παν το καταλαμβανομενον ητοι εξ έαυτου καταλαμβανεσθαι δοκει, η εξ έτερου καταλαμβανεται.

12 discere et docere disciplinam] *Latin,* to learn and teach a discipline

3 υφ' ου] *Greek,* of which **3** ως ανθρωπος] *Greek,* as human **4** δι' ου] *Greek,* with which **4** ως αισθησις] *Greek,* as sensation **8** αξιοματα] *Greek,* judgment **12** ωρισμενα . . . μεσα] *Greek,* definite, indefinite, intermediate **16** σημειον] *Greek,* premise **21** αποδειξις] *Greek,* demonstration **37** τροποι της σκεψεως] *Greek,* modes of skepticism **40** παν το . . . καταλαμβανεται] *Greek,* every object of knowledge seems either to be known through itself, or through something else.

in time is introduced after all. (see Tennemann *Ges. d. Ph.* 4th vol. p. 89, p. 93 note, p. 134.)—a modification of this point, however, [is found] on p. 145. It is also especially strange that the same doctrine allowed suicide. 398

#

30 It is extremely odd that Chrysippus uses the proposition that "every proposition is either true or false" to show that everything happens according to fate. Here it seems that the idea of mediation is necessary in order to discover providence.

(cf. Tennemann *Ges. d. Ph.* 4th vol. p. 272.)

#

31 It is a very odd that almost all the Skeptics always allowed the reality of the will to remain unchallenged. They had thereby arrived at the point that they needed to arrive at; for it is through the will that healing takes place. The way the Skeptics genrlly expressed themselves is rather striking. They thought that with regard to actions, one could be satisfied with probability, as if it were less important to act correctly than to understand correctly.

#

32 Zeno divided the passions such that apparent virtues and apparent vices could be observed in two respects, either with regard to the present moment or to the future

ἡδονη—λυπη.

The rational operations of mind were:

βουλησις (willing the good)

χαρα (happiness in possessing the good)

ευλαβεια (prudent wariness of evil.)

=

28 ἡδονη—λυπη] *Greek,* pleasure—grief **30** βουλησις . . . χαρα . . . ευλαβεια] *Greek,* good will . . . joy . . . caution

33 The Academics.
Arcesilaus, Carneades, Clitomachus, Philo.

═

399

34 The secret of all existence: movement, Hegel easily explains; for he says somewhere in the *Phenomenology* that something is happening behind the back of consciousness. (cf Intro. p. 71 n.). Plotinus helps himself in a similar way in order to make one into two: "Diese (die Vernunft) als Eins anfangend, beharrt nicht als Eins, sondern wird sich selbst *unbemerkt* ein Vieles, gleichsam unter ihrer eignen Last erliegend." (see Marbach *Gesch. d. Philosoph.* 2nd vol. p. 82.).

#

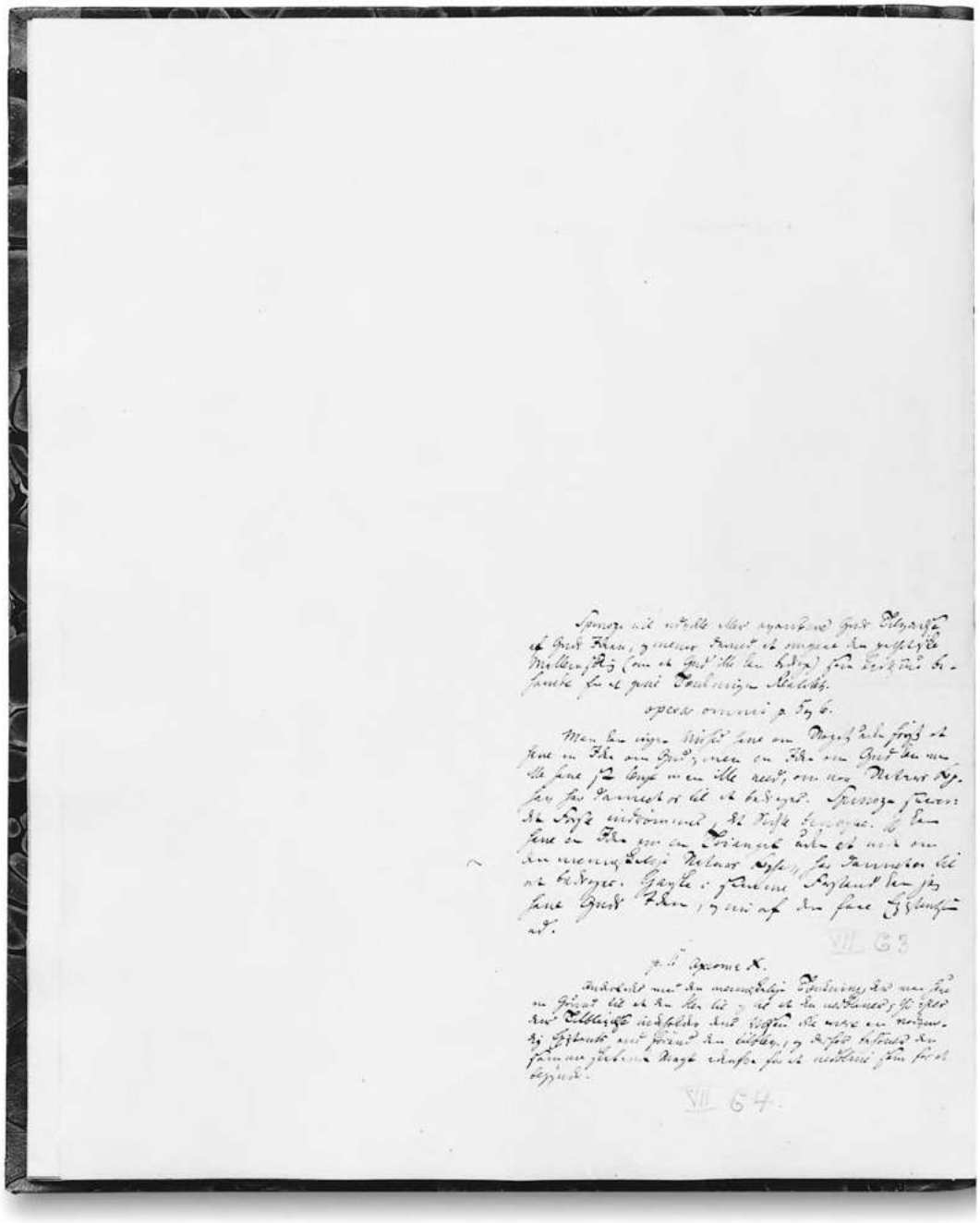
35 Doubt is in no way halted by the necessity of knowledge (that there is something one must acknowledge) but by the categorical imperative of the will, that there is something one cannot will. This is the concretion of the will in itself, by which it shows itself to be more than a rarefied phantom.

#

36 *Scholasticism.*

1st Period.
from Scotus Erigena—Anselm.
The opposition between object and consciousness had not yet been perceived.
2nd Period.
The opposition between nominalism and realism turns toward realism with the help of a familiarity with Aristotle's thought.
3rd Period.
Realism.—Approaches nominalism again.
4th Period.
Nominalism.
William of Occam.

8 Diese (die Vernunft) . . . Last erliegend] *German,* This (reason) beginning as one, does not persevere as one, but becomes a plurality without being aware of it, succumbing, as it were, under its own weight.



Notebook 13:37–39

17

7 Marš. 1876.

Spinozov Eth.

Spinoza ima pred vsem dve definicije substance. Prva, da substanca je, kar je v sebi in se skozi sebe umeva, t. j. kar ni treba, da bi se kaj drugega umevalo, iz česar bi se moralo njeno bistvo izvajati. Druga, da substanca je, kar je samo v sebi in se skozi sebe umeva, t. j. kar ni treba, da bi se kaj drugega umevalo, iz česar bi se moralo njeno bistvo izvajati. Ti definiciji se torej ne razlikujeta druga od druge, ampak le prva od druge. Prva definicija je namreč negativna, druga pozitivna. Prva pravi, kaj substanca ni, druga, kaj substanca je. Prva pravi, da substanca ni kaj, kar bi se moralo iz kakega drugega umevati, druga, da substanca je kaj, kar se samo iz sebe umeva. Prva definicija je torej samo razširjena druga definicija. Ker je druga definicija pozitivna, je ona edina prava definicija substance. Prva definicija je samo razširjena druga definicija, ker je negativna, ker pravi, kaj substanca ni, ker pravi, da substanca ni kaj, kar bi se moralo iz kakega drugega umevati, ker pravi, da substanca je kaj, kar se samo iz sebe umeva. Prva definicija je torej samo razširjena druga definicija, ker je negativna, ker pravi, kaj substanca ni, ker pravi, da substanca ni kaj, kar bi se moralo iz kakega drugega umevati, ker pravi, da substanca je kaj, kar se samo iz sebe umeva.

Iz Hegelovo Metaphysik pars I. p. 66 sqq. Spinoza ... (illegible) ... ex ipsa substantiae definitione ... (illegible) ... ipsa ... (illegible) ... substantiae ... (illegible) ... ipsa ... (illegible) ... substantiae ... (illegible) ... ipsa ... (illegible) ... substantiae

402

37 Spinoza wants to develop or advance the existence of God from the idea of God, and thinks that he can thereby avoid the pathos-laden middle term (that God cannot deceive) that Descartes needed in order to grant reality to thought.

opera omnia pp. 5 and 6.

One cannot be certain of anything without first having an idea of God; but one cannot have an idea [of God] as long as one doesn't know if the source of our [own] nature has formed us to be deceived. Spinoza answers: the former is granted, the latter denied. I can have an idea of a triangle without knowing whether the source of human nature has created us to be deceived. In just the same way, I can have an idea of God and infer existence from that idea.

38 p. 11 Axiom X.

[It is] different with human thought, which must have a reason for coming into being and for continuing to exist; for its essence does not contain any more necessary existence after coming into being than [it did] before coming into being, and thus it needs the same external creative power to sustain it that it needed [to come into being] in the first place.

403
39 *I March. 1846.*

Spinoza's Ethics.

Spinoza might well be quite right about the entire introspective method—that finis, τελος is nothing other than appetitus; that beatitudo is not virtutis præmium but ipsa virtus—The question is only whether his *Ethics* as a whole doesn't give rise to an ambiguity inasmuch as he contemplates everything at rest (in order to eliminate teleology) and, at the same time, (by virtue of the definition suum esse conservare[)] manages also to bring finitude into becoming. That is, the concept of movement is missing here.

It is perfectly true that *the truth* must be understood *in and of itself,* and that all supposed means of support that aid in understanding it better and more easily are illusions as, e.g., are miracles; for the believer, the miracle is precisely the truth, but is not the truth for the person who has not grasped faith. (I have shown this often enough in *Concluding Postscript*.) Likewise, *virtue* must be desired *for its own sake.* But if the individual is not primordially predisposed to it [virtue]—and Spinoza denies that he is—the question is whether he himself can do something about it. And indeed Spinoza himself speaks of a path toward this perfectio; he even defines lætitia as transitio in perfectionem, and insists on exactly transitio, that is, transition, movement. But the ambiguity lies right here. The first [perspective] leads to immanence viewed sub specie æterni. But if Spinoza wants to speak about real individuals, which indeed he does, he must eo ipso admit that it is still greatest to know of this [perfection],[c] and to strive to approximate it, but of course in existence; this brings about a teleology by introducing difference into immanence's *Acquiescentia* in se ipso, and with this incipient [distinction], its opposite emerges[:] a nisus, a drive, and thereby an interest.

[a] cf. *Journal JJ*. pp. 274, 276, 278, 280.

[b] In Cogitata Metaphysica pars 1. Spinoza himself says (in the section quare aliqui bonum metaphysicum statuerunt[)] that they distinguished between rem ipsam et conatum qui in unaquaque re est ad suum esse conservandum and that this is a misunderstanding. But here it is again, and thus of course his entire *Ethics* is revoked, all his advice to the wise, etc.

[c] in abstracto

[d] see also cogitata metaph: part 1. p. 57 conciliationem libertatis nostri arbitrii et prædestinationis Dei humanum captum superare.

where he himself passionately asserts something incomprehensible.

4 finis] *Latin,* purpose, goal **4** τελος] *Greek,* purpose, goal **5** appetitus] *Latin,* desire **5** beatitudo] *Latin,* happiness **5** virtutis præmium] *Latin,* the reward of virtue **6** ipsa virtus] *Latin,* virtue itself **10** suum esse conservare] *Latin,* the preservation of one's being **25** perfectio] *Latin,* perfection **25** lætitia . . . perfectionem] *Latin,* happiness [as] transition to perfection **28** sub specie æterni] *Latin,* from the perspective of eternity **30** eo ipso] *Latin,* by that fact alone **34** Acquiescentia . . . se ipso] *Latin,* resting [in] itself **36** nisus] *Latin,* striving

5 quare . . . statuerunt] *Latin,* why some have conceived of a metaphysical good **7** rem ipsam . . . conservandum] *Latin,* the thing itself and its striving, by which each object is conserved **13** in abstracto] *Latin,* in abstract **15** conciliationem . . . superare] *Latin,* the reconciliation of our freedom with the predestination of God's will surpasses human understanding.

405
40

Problemata.

Is the past more necessary than the future?

This could be of importance with re. to answering the question about the *possible*—How does Hegel answer it? In logic, with the doctrine of essence. We are instructed here that the possible is the actual and the actual is the possible. It's easy enough for a scholarly enterprise that arrives precisely at possibility as its conclusion. It is, though, a tautology.

It is of importance with re. to the doctrine of the relationship betw. the future and God's foreknowledge.

The old proposition that knowledge neither takes from or adds to.

cf. Boethius p. 126. 27.

later used by Leibnitz.

406
41

What is a category?

As far as I can tell, modern [philosophy] hasn't offered any definition of it, Hegel hasn't, at any rate; with the help of his backpedaling, he always leaves it to the virtuosity of the reader to make the most difficult [move], to gather multiplicity into the energy of one thought.

—the only place in Hegel that I've found something is in the little *Encyclopaedia* edited by Rosenkrantz p. 93. his terminology is utterly arbitrary, [it is] utterly obvious in the classifications he makes. There, ["]category["] has received exactly the place it shouldn't have, and one must then ask what it is that comprises this trichotomy.

Strangely enough, Aristotle doesn't give a definition either (must be examined more closely.)

κατηγορια. (Cicero prædicamentum, the Scholastics as well.[)]

[a] So is being a category? By no means[.] [W]hat is quality[?] [I]t is determinate being, determinate in itself; the accent lies on determinate, not on being. Being is neither presupposed nor predicated. In this sense, Hegel is right that being is nothing; if it were, however, a quality, one could certainly wish for some enlightenment about how it became identical with nothing. The entire doctrine of being is a meaningless prelude to the doctrine of quality.

Why did Kant begin with quantity, Hegel with quality[?]

Concerning *being*, see also the passages I've noted in my copy of Spinoza, and my remarks about them on small slips of paper inside my copy.

The definition that Plato gives of being in *Parmenides* § 151, the final words: Being is nothing other than a participation in an essence at the present time.

1 [a] see Hegel's *Propedeutik* pp. 96, 97.

[b] If being really were a quality, then I would also be able to define it quantitatively, for in contrast to quality, quantity is an indifferent determinant; I can define an agricultural field quantitatively, and it continues to remain a field, but to define being quantitatively is meaningless, because it either is, or it is not; here, a more or a less is nonsense that would annul quality itself.

17 κατηγορια] *Greek,* category

407
42 What is contingency?

Belongs to the concept of actuality.

Aristotle's two requirements for a voluntary act[:] it must be [characterized by] spontaneity and by knowledge.

The scholastics added yet a third requirement: that of contingency.

Leibnitz included this [requirement].

408
43

Is the Good good because God wills it to be, or is it good in and of itself?

Hobbes and the Englishman King.

If the good is good in and of itself, how, then, is God free in relation to it; what about human freedom?

409

44 *Despite all the assurances of the positivity that lies in Hegel's system, he has merely arrived at the point where, in former times, one began* (e.g., Leibnitz.)

410
What is the positive, what is the negative? **45**

Positive knowledge is infinite knowledge, negative knowledge is finite. To this extent, positive knowledge is negative, negative [knowledge is] positive. If I know that I am ignorant, if I know that I am always wrong, this is negative knowledge, and yet it is positive; if I know that 7000 emperors have lived in China, or if I know from experience that something has happened however many times, this is positive knowledge, and yet it is negative.

411

46 What do I learn from experience?

Nothing; or mere numerical knowledge. As soon as I derive a law from experience, I put more into it than there is in experience. Unadorned experiential data would be tabular, like meteorological observations, which are both tabulations of individual events as well as calculations of the average; this average, though, proves nothing; it's only a number I derive from the past. Period.

412

What is the universally hum. and is there anything universally hum.[?] **47**

Is each hum. being an individuum, and in that sense, each unlike the next, like Leibnitz's leaves[?]

Are all hum. beings like each other, like the parts of gold[?]

3 individuum] *Latin,* indivisible being

413
48 What is the self that remains behind when a pers. has lost the whole world and yet has not lost himself[?]

The priests must know. After all, they preach about it every Sunday.

414

49 If understanding, feeling, and will are essential determinations of a hum. being, [if they] belong essentially to hum. nature, then all this chatter about the world's development now occupying a higher plane than before disappears; for if there is movement in world history, then it belongs to providence, and hum. knowledge about it is highly incomplete.

Thus, however much understanding increases, religion can never be abolished, not only for those who have yet to come of age, who presumably should continue [to believe], but also for those who have.

The great individual will become great precisely by having it all at once.

Every other perspective overlooks the individual's significance within the race, and reflects only on the history of the race, from which it would follow that *essentially* different peop. were brought forth at different times, and the all-encompassing unity that is a part of being hum. would cease.

Thus, the great individual is not thereby different from the insignificant one because he has something essentially different or because he has something in a different form (for according to contemporary form theory this would indeed also be an essential difference) but that he has everything to a greater degree.

The *collateral.*

415
50 In the doctrine of being, everything *is* that does not pass away (this is something even Werder admitted, cf. the small books).

Beziehung is in the doctrine of essence.—Irregularities in Hegel's logic. This section is essentially only dichotomies—cause—effect—ground—consequence—reciprocal action is a problem, belongs perhaps somewhere else.

The concept is a trichotomy.

Being does not belong to logic at all.

It ought to begin with dichotomy.

Hegel has never justified the category of transition. It could be important to compare it with the Aristotelian doctrine of κίνησις.

Is mediation the zero point, or is it a third[?]—Does the third itself arise through the immanent movement of the two, or how does it arise[?]—The difficulty is especially apparent when one wants to apply it to the world of actuality.

[a] cf. Tennemann 3rd vol. p. 125; he translates the word κινησις as transformation. 1

3 Beziehung] *German,* relationship

416
51

The reason human beings are saved by faith or, more correctly, in faith, and not by works, lies deeper that one thinks. The entire explanation derived from sin is in no way exhaustive. The reason is that even if a hum. being did what was right, he can't know it, for in that case he would have to be omniscient. Thus, no hum. being can take up a dispute with our Lord; I don't dare call even the most exalted work, the humnly speaking noblest work, a good work; for I must constantly say: God alone knows if it really was good; it is therefore impossible for me to base my salvation on it.

417

52 What is implied in Antisthenes' claim that nothing can be defined according to what it is and that every such attempt at a definition is only a tautology[?] Only the characteristics of a thing can be indicated. Aristotle opposed it.

cf Tennemann *Ges. d. Ph.* vol. 3 p. 235.

cf also Tennemann *Ges. d. Ph.* 2nd vol. p. 97.

418
53

The Absolute Paradox

Insofar as philosophy is mediation, the important issue is that it refrain from reaching a conclusion before it has faced the final paradox.

This paradox is the god-man and can be developed solely from the Idea, but also with constant attention to Xst's appearance, in order to see if his appearance is sufficiently paradoxical, to see if isn't the case that Xst's hum. existence reveals signs that he, in the deepest sense, is the *singular* human being, to see to what degree his earthly existence fails to be subsumed under metaphysical and aesthetic [categories].

NB In the book "JJ" there are a few remarks pp. 18, 23–24, 28.

419

54 When all is said and done, every pagan doctrine, i.e., pure philosophy (as opposed to the philosophy that has deceitfully alloyed itself with Xty) ends with the notion that knowledge (wisdom) is virtue. This claim was advanced as early as Socrates, and later by all the Socratics.—Xn doctrine asserts just the opposite: that virtue is knowledge. Hence the expression ["]to act in truth.["]—it remains, however, a constant difficulty for Xty to establish an existence, by virtue of spirit, that is indifferent with regard to knowledge so that a person could be perfect even if he were perfectly ignorant. The question is whether knowledge is accentuated first or last. But even then a highly dialectical deliberation is necessary.

420

Movement in Aristotle. **55**

κινησις is, in the various categories, as follows

in substance	γενεσις—φθορα
in quantity	αυξησις—φθισις
in quality	αλλοιωσις
in relation	φορα.

cf. Trendlenburg's two treatises on the doctrine of categories p. 188.

cf p. 163.
cf pp. 136–137.
cf. p. 99.

All this is related to my thesis that is to be found among my logical theses: the difference betw. a dialectical and pathos-laden transition.

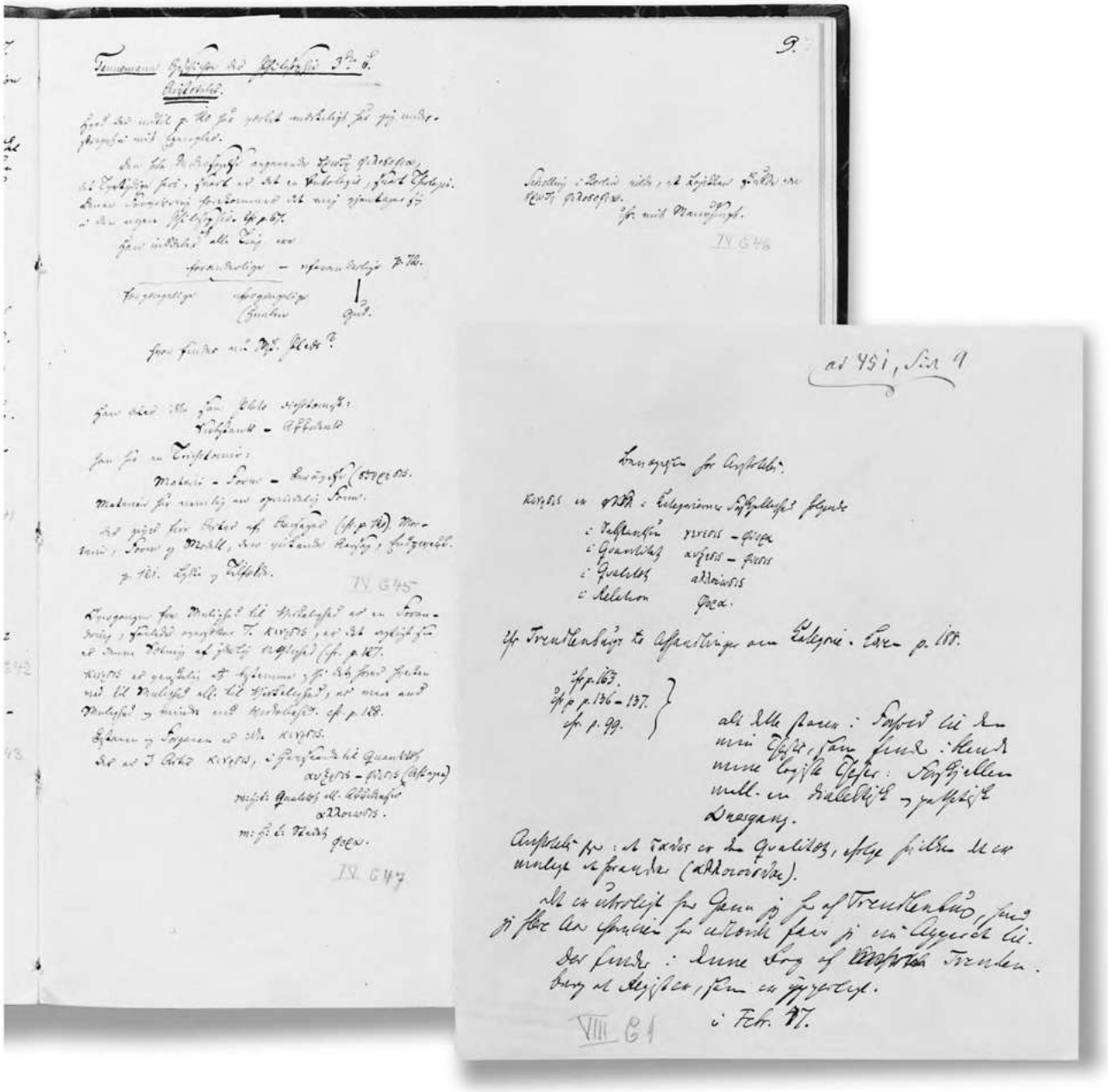
Aristotle says that παθος is the quality according to which it is possible to be changed (αλλοιουσθαι).

It is unbelievable what a benefit Trendlenburg has been to me; I now have the apparatus for what I have been working out for several years.

There is an excellent index in this book by Trendlenburg.

in Feb. 47.

3 γενεσις—φθορα] *Greek,* change—perish … increase—decrease … change … local movement **12** παθος] *Greek,* passion **13** αλλοιουσθαι] *Greek,* to be changed



Notebook 13:27 and Notebook 13:55

NOTEBOOK 14

NOTEBOOK 14

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1 *Tennemann.*

1. The Ionian School.

Thales; Anaximander; Anaximenes All from Miletus.
Anaximander assumed that the infinite was the ground of everything. "The infinite is more refined than water, coarser than air; more refined than air, coarser than fire."—He believed that in the beginning, animals gave birth to hum. beings, for animals can immediately find their own nourishment, hum. beings must be nursed.
—*Anaximenes* assumed the infinite was primordial matter, but assumed at the same time that this matter was air.—

2. *The Pythagorean School.*

(Ocellus Lucanus, Timaeus Locrus).
The famous 10 Aristotelian categories are already said to be found in Archytas' writing, περι του παντος φυσιος. But this writing is probably inauthentic. This fragment teaches that the categories are used with respect to objects of experience, not with respect to noumena.

Born in Samos—traveled—went to Croton, where he founded the famous institute.

Alcmaeon; Philolaus; Timaeus; Archytas[;] Eudoxus.

"Numbers Are the Principles of Things."

Things are themselves numbers, and empty space is the reason that they do not form a continuum, a cohesive quantity.

The element of number is the even and the odd. One is not a number, for every number is a plurality of units.

The *even* numbers are imperfect and incomplete; the *odd* numbers are perfect and complete.

The odd number has beginning, middle, and end because it cannot be divided into equal parts; the even number has no middle.

the limitless and the limited (το πεπερασμενον—το απειρον) are the principles of things.

16 noumena] *Greek,* thoughts, ideas **31** το πεπερασμενον—το απειρον] *see explanatory notes*

the finite (περας)	the infinite (απειρον)
the one (εν)	the many (πληθος)
the odd (περιττον)	the even (αρτιον)
the right (δεξιον)	the left (αριστερον)
the masculine (αρρεν)	the feminine (θηλυ)
that which is at rest (ηρεμουν)	that which is in motion (κινουμενον)
the straight (ευθυ)	the crooked (καμπυλον)
light (φως)	dark (σκοτος)
the good (αγαθον)	the evil (κακον.)
square (τετραγωνον)	the oblong rectangle (ἑτερομηκες)

Unity is the principle of things, and by participating in it, each thing is called one. This unity, as identical with itself, is a monad, but the unity that is joined with itself as something different is *indeterminate duality* (αοριστος δυας).

Things are divided into the *absolute* (hum. being, horse, etc.) *opposite* (good—evil) *relative* (right, left)[.] [T]his classification traces back to the two principles.

["]ἡ δικαιοσυνη αριθμος ισακις ισος." Virtue is a number that remains even no matter how many times it is multiplied.

Pythagoras would not have said that everything originates from number, (εξ αριθμου) but κατα αριθμον παντα γινεσθαι.

Philolaus taught: Everything that exists must either be unlimited or limited or both. The limitless and the limited cannot exist alone [without each other]; thus, the world and everything in it are both limited and unlimited.

3. *The Eleatics.*

Xenophanes; Parmenides; Zeno of Elea; Melissus.

the older philosophers had assumed that from nothing came nothing. The Eleatics discovered the difficulty of thinking of becoming. "In the world, there is only being, not becoming."

Parmenides. What is, is; what is not, is not.

To think nothing is the same as not to think at all.

Being is identical; for if there are several things, they must be different, either by being, or by not being, which is an impossibility.

His poem consists of 2 parts: περι νοητου—τα προς δοξαν.

Zeno. Denied movement. The infinity of space that must be passed through conflicts with the finitude of time.

the 4 proofs against movement. 1) when a body moves, it traverses a line; before it reaches its destination, it must have traveled half the distance; but every space is infinitely divisible. 2) A body trav-

14 αοριστος δυας] *Greek,* indeterminate duality **18** ἡ δικαιοσυνη αριθμος ισακις ισος] *Greek,* justice is a number that remains even no matter how many times it is multiplied. **21** εξ αριθμου . . . γινεσθαι] *Greek,* from number . . . [but] everything arises according to number. **35** περι νοητου—τα προς δοξαν] *Greek,* on that which concerns reason—on that which concerns opinion.

eling at the greatest speed can never catch up to another body that travels with the greatest slowness; for it must first arrive at the point where the other had been.[1] 3) when a body moves, it must simultaneously both be at rest and in motion, for every body must at every moment occupy a space that is equal to that of the body, which is to be at rest. 4) Two bodies pass through space at the same speed [but in] different spaces, which is a contradiction.

He said: ει τις αυτῳ το ἓν αποδοιη τι ποτε εστι, λεξειν τα οντα.
He meant that it wasn't possible to define το ἓν.
μηδεν των οντων εστι το ἓν.

4. *Heraclitus.*

Fire is the power by which all changes in the world become actual.
The world's original condition was fire.
Everything is in constant transition and change.
ἡ κατω ὁδος; ἡ ανω ὁδος.
Everything is and *everything is not.*

the law according to which reason acts is an activity by which opposed determinations become actual (εναντιοτροπη; εναντιοτης; εναντιοδρομια.)

5. Empedocles.

All knowledge is based on the identity of the knower and the known.

6. Leucippus

It is impossible that a plurality can arise from that which itself is one; it is impossible that a unity can arise from objective plurality.

The principles for all actuality are the real in space (πληρες) and empty space (το κενον)—το ον—το μη ον.

He is the true founder of the system of atoms.

7. Democritus

[1]this proof is said to be Achilles.'

8 ει τις αυτῳ . . . λεξειν τα οντα] *Greek,* If someone will explain to him what the one is, he will explain what being is. **9** το ἓν] *Greek,* the one **10** μηδεν των οντων εστι το ἓν] *Greek,* the one is not of being. **16** ἡ κατω ὁδος; ἡ ανω ὁδος] *Greek,* the way down; the way up **19** εναντιοτροπη; εναντιοτης; εναντιοδρομια] *Greek,* opposite, facing; resistance, strife; run into, run up against **27** πληρες] *Greek,* full **28** το κενον—το ον—το μη ον] *Greek,* empty—being—nonbeing.

NOTEBOOK 15

NOTEBOOK 15

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431
1 My Relationship to “her.”

Aug. 24th 49.

somewhat poetical.

432

Infandum me jubes, Regina, renovare dolorem. **2**

She is also the source of the remark with respect to myself: It will most likely end with your becoming a Jesuit. **3**

433 #

4 Regine Olsen.—I saw her for the first time at the Rørdams.' I really saw her there during the first period before I visited the family. (In a certain sense I bear some responsibility with respect to Bollette Rørdam, just as, incidentally, I probably had an impression of her earlier and perhaps had also incited a similar impression in her, even though this took place in all innocence and purely intellectually.

Even before my father died I had decided upon her. He died. I studied for the examinations. During that entire period I permitted her existence to entwine itself with mine.

In the summer of 40 I took the examination for the theol. degree.

Then, without further ado, I called at the house. I traveled to Jutland and perhaps even then had begun a bit of angling for her.

I returned in Aug. Strictly speaking, the period from 9 Aug into September could be called the period during which I approached her.

On Septbr 8 I left home with the firm intention of deciding the entire matter. We met in the street just outside their house. She said that there was no one at home. I was foolhardy enough to understand these words as just the invitation I needed. I went in with her. There we stood, the two of us, alone in the parlor. She was a bit uneasy. I asked her to play a little for me [on the piano], as she usu. did. She did so, but it didn't help me. Then I suddenly took the music book, closed it, not without a certain vehemence, tossed it onto the piano and said, Oh, what do I care about music? It's you I'm searching for, you I've been seeking for two years. She remained silent. Incidentally, I did nothing by way of charming her; I even warned her against myself, against my melancholia. And when she spoke of a relationship to Schlegel I said, So let that relationship be a parenthesis.[d] She remained mostly silent. Finally, I left, because I had been rather anxious that someone might come upon the two of us with her so

[a]*NB*

In the later journals, those from last year and this year, there is a single remark about her here and there.

[b]E.g., by lending them books during my absence, and by inducing them to read a particular passage in a particular book.

[c]NB. It was, however, probably only on the 10th that she spoke of Schlegel, because on the 8th she did not say a single word.

[d]for I, however, have prior rights.

agitated. I immediately went up to the councillor of state. I know that I was frightfully anxious about having made too strong an impression upon her, and also that my visit might in any way have given rise to a misunderstanding, or even have harmed her reputation. 434

The father said neither Yes nor No, but was nonetheless quite willing, as I readily understood. I asked if we could speak together; I was granted this for the afternoon of Saturday the 10th of Septemb. I did not say one single word to charm her—she said Yes.

I instantly entered into a relationship with the whole family. I especially employed my virtuosity with respect to the father, whom, incidentally, I have always liked so very much.

But within [myself], the next day I saw that I had made a mistake. Penitent that I was, my vita ante acta, my melancholia, that was enough.

I suffered indescribably during that period.

She seemed to notice nothing. On the contrary, she finally became so arrogant that she once declared that she had accepted me out of pity[;] in brief, I have scarcely ever known such arrogance.

In a way, this became the danger. I thought, if she doesn't take it any more seriously than that she [could say], as she herself once had said, "If she thought that I came [to see her] out of habit, she would immediately break it off"—if she doesn't take it any more seriously than this, I'll be all right. Then I regained my composure. In another sense I admit my weakness, that she was after all able to make me angry for a moment.

Then I set forces in motion—she really yielded, and just the opposite happened, the most extreme sort of devotion, of worship.

Naturally, my melancholia then reawakened, for her devotion also meant that I had "the responsibility" in the greatest possible way—whereas her pride made me to all intents and purposes free of "the responsibility"—I saw that it had to break. My judgment is—and my thought was—that it was God's punishment upon me.

1 [e]Something of which I, however, was to a certain extent guilty, or for which I bear responsibility, because I myself—seeing only all too clearly the difficulty of the relationship, and realizing that the most powerful means had to be employed in order, if possible, to let my melancholia have its rights—had said to her: Submit. With pride you make

16 vita ante acta] *Latin,* life before the events; previous life.

I can no longer be entirely clear about what impression she made on me in the purely erotic sense. For it is certain that the fact that she devoted herself to me almost worshipfully, begged me to love her, had moved me so much that I would venture everything for her. Though how much I loved her is also clear from the fact that I always wanted to conceal from myself how much she rlly moved me, which, however, does not rlly relate to the erotic.

Had I not been a penitent, had not had my vita ante acta, not been melancholic—the alliance with her would have made me happier than I had ever dreamed of becoming. But—inasmuch as I, alas, am the person I am—even though I must say that without her I could be happier in unhappiness than with her, she had moved me, and I would gladly, more than gladly, have done everything.

But as I understood it, there was a divine protest. The marriage. I had to conceal enormously much from her, to base the whole thing on an untruth.

I wrote to her and sent back her ring. The note was included word for word in "The Psychological Experiment." I was careful to make it strictly historical, for I spoke to no one about it, not one single person, I am more silent than the grave. If she should happen to see the book, what I want is precisely that she should be reminded of it.

What did she do? In her feminine desperation she overstepped the boundary. She obviously knew that I was melancholic, she intended to cause me the greatest sort of anxiety. The opposite happened. True enough, she caused me the greatest sort of anxiety, but then my nature reared up, gigantically, to shake her off. There was only one thing to be done: to repulse [her] with all [my] might.

the matter easy for me. Completely truthful words, honest with respect to her, and melancholically treasonable with respect to myself.

[f]She did, however, sense a bit of how things were with me. For this remark was often made: You will never be happy anyway, so of course it cannot matter to you one way or the other if I am allowed to remain with you. Once she also said that she would never ask me for anything, if only she could remain with me.

[g]Several individual retorts are also factual. For example, the one to the effect that people do not, in fact, say that a person gets fat by getting married, that I had known someone (here I named my father, so to this extent the story differs and was told differently) who was married two times and did not get fat. The retort: that one can break off an engagement in two ways, just as well with the help of respect as with the help of love. Her retort: I rlly think that you are mad.

[h] During these two months of deception I took the precaution of saying to her straightforwardly and at regular intervals: give in, let me go; you won't endure it. To which she replied passionately that she would rather endure everything than let me go. I also suggested that things could be made to look as if it was she who broke off from me, in order to spare her all the indignities. She would not have it, she answered that if she could endure the other, she certainly could also endure this, and not unsocratically she remarked that probably no one would point this out to her in her presence and that what they said about her in her absence was of no importance.

[i] She took out a little note on which were some words from me, which she had the custom of carrying in her bosom, she took it out and quietly tore it into little pieces and said: So you have also played a terrible game with me.

[j] She said, So you don't like me at all[?] I replied: Yes, when you keep on like this, I don't like you.

[k] She said, just as long as it isn't too late when you come to regret it—she was alluding to death. I had to make a cruel joke about it and asked whether she meant that I should come like Wilhelm in *Lenore*.

[l] To exit from the relationship as a scoundrel, if possible as a first-class scoundrel, was the only thing that could be done in order to get her

It was a frightfully agonizing time—to have to be so cruel, and then to love as I did. She fought like a lioness; had I not believed that I possessed [the power of] divine resistance, she would have won.

Then it broke, about two months later. She was in despair. For the first time in my life I scolded. It was the only thing to do.

From her I went straight to the theater because I wanted to meet Emil Boesen. (This is the basis for the story that was told around town at the time, to the effect that I supposedly took out my watch and said to the family that if they had anything more to say, they had better hurry because I had to be at the theater.) The act was over. When I left the 2nd parquet, the councillor of state came from the first parquet and said, May I speak with you. We went to his home together. He was in despair. He said: It will be the death of her; she is in utter despair. I said: I will try to calm her down, but the matter is settled. He said: I am a proud man; it is hard, but I beg you not to break with her. He was truly grand; I was jolted by him. But I stood my ground. I had supper with the family that evening. Spoke with her when I left. Next morning I received a letter from him, [stating] that she had not slept that night and that I must come and see her. I went there and made her see reason. She asked me: Will you never marry? I answered: Well, yes, in ten years, when I have begun to simmer down and need a lusty young miss to rejuvenate me. A necessary cruelty. Then she said: Forgive me for what I have done to you. I replied: It is really I who ought to ask for that. She said: Promise to think of me. I did so. She said: Kiss me. I did so—but without passion. Merciful God.

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So we parted. I spent the nights crying in my bed. But by day I was my usual self, wittier and more flippant than ever[;] it was necessary. My brother told me that he would go to the family and prove to them that I was not a scoundrel. I said: Do that, and I'll put a bullet through your head. The best proof of how deeply the matter engaged me.

I traveled to Berlin. I suffered terribly much. I was reminded of her every day. Every day up to today, without exception, I have kept to this: to pray for her every day, at least once a day, often twice a day, in addition to however much else she has been in my thoughts.

When the bond broke my thought was this: either you hurl yourself into wild diversions—or absolute religiosity, of a sort different from the priest's melange.

afloat, to speed her to a marriage; but it was also exquisite gallantry. Given my skills, it would truly have been easy enough to retreat under better terms.—That this behavior is gallantry is something the Young Man has already explained to Constantin Constantius, and I am in agreement with him.

[m]It is true. The day I got all my things, etc. from her, I wrote a letter to the councillor of state, it was returned unopened.

[n] "The Seducer's Diary" was certainly intended to repulse—and I certainly know what agonies I went through on the occasion of its publication, because my idea, like my intention, was to arouse evrybdy's indignation against me, something that indeed utterly failed to happen, especially with respect to the public, who greeted me with jubilation, which served to increase my contempt for the public—but to the extent that anyone came or will come to think of "her," it was also the most exquisite gallantry imaginable. To be singled out by a seducer is for a woman what it is for a fruit to be pecked at by a bird—for the bird is a connoisseur. A "lover" is of course blind, his judgment is thus not objective, he perhaps sees charms and specific characteristics which are not there at all. But a seducer is a connoisseur. And now, "The Seducer," the absolute connoisseur—and then one single girl: truly, this is the greatest imaginable gallantry but is too profound to become popular; it would not have been an even greater gallantry to have this one and only girl convert "The Seducer," for at that very moment he of course becomes a "lover," blind, his judgment unreliable. What then of all these songs of poets who have *straightforwardly* celebrated and idolized the beloved—and have themselves been the "lover," how trustworthy are their panegyrics[?] No, "The Seducer"—and then one single girl!

[o]about giving up, about the fact that one only loses the beloved when one gets him to act against his conviction.

437 "The Seducer's Diary" was written for her sake, in order to repulse her. The preface to the *Two Edifying Discourses* was intended for her, as was much else, the book's date, the dedication to Father. And there are faint hints in the book itself.[o] She has read it, I know this from Sibbern.

I was in Berlin for only half a year. The plan was that the trip last 1½ years. That I came [back] so quickly had to have caught her notice. Sure enough, she looked for me after Mynster's sermon on Easter Day. I avoided her in order to put her off, so that she wouldn't fasten upon the notion that I had thought of her during my travels. Besides, Sibbern had said to me that she herself had said that she couldn't bear to see me. I now saw that this was not true; but I had to believe that she couldn't bear to talk to me.

Apropos of that, it was certainly under my auspices that she made the decisive turn in her life. Shortly before her engagement to Schlegel she caught sight of me in a church. I let her catch my eye. She nodded twice. I shook my head. That meant, You must give me up. She nodded again, and I nodded in as friendly a fashion as possible; that meant, You still have my love.

After she had become engaged to Schlegel, she met me on the street and greeted me in as friendly and ingratiating a manner as possible. I did not understand her, for at the time I knew nothing of the engagement. I just looked at her inquiringly and shook my head. Most likely, she thought that I knew about it and was seeking my approval.

The day the banns were read for her, I was sitting in the Church of Our Savior.

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5 Now the councillor of state is dead. Possibly she hopes, after all, to get to see me again, a relationship with me, an innocent and loving [relationship]. Oh, the dear girl, God knows that I would like to see her, more than ever, speak with her, make her happy, if she needs it, delight her. What wouldn't I give to be able to dare to do it, to dare to deck her out, while she is still alive, with the historical renown which is surely hers. She will rank high among women. And it is important that I edit the affair. For otherwise her marriage becomes dubious; then I could easily become a sort of satire, I who remained unmarried whereas she would die for love.

Oh, how happy it would make me to speak with her; and how much it would mitigate my relationship to God. In possibility, she is difficult for me; in actuality, she is easy.

But I dare not. She once showed me how far beyond the boundary she could go. Indeed, once her passion has been fired, a marriage will not be binding for her. And what is dangerous, dangerous, is precisely the fact that I have such a good case. Indeed, if I had really been a scoundrel the case would have been easier.

Her relationship with Schlegel is no guarantee. Assume that in a certain sense she has shrewdly understood this to be the only way in which it might be possible to have a relationship with me again; for had she remained unmarried the question of marriage would of course always have come up again. Assume that she believed it to be my will that she should marry Schlegel, that this was why, during the two final months, I had spoken so much about him (even if in a jesting, teasing manner) and that she ought to take him. And, true enough, this was my opinion and my wish. But in that case I am of course higher for her than is her relationship to him.

If God grants that she herself get the idea to ask that I speak with her, then I will dare to do so. It would certainly make me happy, yes, that's quite certain. But only in that case would I dare to risk it. The relationship would then be completed. For marriage is my

[a] see somewhere in *Journal NB*[12] about in the middle.

[b] And this would certainly make her happy: renown—she who once, in the earliest days of her youth, wished to be an actress, to sparkle in the world; the rehabilitation of her honor, she who after all was so proud.

[c]What joy for me to be able to make her happy, she who, after all, has suffered so much for my sake! And what a burden, that I must always remain cruel like this. How almost perfidious to do everything I can in order to lure her into a marriage and then let her remain there. Assume that she had understood her marriage as the possibility of a sisterly relationship to me, in whom she presumably saw a strictly intellectual creature! But I cannot justify daring to take such a step. She once showed that she could venture beyond the boundary; and on the other hand, by marrying she has, after all, rlly emancipated herself.

stumbling block. A brotherly relationship with her would be a great, great joy for me![c]

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When I was living on Nørregade, on the second floor, I had a cabinet made of Brazilian rosewood. It was made according my own design, and this in turn was occasioned by words from her, the lovable, in her agony. She said that she would thank me her whole life long if she were permitted to remain with me, even if she had to live in a little cabinet. Taking this into account, it was built without shelves.—In it, carefully preserved, is found everything that reminds me of her and that might remind her of me. There are also copies for her of [the writings by] the pseudonyms; there were always only two vellum copies printed, one for her and one for me. **6**

Among my papers there will also be found a letter concerning her, to be opened after my death. All the books are to be dedicated to her and to my late father: my teachers, an old man's noble wisdom and a woman's lovable lack of understanding.

In truth, the cause of religiosity, and especially that of Xnity, surely could use a single person; but what a complicated story with my upbringing, and how oddly dialectical! **7**

But if it doesn't occur to her, I must probably give it up. Incidentally, it is rather strange that she hasn't become well enough acquainted with me to know that, for me, what matters above all else is responsibility. That is also why I would so much have preferred that she had been the one who broke the engagement. **8**

Though now she is probably happily married to Schlegel; he is successful, which she will see as an encouraging sign that Governance has approved of their alliance. In a certain sense the world is against me[;] perhaps she will make sense of it by interpreting it as a bit of punishment directed at me. On the other hand,

there is a danger that the world's opposition is just the thing that could give me new worth in her eyes.

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9 Insofar as what Miss Dencker told me is true (and I have occasionally made use of Miss D. to convey what I wanted said, always with the aim of strengthening her marriage)—that she said: "that she wasn't really angry with me for having broken off the engagement, but for the manner in which I did it"—then this shows that after all, she has, to a rather high degree, something of that feminine forgetfulness which belongs to immediacy. She forgets that two months before the decisive [event] she received a letter of separation, expressed in terms that were as humiliating as possible to me—there was, after all, certainly nothing to object to in the manner of it. But then it was she who, rather than breaking it off, lashed out in such desperation that I had to pull out an entire additional alphabet. She forgets that she herself said that if I could convince her that I was a scoundrel she could easily come to terms with the entire business. And now she complains about the manner, presumably "the scoundrelly manner." And incidentally, if that manner had not been employed, we would still probably still be in the process of breaking up. To this extent it is right to complain about "the manner," since in no other manner could I have succeeded.

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10 But in a certain sense a woman is a terrifying being. There is a form of devotion that terrifies my being because it is so opposed to my being: it is femininely reckless feminine devotion, frightful because femininity, in a certain sense, is indeed so powerfully bound up with gaining its object. But if there is a break—and if the other party is a dialectician with a melancholic imagination and a heavy load of religious baggage: truly, it is terrifying.

[a] And it is also certain that if a relationship with her were now to be established, I would absolutely start by quarreling with her. In order to help her, I have put up with being seen as a scoundrel in the eyes of everyone else—indeed, I have done everything to promote this. But truly, she bears a great responsibility. It's no thanks to her that I was not really brought to desperation. And however lovable she may have been in her despair, and however willingly, willingly, I forgive and forget, as though it never had happened, she must be told this, if the relationship is to be established and there is to be any truth in it.

11

As for myself, I have learned that I have not a little of the self-tormentor in me. This will certainly be changed now.

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12

As for Cornelia, her engagement has in a sense saddened me. Hers was a rare, genuine femininity. Just that one trait of noble feminine simplicity. When all clever people easily understood that I was a scoundrel, and every clever person flattered himself with being entirely able to understand this: then she said, I do not understand Magister K., but I nonetheless believe that he is a good person! Truly mighty words, which indeed impressed me. But ideally Cornelia should be grouped with Regine. That is where she should have remained, and she was to have been immortalized poetically. In this respect she is now lost.

Regine should marry and ought to marry. That is the only thing that is poetically true. And even if she were to say to me that she had done it out of bitterness toward me, etc., I would say: Fiddlesticks, what does a little maid like this understand about what she does[?] You have done something quite extraordinary, done me a good deed, helped me, precisely by taking this step. And therefore I know that you did it out of love for me, even if you want to insist that you never thought about it. But admit it, was it seemly for you to behave in such petty fashion, in such silly, womanish fashion, or do you believe me capable of petty thinking[?] Pettiness is the only thing I cannot understand. Viewed historically by an dolt, there is a fact that is not in her favor: her marriage. My interpretation, which is absolutely the only true interpretation, makes it into what it is: a plus. She excels, first of all, because of her faith: to have femininity enough to have faith in a person who treated her in such fashion and confused everything for her in such fashion. She excels, second of all, by having properly understood the point, that she had to marry. This is what can so easily be misinter-

preted. Thus understood, it pains me that I now have the advantage, I, the unmarried one, and that I have no chance to install her in her rights by invoking my interpretation, which is that this was exactly what she should have done.

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Settlement. 13

Her idea was most likely this. He basically likes me; he is engaged to me; I love him only all too much: so where in all the world does this collision come from, it must of course be madness, a melancholia that borders on madness. Ergo I will do everything to break it. Excellent, completely true, from a feminine point of view—the fact that it was a religious collision must needs elude her completely, she who was not the least bit developed religiously, and least of all developed to sense that sort of religious collision. Everything is splendid, and she is great because of the feminine temerity with which she dares to rage. Moreover, in a way she had my own hints regarding this. I knew that should she become completely dangerous to me—as she, the lovable one, deserved to be—should the matter become most costly for me, then she would have to be careful, [she would have] to struggle with the help of devotion. This she has done,[a] and masterfully so, qua woman.

1 [a], the lovely child,

As for myself, this, then, is the law for my whole life, it reasserts itself at every decisive point: as with that general who himself commanded that he be shot, so have I myself commanded when I was to be wounded. But the swordplay itself, which she had to execute, was done in high style and was admirable. In a way, I placed the bow in her hand, I myself placed the arrow on it, showed her how she should aim—my idea was—and it was love—either I will become yours, or you will be allowed to wound me so deeply, wound me in my melancholia and in my relationship to God, so deeply, that although separated from you, I nonetheless remain yours.

But what a model of unhappy love! It is not, for example, like the case of Goethe's Frederikke, who refused all marriage because to have loved Goethe must be enough for a girl. Precisely the reverse, it is my life that comes to accentuate her. And I am the one who does everything, everything, to get her married.

A collision such as this is unthinkable if it is not a 443

religious collision. For if it were my pride and the like, my self-indulgence and the like, then it would have been impossible for my life to express the fact that I accentuate her as the one and only.

She marries—and now the relationship is completely normal.

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14 There[a] is nothing to say about her, not a word, not one single word, except to her honor and praise. She was a lovely child, a lovely being, precisely as if it were intended that a melancholia such as mine might have its sole delight in captivating her.

Lovely she was, when first I saw her, lovely, in truth lovely, in her devotion, moving, in a noble sense moving, in her sorrow, not without sublimity at the final moment of the separation, childlike first and last; and[b] one thing I always found in her, one thing that for me would be sufficient for everlasting praise: silence and inwardness; and one power she had: an adoring gaze, when she pleaded, capable of moving stones; and blissful it was to make life enchanted for her, blissful to see her indescribable bliss.

An atrocious injustice has been perpetrated against her by tearing her out [of her life and] into a relationship to me, in dreadful scenes that were as if calculated to annihilate totally the impression of her. May God forgive me! I had to affront and abandon her, and then in the two final months I had to be cruel in order to help her if possible. This, however, was perhaps most difficult for me. I had to continue this cruelty with what were truly the most honorable of intentions. At the time she suffered indescribably: she wanted to forgive me!

Beloved she was. My existence was to accentuate her life absolutely, my activity as an author could also be viewed as a monument to her praise and honor. I am taking her with me into history. And I who, melancholy, had only one wish, to enchant her: *there* it is not denied me; there I walk by her side; as a master of

[a], especially from the moment her arrogance transfigured itself into devotion.

[b]despite the clever little head[a]

[a]*Note.* She is the source of the story about a girl and boy, who spoke with another boy who had broken up with his sweetheart, and she added: It was strange, because he had such nice clothes.—She also told the story about Mrs. Munter who ran away with Pollon, that she went in to her husband herself and said, Yes, it is surely just as well that I say it myself: I have married Pollon.

ceremonies I escort her in triumph, saying: please make a bit of room for her, for "our own dear little Regine." 444

I once prayed to God for her, the dearest one, as for a gift; there were also moments, when I caught sight of the possibility of realizing a marriage, when I thanked God for her as for a gift; later I had to view her as God's punishment of me; but I always traced her back to God, honestly maintained this position, even when, in desperation, she did everything to make me feel my own superiority. **15**

And truly, God punishes frightfully! What dreadful punishment for a burdened conscience! To hold this lovely child in one's hand, to be able to enchant life for her, to see her indescribable bliss, [is] the highest happiness of the melancholic—and then to sense that judgmental voice within one—"You have to let her go"—that is your punishment, and it will be intensified by seeing all her suffering, intensified by her prayers and tears, she, who does not suspect that it is your punishment, but believes that it is your hard-heartedness[a] that must be moved.

For me, the contents of that year of the engagement were really: the deliberations of an anguished conscience, Do you dare to become engaged, Do you dare to marry—alas, and at the same time she, the lovely child, walked by my side and was—the fiancée! I was as old as an old man, she as young as a child, but I had the ability—alas, that was almost so much the worse!—to enchant her, and when I glimpsed hope I could not deny myself the joy of enchanting her.[b] But the relationship had to be broken off, and I had to be cruel in order to help her—look, that is "fear and trembling." The relationship became so terrifying that, in the end, it was as though the erotic element was not there, because the terror led the relationship into other categories. I was an old man to such an extent that she became like a beloved child whose gender was almost unimportant. Look, that is "fear and trembling." And I dare assert that I wished for the marriage more deeply

[a] *Note*
This was really also her view, for she said numerous times that it was my pride that was to blame for my wanting to leave her. She also said that I was, in fact, not really good, but that she nonetheless could not stop loving me and asking to remain with me.

[b] who, lovably, was a child, continued to be a child, and despite what she had suffered, was as a child when we separated.

than she did; in merely human terms, for me (like those demons in the fairy tale) it would have meant my salvation. Alas, but I was not allowed to come into port, I was to be used in another manner. It was therefore a mysterious saying from her—a saying she did not understand, but that I understood all the more—when in her agony she once said: You cannot, after all, know whether it might not be good for you if I were allowed to remain with you. Look, that is fear and trembling.

Notes for
NOTEBOOK 1

Critical Account of the Text of Notebook 1
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NOTES FOR NOTEBOOK 1

Critical Account of the Text by
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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript

Notebook 1 is a book bound in quarto, containing fifty-eight leaves or 116 pages.[1] The manuscript is in the Kierkegaard Archive (KA) at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

II. Dating and Chronology

Notebook 1 contains no dates. Not1:1, the title page of the group of entries constituting Not1:1–8, reads "Lectures on Dogmatics by H. N. Clausen," referring to the lectures begun by Prof. H. N. Clausen in the winter semester of 1833–1834 and concluded in the summer semester of 1834.[2] The entries include a very large number of marginal notes, and it is clear, both from paleographic and content-based considerations, that some of these are contemporary with the main notes, whereas others can only have been added much later,

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1) *B-cat*. 470.

2) See *Forelæsninger ved Kjøbenhavns Universitet i Vintersemestret 1833–34* [Lectures at Copenhagen University during the Winter Semester, 1833–1834] (Copenhagen, n.d. [1833]), p. 3: "Dr. H. N. Clausen … lectures every day of the week at 1 o'clock on Christian Dogmatics, part 1." See also *Forelæsninger ved Kjøbenhavns Universitet … Sommersemestret 1834* [Lectures at Copenhagen University … during the Summer Semester, 1834] (Copenhagen, n.d. [1834]), p. 2: "He [H. N. Clausen] lectures privately on the first half of Christian Dogmatics on the first five days of the week at 1 o'clock." That the words "first half" are an error for "latter half" is made clear in *Akademiske Tidender … udgivne af Hannibal Peter Selmer* [Academic Times … Edited by Hannibal Peter Selmer] (Copenhagen, 1834), p. 377: "In lectures given 5 hours per week, Professor Clausen has … concluded the course in dogmatics that was begun in the winter semester." The winter semester ran from November 1 of one year to the end of March the following year. The summer semester ran from May 1 to the end of September.

probably in the years 1839–1840,[1] when Clausen repeated the 1833–1834 lectures.[2]

Not1:9 consists of a series of additions to entries Not1:1–8. It is not possible to determine with certainty when these were composed: they could be from 1833–1834[3] and relate to Clausen's lectures or, as is more likely, they could stem from the period 1839–1840 and relate to Kierkegaard's preparations for his examination at that time.[4]

Entry Not1:7.v was written on a loose slip of paper that was inserted in *Notebook 1* between entries and functions as a marginal

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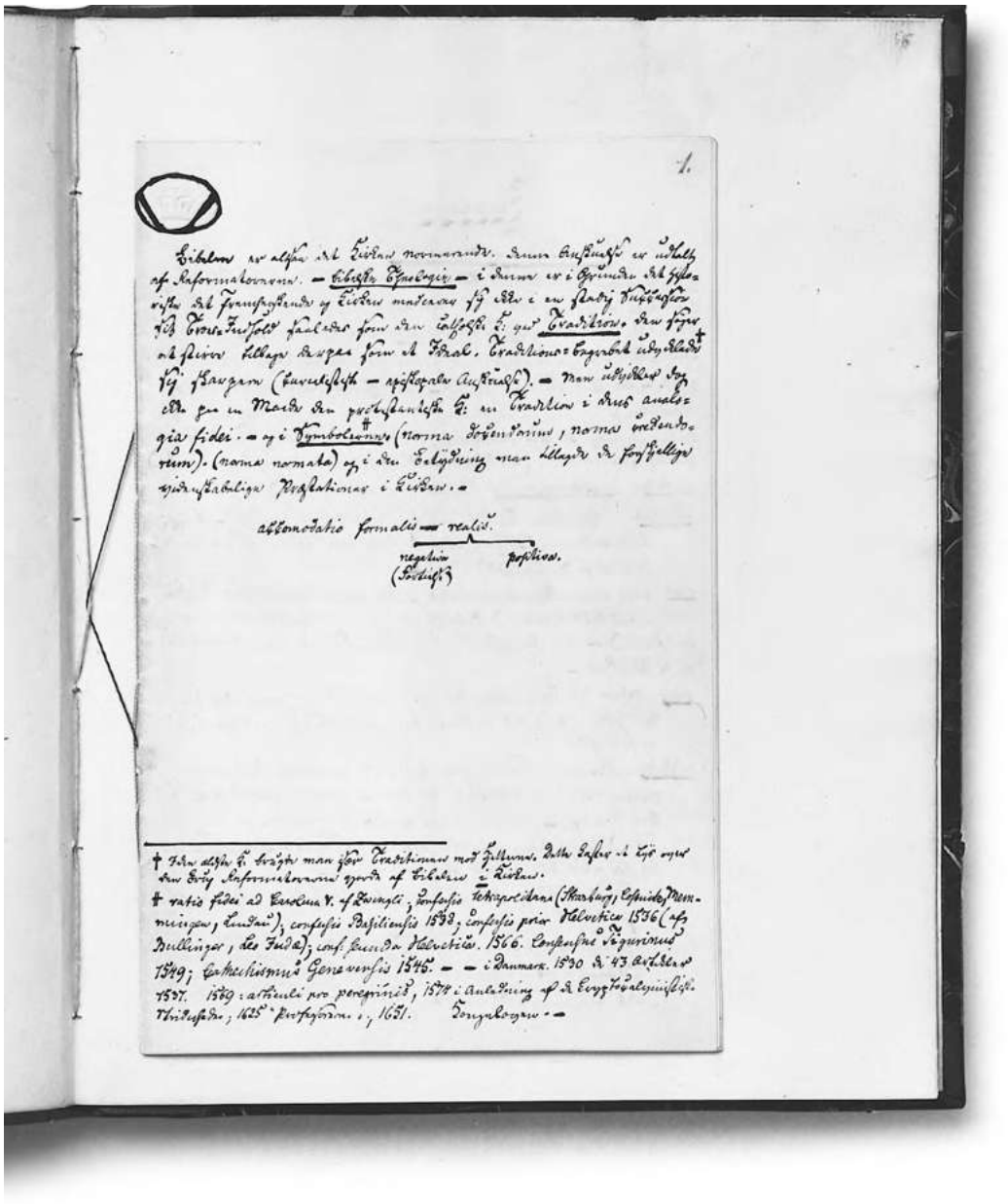
1) The editors of *Pap.* II suppose (p. 416) that the marginal additions were from 1839 to 1840. A contrary view is expressed by Thulstrup in *Pap.* XII, p. 49, where he claims that "most of the marginal notes ... were more likely inserted by Kierkegaard in the summer of 1834 and in the following months, with a view to his planned—but not realized—program of reading for his examination."

2) See *Forelæsninger ved Kjøbenhavns Universitet ... i Vintersemestret 1839–40* [Lectures at Copenhagen University ... during the Winter Semester of 1839–1840] (Copenhagen, n.d. [1839]), p. 3: "He [H. N. Clausen] will present private lectures ... on the first part of Christian Dogmatics." See also *Forelæsninger ved Kjøbenhavns Universitet ... i Sommersemestret 1840* [Lectures at Copenhagen University ... during the Summer Semester, 1840] (Copenhagen, n.d. [1840]), p. 3: "He [H. N. Clausen] will privately present the second part of Christian Dogmatics." In his autobiography, *Optegnelser om mit Levneds og min Tids Historie* [Notes on the History of My Life and Times] (Copenhagen, 1877), p. 161, Clausen speaks of the difficulties that giving these lectures caused him: "My notebooks were reworked over and over again, and it took quite a time before I had sufficiently mastered the material in such a way that the lectures could be free and lively." This suggests that the second series of lectures was no mere mechanical repetition of the earlier series.

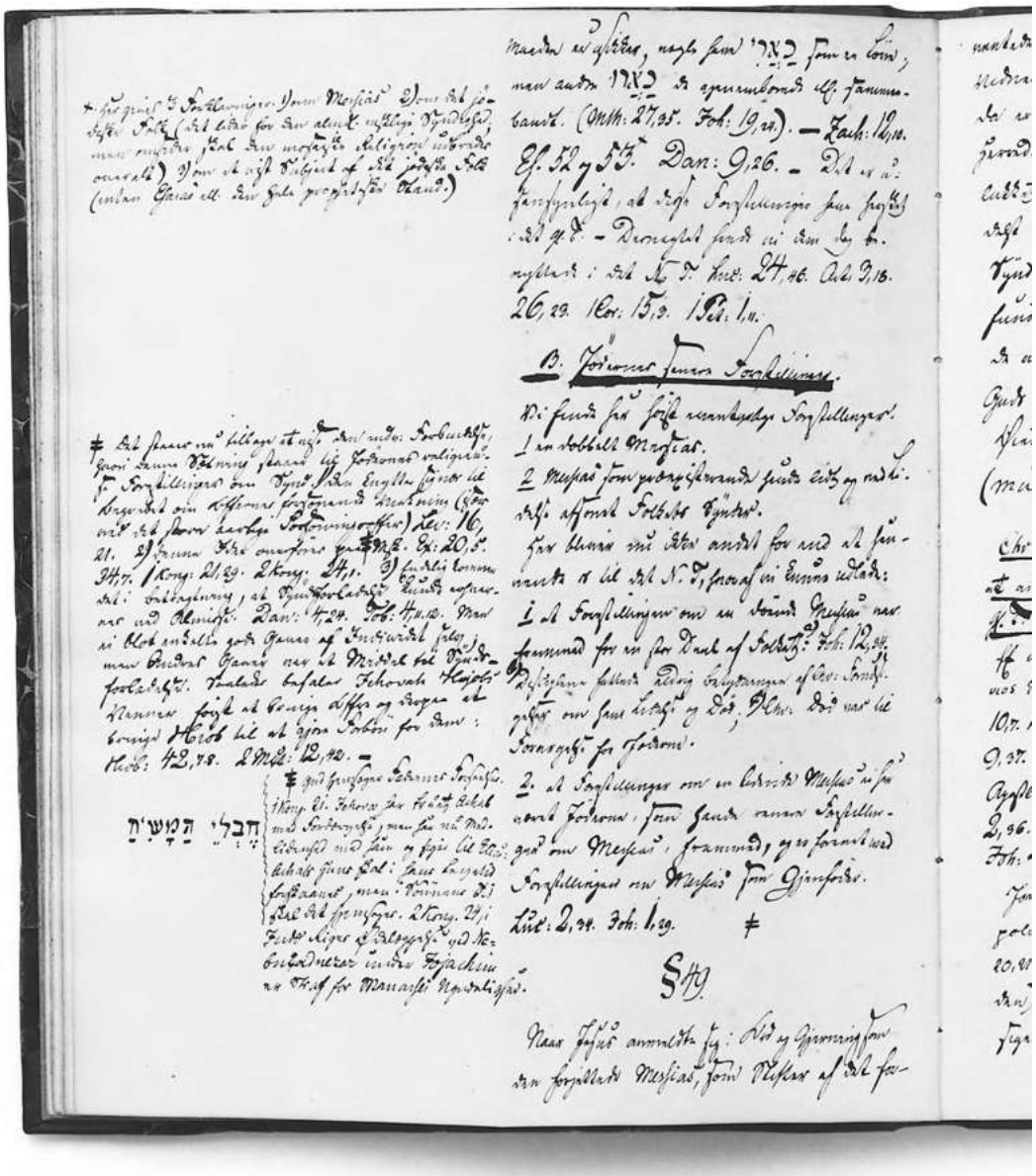
3) Thulstrup, *Pap.* XIII, p. 128, is of the opinion that "various additions seem to bear the mark of having come from the previously mentioned period [1833–1834], while some are presumably later [1839–1840]." It may be said that the notes are not uniform, although there are no obvious criteria for distinguishing between them with regard to dating.

4) Thus *Pap.* II, p. 343 n. 34.



Notebook 1:9

Six leaves, which make up entry Not1:9, were sewn into the bound notebook. The page illustrated here corresponds to p. 73 in this volume. The blank leaf (pp. 71–72) in this volume that precedes Not1:9 represents the break between the bound volume and these additional leaves.



Notebook 1:7
Kierkegaard indicates with a wavy vertical line that the Hebrew word does not belong to the marginal text next to it, but in the main marginal column above it. See p. 44 in this volume.

note.[1] In the margin of the principal entry, Not1:7, Kierkegaard wrote the letters "a," "b," "c," and "d" (which appear in the present edition as marginal note Not1:7.u) roughly opposite passages in Not1:7 he wished to comment upon in more detail, which he did on the slip of paper (termed marginal note Not1:7.v in the present edition) that had the same dimensions as the margins in entries Not1:1–8. Presumably he had to write on the loose slip of paper because the margins of the notebook were already filled with writing. This particular note is probably from the period 1839–1840.[2]

III. Contents

Entries Not1:1–8 contain notes on H. N. Clausen's lectures on Christian dogmatics from the years 1833–1834. However, the notes are far from complete. They begin with Clausen's chapter 5, § 24, "On the Relation of Holy Scripture to Reason," and conclude abruptly at § 74, in the middle of "On the Work of the Church." The neat and careful handwriting suggests that this is a fair copy, and it is not possible to know whether Kierkegaard actually attended the lectures—in which case, he attended some, but not all of them—and copied from his own notes, or whether he made use of the so-called subscription notes[3] produced by transcribers and sold to students. In either case, it seems that Kierkegaard was preoccupied with studies of dogmatics in the autumn of 1834.[4]

As noted, Kierkegaard's notes on Clausen's lectures begin with Clausen's fifth chapter. Entries Not1:2–4 are subtitled "On the Relation of Holy Scripture to Reason," "On Christian Dogmatics," and "Various methods in the organization of the dogmatic material" and are followed by an "Appendix to the First Main Division: Concerning Higher Spirits" (Not1:5). The section of Clausen's lectures concerning the Son treats anthropology and soteriology, which are dealt with in Not1:6 and Not1:7, respectively, whereas Not1:8 deals with

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1) See illustration p. 43.

2) See *Pap*. II, p. 345, n. 36. Thulstrup does not discuss the dating but merely states (*Pap*. XIII, p. 139) that it "is attached to I C 19."

3) See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal KK*" in *KJN* 2, 593–596.

4) This is clear from, e.g., *Pap.* I A 21, 27, 29, and 37.

the Holy Spirit as manifested in faith, grace, and the Church. Kierkegaard's notes cover Clausen's §§ 24–34 (Not1:2–3) and §§ 14–74 (Notebook 1:5–8), and the arrangement is not always transparent.

By far the greatest number of Kierkegaard's additions are to his notes on the second and third main divisions in Clausen's presentation (Not1:6–7), namely, the portions dealing with anthropology and soteriology, which, together with the section on faith and grace (covered in Not1:8), are also the most extensive.

The most obvious lacuna in Kierkegaard's summary of Clausen's presentation in the group of entries constituting Not1:1–8 concerns the traditional dogmatic treatment of God as Father. This, however, is made good in Not1:9, which could well be explained by Kierkegaard's need, during his examination preparations in 1839–1840, to fill in the gaps in his notes from 1833 to 1834. He seems to have dealt with this problem both by adding additional notes to Not1:1–8 and by producing a supplement, Not1:9, which he wrote on separate paper that subsequently was bound into *Notebook 1*. And indeed, a considerable part of this supplement deals with God's nature and properties, with creation and providence. Furthermore, Not1:9 also revisits anthropology, which could be explained by Clausen's having made significant alterations to the earlier lectures, or perhaps by Kierkegaard's own interest in this topic in the period 1839–1840. See, for example, the following passage from Not1:9, dealing with human sinfulness:

> When Clausen, like other dogmaticians, seeks to explain the meaning of Adam's sin for the race, he appeals to the analogy that is found in the individuality of peoples, but how exhaustive is this, or does it not remain stuck on the categories "race and type" instead of arriving at the energy of individuality.—[1]

If one compares the Kierkegaard's lecture notes with Clausen's subsequently published work, *Christelig Troeslære* [Christian Doctrine] (Copenhagen, 1853; ASKB 256), it is clear that Not1:9 relates more closely to this work than do the entries constituting Not1:1–8. For example, the discussion of evil spirits and the devil is placed in the section on anthropology both in Not1:9 and in *Christelig Troeslære*, whereas in Not1:1–8 it was an appendix to the first main division,

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[1]) See p. 81 in the present volume.

the section on God as Father, which Kierkegaard did not include in his notes.[1]

[1]) This supports the supposition that Not1:9 is from the period 1839–1840.

Explanatory Notes

3 1 **Lectures on Dogmatics by H. N. Clausen**] Henrik Nicolai Clausen (1793–1877), Danish theologian and politician, from 1822 extraordinary professor and from 1830 ordinary professor of theology (New Testament exegesis and dogmatics) at Copenhagen University. Clausen was strongly influenced by rationalism, both through the influence of his father, Provost H. G. Clausen, and that of his teachers. His break with this approach began with Schleiermacher's lectures on dogmatics and dialectics of 1818–1819, which he attended on a study trip to Berlin. He subsequently adopted an intermediate position that was equally far from that of rationalistic theology and from Lutheran orthodoxy's theology of revelation. Essentially he held that the Bible is a revelation bestowed on human beings by divine grace for illuminating and guiding faith, but that this revelation can only be known and applied with the help of reason. He first articulated this intermediate position in his work *Aurelius Augustinus Hipponensis Sacræ Scripturæ Interpres* [Aurelius Augustinus of Hippo, Interpreter of the Holy Scriptures] (1827), in which he sought to show Augustine's exegetical method. His academic interests lay particularly in exegesis and hermeneutics, and this is where we find the fullest development of his approach. For further comment on his lectures on dogmatics see the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 1*," pp. 453–455 in the present volume.

5 12 **Mk**] Kierkegaard's own reference here and to a number of other biblical texts in these notes is an abbreviation of the Latin book title, rather than the popular title used in the Danish Bible. This reflects the context of university lectures, in which the Latinate forms would have been used. The differences are, on the whole, less marked in English conventions, and the editors will not further mark these differences or comment on them.

15 **the immediate consciousness . . . dependent on God**] Clausen's understanding of religion is inspired by that of Friedrich Schleiermacher, as articulated in *Der christliche Glaube* [The Christian Faith] (→ 60*m*,*12*); see esp. § 4.4, vol. 1, pp. 22–24, e.g., p. 23: "Now this is just what is principally meant by the formula which says that to feel oneself absolutely dependent and to be conscious of being in relation to God are one and the same thing; and the reason is that absolute dependence is the fundamental relation which must include all others in itself." English translation from F. D. E. Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, trans. H. R. Mackintosh and J. Stewart (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1928), p. 17. See also § 5, pp. 24–35.

Inspiration] This refers to the doctrine that the entire Bible is "inspired" by God (see 2 Tim 3:16), and is therefore God's revealed and infallible word and the ultimate source of authority for the Church's faith and doctrine. Two versions of this doctrine are especially prominent in the modern dogmatic tradition: (1) that the Bible was written by men who were in a state of inspiration, i.e., under the influence and guidance of the Holy Spirit; and (2) that the "authors" were instruments of the Holy Spirit, who "inspired" what they should write. See, e.g., K. G. Bretschneider, *Handbuch der Dogmatik oder der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* [Handbook of Dogmatics or of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church], 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1828 [1814]; abbreviated hereafter as *Handbuch der Dogmatik*; see ASKB 437–438, 4th ed., 1838), vol. 1, § 37, pp. 291–301. 1 5*m*

impulsio . . . realis et verbalis] Lutheran orthodoxy used these terms to distinguish between the three forms of inspiration. See, e.g., A. Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* [Textbook in Christian Faith] (Leipzig, 1828), pp. 128–129; and K. Hase, *Hutterus redivivus oder Dogmatik der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* [Hutterus redivivus or the Dogmatics of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church], 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1833 [1828]; abbreviated hereafter as *Hutterus redivivus*; cf. ASKB 581, 4th ed. [1839]), § 41, pp. 112–117. 1

sufficientia; perspicuitas; efficacia] The Protestant dogmatic tradition ascribed various properties to Holy Scripture, including its "necessity" and "suf- 3

ficiency," i.e., that it included everything that was necessary for salvation. Its "perspicuousness" or "clarity" was such that anyone could read and understand it. Its "efficacy" lay in its power to edify every reader. See, e.g., *Hutterus redivivus,* §§ 43–46, pp. 120–130; and Bretschneider, *Handbuch der Dogmatik* vol. 1, §§ 38–39, pp. 302–310.

5 **una, sancta . . . ecclesia infallibilis**] The dogmatic tradition uses these terms to define the true Church's attributes. See, e.g., Bretschneider, *Handbuch der Dogmatik*, vol. 2, § 206, pp. 830–837.

9 **Bockshammer**] G. F. Bockshammer, *Offenbarung und Theologie, ein wissenschafftlicher Versuch* [Revelation and Theology, a Scientific Essay] (Stuttgart, 1822; ASKB 430). — **G. F. Bockshammer**: Gustav Ferdinand Bockshammer (1784–1822), German Lutheran theologian, minister at Wittenberg from 1806 and in Tübingen from 1810.

6 10 **The sacred history**] Especially the accounts of Jesus' life, sufferings, death, and resurrection.

12 **The sacred books**] Holy Scripture, the Bible.

17 **historical and critical investigations**] From the time of the Enlightenment onward, the theological study of the Bible had to reckon with the standards and methods of historical-critical inquiry in general, i.e., the critical search for the basis of historical claims and the establishment of the primary sources.

23 **usus organicus, formalis, instrumentalis**] Latin, "the organic, formal, instrumental use." Cf. *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m,1*), § 28, p. 77.

24 **qui eruditionis . . . ex scriptura sacra explicat**] Latin, "who, equipped with the means provided by scholarship, expounds the revelation from Holy Scripture." The reference is found in *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m,1*), § 28, p. 77.

34 **accommodation**] A reference to the theory that the content and forms of expression of religious truth were accommodated to the capacities and to the cultural and historical circumstances of the recipient. In the Enlightenment, this began to be applied to the New as well as to the Old Testament.

35 **συγκαταβαξις condescendentia**] See Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m,1*), § 14, Remark 2, p. 64; and *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m,1*), § 46, p. 128 n. 4.

7 5 **Manicheans**] Followers of the syncretistic sect founded by the Persian thinker Mani (ca. 216–276), whose system incorporated elements of older Persian and Babylonian religions, as well as of Christianity, Buddhism, and Gnosticism. Like the Docetists, Mani interpreted Jesus' body as merely apparent.

Gnostics] Gnosticism is a general term for a range of eclectic and often dualistic Christian and Jewish sects of the early centuries A.D. The Gnostics placed special emphasis on salvific religious experiences in which a hidden knowledge (gnosis) of God was revealed to adepts. In the 2nd century A.D. the Gnostics were defined as heretics by theologians such as Irenaeus and Tertullian. 5

Phantasiasts] A 2nd-century Docetic sect. See *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m,1*), § 90, p. 254 n. 1. 5

accom.] Accommodation (→ 6,*34*). 7

Tertullian] Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus (ca. 160–ca. 220), born in Carthage, and one of the Fathers of the Latin Church. 8

Clemens Alex] Clemens Alexandrinus, i.e., Titus Flavius Clemens (or Clement) of Alexandria (ca. 150–ca. 215), early Church Father, born in Athens, and taught in Alexandria until forced by persecution to move to Cappadocia. 8

Origen] (ca. 185–251 or 254), theologian and leader of the Alexandrian School from 202 to 231, but deposed following charges of heresy. 9

Chrysostom] John Chrysostom (ca. 350–407), Father of the Greek Church, patriarch of Constantinople. 9

Jerome] Sofronius Eusebius Hieronimus (347–420), Father of the Latin Church, exegete and translator, best known for his Latin translation of the Bible known as the Vulgate. 9

Accomodatio formalis—materialis] Formal accommodation means the use of appropriate means of communication, as in Jesus' use of parables. Material accommodation means the accommodation of the content in such a way that the teacher endorses or appears to endorse the erroneous views of the pupil, in either a negative or a positive way (see following note). See Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m,1*), § 14, pp. 64–65 n. 2; and Bretschneider, *Handbuch der Dogmatik* (→ 5*m,1*) vol. 1, § 42, pp. 325–338. 10

negativa. positiva.] This refers to the distinction between a negative and a positive accommodation concerning the content to be communicated. In a negative accommodation the teacher appears to endorse the erroneous opinions of his pupils, but 12

gradually brings them round to the truth (see, e.g., Jn 16:12, 1 Cor 3:1–2, 9:20–23). In a positive accommodation the teacher consciously accepts the pupils' opinions, and knowing them to be mistaken, nevertheless confirms the pupils in holding them (e.g., Mt 12:27, 11:14 and Acts 16:3). See Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m,1*), § 14, p. 65 n. 2; and Bretschneider, *Handbuch der Dogmatik* (→ 5*m,1*), vol. 1, § 42, pp. 328–329.

14 **Hahn says . . . negative sense**] See *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m,1*), § 14, p. 66. — **Hahn**: August Hahn (1792–1863), German theologian, from 1819 privatdocent and later extraordinary professor at Königsberg, and, from 1821, ordinary professor, as well as practicing minister and superintendent. Later that year he was appointed professor and minister at Leipzig, and from 1833 was professor and general superintendent at Breslau.

19 **the Augsb. Confess.**] The Augsburg Confession or *Confessio Augustana*, the first Lutheran confessional statement (1530).

20 **Non peccant . . . consideranda in decreto**] See *Den danske Kirkes symbolske Bøger* [The Symbolic Books of the Danish Church], trans. and ed. J. C. Lindberg (Copenhagen, 1830). The passage quoted is from art. 28, pp. 65–66, "*De potestate ecclesiastica*" [On Church Power], referred to in *Confessio Augustana* as art. 7 in pars II (second part) of *Libri symbolici ecclesiae evangelicae sive Concordia* [The Symbolic Books of the Evangelical Church, or the Concordia], ed. K. A. Hase (Leipzig, 1827; ASKB 624; abbreviated hereafter as *Libri symbolici*), p. 43, which has "neque tamen peccant" ("and yet they do not sin") instead of "Non peccant" ("They do not sin"). See *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche. Herausgegeben im Gedenkjahr der Augsburgischen Konfession 1930* [The Confessional Writings of the Evangelical Lutheran Church: Published on the Anniversary of the Augsburg Confession, 1930], 11th ed., in German and Latin (Göttingen, 1992; abbreviated hereafter as *Die Bekenntnisschriften*), p. 131.

26 **Cartesians**] Described by Hahn as a distinct group among the naturalists and rationalists of the 17th and 18th centuries, who held that the biblical authors practiced a positive type of accommodation. See *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m,1*), § 14, p. 66 n. 2.

Semler] Johann Salomo Semler (1725–1791) German Lutheran theologian, professor at Halle from 1753. Although influenced by pietism, he was a leading representative of the transition to rationalism in theology. Hahn speaks of him as a theologian of the modern type on account of his assumption that Jesus and his disciples used the positive type of accommodation. See *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m,1*), § 14, p. 68 n. 2. 26

Teller] Wilhelm Abraham Teller (1734–1804) German Lutheran rationalist theologian and professor at Helmstedt from 1761 and from 1767 counselor in the Upper Consistory and provost at Berlin. Also said by Hahn to be a theologian of the modern type in relation to his view of the use of positive accommodation by Jesus and his disciples. See *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m,1*), § 14, p. 68 n. 2. 26

Multa in scriptura . . . et erroneos vulgi conceptus] This is a free rendering of the following citation from Calsov (see below), quoted by Hahn: "Others [naturalists and rationalists] consider that many things transmitted in Holy Scripture are accommodated to the false and erroneous conceptions of the common man, a hypothesis that many have commended" (*Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* [→ 5*m,1*], § 14, p. 67 n. 2). See also C. F. Calsov, *Dissertatio de Antiscripturariis, speciatim Wertheimiensi* [Treatise on the Opponents of Scripture, Especially the Wertheimers] (Jena, 1737), p. 15. The term "Wertheimers" refers to J. L. Schmidt, who in 1735 published the so-called Wertheimer Bible, a translation of the five Books of Moses, with commentary. 26

acc.] Accommodation (→ 6,*34*). 2 7*m*

the hum. being is summoned . . . revelation] See, e.g., Mk 13:21–23 and 1 Jn 4:1. 2 9

it is supposed . . . new life in hum. beings] See, e.g., Rom 6:4 and 2 Cor 5:17. 3

naturalism] A theological movement in the latter half of the 18th century that rejected revelation but affirmed the sufficiency and truth of natural religion. 11

Socinians] An anti-Trinitarian movement named after Lelio Sozzini (b. 1525) and, especially, his nephew, Fausto Sozzini (ca. 1537–1604), whose radical critique of dogma anticipated later rationalist theology. The latter, in particular, propagated unorthodox views, especially relating to the divinity of Christ, original sin, and the Trinity. He was espe- 13

cially active in eastern Europe and from 1579 spread moderate Unitarian doctrines there. Socinians rejected those dogmas that were opposed to reason. The movement was formally banned in Poland in 1658.

13 **nihil credi posse ... intelligi nequeat**] This is a quotation from J. Schlichting a Bukowiec, *De S. S. Trinitate adversus Balth. Meisnerum disputatio* [A Dissertation on the Most Holy Trinity: Against Balthasar Meisner] (1637), p. 125, cited by Hahn in *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m*,*1*), p. 51.

15 **Tertullian**] → 7,8.

15 **credo, quia absurdum est**] This is an assertion inspired by Tertullian, who often expressed himself in such paradoxes, as in 5.4 of his *De carne Christi* [On the Body of Christ] where he says: "Crucifixus est dei filius; non pudet, quia pudendum est; et mortuus est dei filius; prorsus credibile est, quia ineptum est. Et sepultus resurrexit; certum est, quia impossibile est." ("God's Son was crucified; one is not ashamed of this, because it is that of which one ought to be ashamed; and God's Son is dead; which is credible because it is silly. And being buried, he rose again, which is certain because it is impossible.") The statement is referred to as a "bold metaphor" in *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m*,*1*), p. 75.

16 **Rationalists**] Rationalist theology was widespread in the Enlightenment period, especially between 1750 and 1800. The rationalists held that all propositions of faith could be grounded in reason and that all beliefs that overstepped human beings' rational capacities were to be rejected. They therefore sought to bring the Christian doctrine of revelation, as well as the contents of the Bible and of confessional statements, into harmony with reason and experience.

16 **Supernaturalists**] As opposed to the rationalists (→ 9,*16*), the supernaturalists saw revelation as necessary and asserted the authority of the Bible above that of reason. But both schools shared an intellectual approach to religion, and the supernaturalists typically collated the contents of faith into doctrinal propositions to be defended by rational argument.

18 **Naturalists**] Adherents of naturalism (→ 9,*11*).

9*m* 1 **Mynster (on the concept "Dogmatics") § 21**] J. P. Mynster, *Om Begrebet af den christelige Dogmatik* [On the Concept of Christian Dogmatics] (Copenhagen, 1831), § 21 (on the opposition between supernaturalism and rationalism), pp. 21–24. — **Jakob Peter Mynster**: (1775–1854), Danish priest, author, and statesman. From 1811 he was resident Chaplain of Vor Frue Kirke ("Church of Our Lady") in Copenhagen, from 1826 court preacher, from 1828 royal confessor and court and castellan chaplain at Christiansborg Castle Church, and from 1834 bishop of Sjælland.

analogia scripturæ] This is a hermeneutical principle that presumes there to be a unity of meaning in all the biblical writings such that these can be used in mutual interpretation. Thus the more obscure passages of the Bible are held to be interpretable on the basis of those whose meaning is clear. The principle further builds on the idea of an *analogia fidei* ("analogy of faith") that assumes an analogy between what is said in the Bible and the confessional statements of the Church. See Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m*,*1*), § 16, pp. 74–77 n. 3; and § 28, pp. 144–146. 23 10

dicta probantia ... sedes doctrinarum] Proof texts are those containing or supporting particular doctrines. Classical and doctrinal texts are those that give an especially significant statement or discussion of a given doctrine. See Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m*,*1*), § 28, pp. 144–145. 25

articuli fundamentales s. constitutivi] i.e., those articles of faith that are seen as fundamental, basic, or constitutive of Christian doctrine and that are essential to faith in salvation through Christ. See Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m*,*1*), § 16 including pp. 70–72 n. 1. 29

The trichotomatic. Marheinecke] The "trichotomatic" method probably refers to the consistent tripartite divisions of P. Marheineke's *Die Grundlehren der christlichen Dogmatik als Wissenschaft* [The Basic Teachings of Christian Dogmatics as Science], 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1827 [1819]; ASKB 644). See also the introduction to the explanatory notes for *Notebook 9*, pp. 627–629 in the present volume. — **Marheinecke**: Philipp Konrad Marheineke (1780–1846), German Protestant theologian, from 1805 professor at Erlangen, from 1807 at Heidelberg, and from 1811 at Berlin. Marheineke was strongly influenced by Hegel and sought to mediate reason and revelation, and faith and knowledge. 9 12

10 **The federal method of Cocceius**] This refers to the federal or covenantal theology of Johannes Cocceius (see below). This theology makes a fundamental distinction between the two covenants of nature or works, holding for the paradisal state of innocence and of grace or faith, as well as holding for the fallen state subsequent to the expulsion from Eden. The former covenant was between God and Adam, the latter taken as representative of the whole human race. This covenant being broken by the fall, the human race became subject to consequent condemnation. The second covenant was instituted by God from the time of the first promises relating to Christ (as in the protogospel of Gen 3:15) and does away with the judgments and laws pertaining to the former covenant so that human beings can be saved by faith in the coming Savior (Christ). This second covenant has various stages corresponding to God's plan of salvation. First, there is the covenant with the patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob); then, there is the covenant of the Law (the covenant ratified in the giving of the Law from Sinai); and finally, there is the covenant of the gospel, sealed in the gospel of Christ. See *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m,1*), § 24, pp. 51–52, n. 10. The term "federal theology" is derived from the Latin *foedus* ("covenant" or "treaty"), and it developed in Holland in the mid-17th century. See Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m,1*), § 17, pp. 82–83 n. 1. — **Cocceius**: Johannes Cocceius or Johann Koch (1603–1669), German Reformed theologian, from 1643 professor in Franeker and from 1650 at Leiden.

11 **foedus naturæ**] → 12,*10*.

11 **foedus gratiæ**] → 12,*10*.

11 **foedus patriarcharum**] → 12,*10*.

12 **foedus legis**] → 12,*10*.

12 **foedus evangelii**] → 12,*10*.

13 **Wolf's demonstrative-mathematical method**] This refers to the method developed by 18th-century Protestant theologians under the influence of the philosophy of Leibniz and Wolff, and, according to Hahn (*Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* [→ 5*m,1*], § 17, p. 85 n. 2), based on later medieval scholasticism. It is called "mathematical" because of Wolff's use of mathematics as a model for philosophical science and for the development of a system based on the principle that "the same cannot at the same time both be and not be," together with the Leibnizian principle of sufficient reason. It is called "demonstrative" because Wolff sought to deduce each definition in a rigorous fashion from what preceded it. — **Wolf**: Christian Wolff (1679–1754), German mathematician and philosopher, from 1723 professor at Marburg, and from 1740 at Halle.

Lactantius libri VII divinarum institutionum] Lucius Coelius Firmianus Lactantius (known as Lactantius), 4th-century African Christian writer and apologist. *Divinarum institutionum Libri VII* [Seven Books on the Sacred Teachings], a Christian apologetic work in seven books, ca. 304–ca. 313. 14

Genadius Massiliensis de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus] Gennadius of Marseille, Church elder, 492–495, and adherent of semi-Pelagianism (→ 30,*31*). A zealous opponent of heresy, he was a prolific author, although most of his works have been lost. His *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum* [Book of Ecclesiastical Dogmas] is a collection of orthodox and heretical doctrines. 15

Isidorus Hisp. libri III sententiarum] Isidorus Hispanicus, "the Spanish Isidore," namely, Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636, bishop from 600), was one of the leading ecclesiastical authorities of his time. His chief work, *Libri III sententiarum* [Three Books of Sentences], including extracts from Augustine and Gregory the Great, was a normative source book for Western theology for several hundred years. 15

Johannes Damascenus εκθησις ακριβης της ορτοδοξου πιστεως] Greek, title, "A Precise Exposition of the Orthodox Faith" for the third part of John Damascene's main doctrinal work Πηγὴ γνώσεως [The Fount of Knowledge]. The title is referred to in *Hutterus Redivivus* (→ 5*m,1*), § 20, p. 38 n. 5. Kierkegaard writes εκθησις for εκθεσις and ορτοδοξου for ορθοδοξου. — **Johannes Damascenus**: John of Damascus or John Damascene (ca. 650–ca. 754), Syrian patristic poet and theologian. 17

Jehovah's] The name of God in the OT, a misspelling for the name now generally transliterated as Yahweh. Because it was forbidden to say the name of God, the four consonants YHWH were supplemented by the vowels from Adonai (= Lord), with an "e" being substituted for the initial "A." The OT (1740) usually translates YHWH as "Lord." 4 14

Ψ] The Greek letter "psi" serves as the standard abbreviation for the biblical book of Psalms. 11

12 **the post-exilic books**] Especially Daniel and the OT Apocrypha (→ 15,37).

21 **Ch.**] Church.

33 **αγαθοδαιμονες—κακοδαιμονες**] Neither of these expressions occurs in the NT.

35 **שמן**] Or הַשָּׂטָן, Hebrew (haśśātān), "Satan." See Mt 12:26, ὁ σατανᾶς, Greek (ho satanás), "Satan," also referred to in the NT as the devil.

35 **βεελσεβουβ**] Greek (beelseboúb), erroneous spelling of βεελζεβουβ (beelzeboúb). In older editions of the Greek and of earlier modern European translations of the NT this was often spelled Beelzebub (e.g., Mt 10:25). However, the form βεελζεβουλ (beelzeboúl) is better attested and has been adopted in newer editions (e.g., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. G. C. Knapp, 4th ed., 2 vols. (Halle, 1829 [1797]; ASKB 14–15; abbreviated hereafter as *NTG*) and in NT-1819 as Beelzebul. According to 2 Kings 1:2, Beelsebub is the deity of the Philistine town of Ekron.

35 **βελιαλ s. βελιαρ**] Possibly originally the name of a pagan god. The name appears in the OT in the form "Belial" (e.g., 1 Sam 2:12) but in a weakened sense meaning badness or wickedness. The form "Beliar" is found in the NT at 2 Cor 6:15 (NT-1819 has "Belial," however), where the reference is personified and identified with the Antichrist.

36 **ὁ πονερος . . . ο αρχων του κοσμου**] All are used of the devil in *NTG*. See, e.g., Mt 13:19; 1 Pet 5:8; Mt 4:3; Jn 12:31. Kierkegaard writes πονερος instead of πονηρος.

15 1 **ο θεος . . . ὁ αρχων των δαιμονιων**] These are additional names for the devil in *NTG*. See 2 Cor 4:4 and Mt 9:34.

2 **ο οφις αρχαιος . . . ὁ αγγελλος της αβυσσου**] Further designations of the devil in *NTG*. See Rev 12:9 and 9:11. Kierkegaard writes δραχων instead of δρακων and αγγελλος instead of αγγελος.

13 **δαιμονιζομενοι**] See, e.g., Mt 8:28.

13 **εχοντες διαβολον**] The expression does not occur in *NTG*, but compare the expression εχειν δαιμονιον "to have a demon," which occurs especially in John's gospel. See, e.g., Jn 7:20.

14 **βασανιζομενοι**] Cf. Mt 8:29.

14 **ενοχλουμενοι**] Cf. Lk 6:18.

14 **καταδυναστευομενοι**] Cf. Acts 10:38.

25 **Christ's temptation**] See Mt 3:1–11.

34 **the Babylonian exile**] A reference to the deportation of the Jews to Babylon by the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar in 598 and 587 B.C. After the return from the Babylonian exile, many religious ideas, including some relating to demons and angels, were incorporated into Jewish religion.

the O. T. Apocrypha] (→ 15,37). 35

the canonical books] The thirty-nine OT books that 37
all Christian Churches regard as belonging to the canon. Ten apocryphal books were included in the Vulgate as canonical. Luther added the Prayer of Manasseh, but grouped all the apocryphal works together in a section between the OT and the NT, as is also the case with English Protestant Bibles. In the introduction to his German translation of the Bible from 1534, Luther defined them as "books that cannot be counted as of the same worth as the canonical books of Holy Scripture, but which are nevertheless good and useful reading." From *Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamt-Ausgabe (Weimarer Ausgabe)* [The Works of Martin Luther, Complete Critical Edition (Weimar Edition)], pt. 3, "Die deutsche Bibel" [The German Bible], vol. 2 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1909), p. 547.

Asmodeus] The name of an evil spirit mentioned 7 16
in Tob 3:8, and reappearing at 6:8, though without being named.

Philo] Jewish philosopher of Greek culture (ca. 25 9
B.C.–ca. A.D. 50), born in Alexandria, where he was a leading member of the Jewish community. He was an early exponent of the allegorical interpretation of scripture.

Josephus] Flavius Josephus (A.D. 37 or 38–ca. 100), 10
Jewish historian and rabbinic scholar, who, taken captive in the Jewish uprising against Rome, wrote his chief work, *Bellum Iudaicum* [The Jewish War], for and with the support of the Emperor Vespasian.

Symbols] Confessional statements, i.e., texts defin- 24 17
ing faith in a particular Church tradition.

the Augsburg Confession] → 7,19. 25

causa peccati est . . . videlicet diaboli et impiorum] 29
From *Confessio Augustana*, art. 19, "De causa peccati" [On the Cause of Sin], in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 15 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 75).

Diabolus impellit homines . . . manifesta scelera] 31
Loosely quoted from *Confessio Augustana*, art. 20. 32, "De bonis operibus" [Of Good Works], in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 18 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, pp. 80–81).

Chr. impios homines . . . ut sine fine crucientur] 33
Loosely quoted from *Confessio Augustana*, art. 17.3

"De Christi reditu ad judicium" [On Christ's Returning to Judge], in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 14 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften,* p. 72).

18 4 **Created in God's Image**] See Gen 1:26–27.

16 **How is the narrative . . . in the second chapter?**] Note the significant differences between the account of creation in Gen 1:1–2:4a and that in Gen 2:4b–25.

17 **Isaac Peirère**] Isaac de la Peyrère (1594–1676), French Calvinist, in service to the prince of Condé. In his work *Prae-Adamitae* [The Pre-Adamites], published in Amsterdam in 1655, he developed a peculiar interpretation of Rom 5:12–14 in which he argued that there had existed pre-Adamic human beings. He interpreted Gen 2:4b–25 as the account of the subsequent creation of Adam. His book was condemned to be burned in Paris, and Peyrère was imprisoned in Brussels. Later, he traveled to Rome, recanted his misinterpretations, and was received into the Roman Catholic Church. Peyrère's pre-Adamic theory was discussed in both *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m,1*), § 75, p. 216 n. 2, and in Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m,1*), § 76, pp. 337–338 n. 6.

19 **How is the descent . . . the variety of races?**] A reference to the theory that there were co-Adamites, i.e., that the human race is not descended from one ancestral couple but from several. See, e.g., *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m,1*), § 75, p. 216 n. 2, and Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m,1*), § 76, pp. 338–339 n. 6.

26 **בְּצֶלֶם כִּדְמוּת**] i.e., in the image and according to the likeness of God.

27 **νους, πνευμα, ψυχη and σωμα, σαρξ**] Clausen is pointing to the dualism or dichotomy in NT anthropology between the spiritual νους, πνευμα, ψυχη and the bodily σωμα, σαρξ.

28 **עָפָר בָּשָׂר—נִשְׁמַת, נֶפֶשׁ רוּחַ**] See Gen 2:7. The point here is to highlight the dichotomy between the spiritual רוּחַ, נֶפֶשׁ, נִשְׁמַת and the bodily בָּשָׂר, עָפָר in the anthropology of the OT. נִשְׁמַת is the construct state of נְשָׁמָה.

30 **σαρξ, πνευμα; ὁ εσω ανθρωπος and ὁ εξω ανθρωπος**] Here it is a question of the twofold division between the bodily σαρξ, ὁ εξω ανθρωπος and the spiritual πνευμα, ὁ εσω ανθρωπος in Pauline anthropology.

a tripartite division] i.e., between the spiritual πνευμα, the psychic ψυχη, and the bodily σωμα. 33

The preexistence school] Those who held that all souls had been created by God prior to the creation of the world and were kept in a preexistent state in the ether or in heaven until they were united at conception with an embryo. 10 19

Justin M.] Justin Martyr (ca. 100–ca. 165), the earliest and most significant of the apologists of the early Church. His work shows a blending of themes from classical philosophy with Christian and biblical insights. He was martyred in Rome. 10

Clement of Alex.] → 7,8. 11

Origen] → 7,9. 11

Theodoret] Theodoret of Cyrrhus (ca. 393–post-457), Greek theologian. From 423 he was made bishop (against his will) of Cyrrhus near Antioch. He left many works of exegesis, Church history, dogmatics, and apologetics. He was a zealous participant in the Christological controversies of the time. 11

Creatianists] Adherents of the view that at every conception God creates a new soul immediately prior to the production of an embryo and forty days later unites it to the embryo. Also called Creationists. 11

Ambrose] Latin Church Father (ca. 339–397), from 374 Bishop of Milan, where he exerted an important influence on the young Augustine, among others. His surviving works comprise many letters as well as writings that included works of an ethical and doctrinal content. 12

Jerome] → 7,9. 12

Pelagius] British monk and ascetic preacher, active in Rome ca. 400. Ca. 410 he went to Africa, and from there to Palestine, where he is last heard of in 418 (→ 30,19). 12

The Traducians] Adherents of the view that the soul is generated simultaneously with the body and is propagated through reproduction by transmission (*per traducem*). 12

Tertullian] → 7,8. 12

Augustine] Aurelius Augustinus (354–430), rhetorician, philosopher, and theologian. He was born in North Africa and from 383 was active in Italy; from 395 was bishop of Hippo. One of the four Fathers of the Latin Church and a foundational figure in Western intellectual as well as religious history. 13

15 **νους s. το ηγεμονικον**] Here in the sense of being the dominant—"hegemonic"—principle.

17 **Irenaeus**] Irenaeus (ca. 130–ca. 200), Greek Church Father. Born in Asia Minor, he became bishop of Lyons ca. 178. His original writings are known only from fragments, although a Latin translation of his comprehensive apologetic work against Gnosticism survives (ca. 180), a work that established him as one of the founders of Catholic doctrinal thought.

18 **Lactantius**] → 12,*14*.

19 **the Alexandrian Ch.**] The Alexandrian School's leading representative was Origen (→ 7,*9*); the Alexandrian School, which represented the Eastern Church, presents an early example of the difference in approach between the Eastern and Western Churches.

25 **Moses**] i.e., as the supposed author of the Pentateuch.

26 **the exile**] → 15,*34*.

20 5 **וַיֶּאָסֶף אֶל עַמָּיו**] Gen 25:8. Quoted from *Biblia hebraica*, ed. A. Hahn, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1831; see ASKB 1; hereafter abbreviated as *Biblia hebraica*).

7 **כִּי אֵרֵד אֶל־בְּנִי אָבֵל שְׁאֹלָה**] Gen 37:35. Quoted from *Biblia hebraica*.

8 **שְׁאֹל from שאל poscere**] See W. Gesenius, *Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti libros* [Hand Dictionary of Hebrew and Chaldean in the Books of the Old Testament] (Leipzig, 1833; abbreviated hereafter as *Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum*; ASKB 72), p. 973, col. 2.

9 **שׁוֹל**] See Gesenius, *Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum*, p. 973, col. 1.

12 **בֵּית מוֹעֵד לְכָל־חָי**] Quoted from Job 30:23 in *Biblia hebraica*.

13 **שַׁעֲרֵי־הַמָּוֶת**] Cf. Ps 9:14 (King James version and *NRSV* 9:13) and 107:18 in *Biblia hebraica*.

13 **אֵלֵכָה בְּשַׁעֲרֵי שְׁאֹל**] Quoted from Isa 38:10 in *Biblia hebraica*.

16 **בְּעָמְקֵי שְׁאֹל**] Quoted from Prov 9:18 in *Biblia hebraica*.

16 **מְתַּחַת מַיִם**] Quoted from Job 26:5 in *Biblia hebraica*.

18 **אֶל־אֶרֶץ חֹשֶׁךְ וְצַלְמָוֶת**] Quoted from Job 10:21 in *Biblia hebraica*.

20 **רָפָאִים from רָפָה εκλειπειν**] See, e.g., Isa 14:10.

29 **the Alexandrian ... the Jewish Apocrypha**] The Alexandrian apocrypha refers to those books that are not found in the Hebrew OT but that were incorporated in the Greek translation of the OT (the Septuagint), ca. 150 B.C., and from there incorporated in the Vulgate. They were never part of the canon among non-Hellenistic Jews.

Sadducees] One of the most important Jewish groups in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, often opposed to the Pharisees (→ 20,*31*) by their denial of the validity of oral tradition and their exclusive adherence to the letter of the Law; they also differed from the Pharisees in denying the immortality of the soul. See *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m*,*1*), § 124, p. 371. 31

Essenes] A Jewish sect originating in the 2nd century B.C. They developed quasi-monastic communities under a priestly leadership. Their life was characterized by extensive moral and ritual cleansing practices as well as by their esoteric teachings. They believed in immortality, but not in physical resurrection. 31

Pharisees] One of the most important Jewish groups, both religiously and politically, in the Hellenistic and Roman period. In addition to the points that distinguished them from the Sadducees (→ 20,*31*) they were notably zealous in living according to the Law of Moses, not least its prescriptions concerning purity. 31

Warburton] William Warburton (1698–1779), English theologian and literary critic; bishop of Gloucester. 1 20*m*

to maintain ... Mosaic religion] See W. Warburton, *The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated on the Principles of a Religious Deist*, 2 vols. (London, 1738–1741), esp. vol. 2, devoted to demonstrating "That the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, is not to be found in, nor did make Part of the Mosaic Dispensation." 2

"For the fate ... to the underworld?"] Eccl 3:19–21. 5

Sheol] → 20,*8* and → 25,*16*. 14

Antiochus] Antiochus IV, known as "Epiphanes" ("The Manifest One"), Seleucid king (175–164 B.C.) and general, who subjected Palestine, suppressing Jewish religious practices and desecrating the temple. 18 21*m*

Judas Macc] Judas Maccabæus or Maccabee, leader of the Jewish uprising against the Seleucids (167–161 B.C.). See 1 Macc 3–9 and 2 Macc 7–13. He rededicated the temple after its desecration by Antiochus (see preceding note). 23

Sodom and G.] Sodom and Gomorrah are the two cities generally believed to have been in the area of the Dead Sea and destroyed by God as a punish- 14 22

ment for their excessive wickedness, Abraham's brother Lot having been one of the few to have escaped (thanks to divine intervention). See Gen 19, and Jesus' reference in Mt 10:15.

15 **Tyre and S.**] Tyre and Sidon were Phoenician trading ports on the Mediterranean coast, often castigated by the Hebrew prophets for their idolatrous religious practices (see, e.g., Jer 47:4). The reference here is to Jesus' more positive mention of them in Mt 11:22.

19 **κρισις ... απολεια s. ολεθρος**] Kierkegaard writes στενοχορια for στενοχωρια and απολεια for απωλεια.

22 **ειναι εν κολπω Αβρααμ**] Lk 16:22.

24 **πυρ αιωνιον**] Mt 18:8 and 25:41.

25 **σκωληξ αυτων ου τελευτᾳ**] Mk 9:44.

27 **οψονται τον θεον**] Mt 5:8.

28 **ειναι συν χριστω ... συν τω Χριστω**] See Phil 1:23; 2 Cor 5:8; Rom 8:17. Kierkegaard writes χριστω instead of Χριστω.

23 18 **καταπαυσις**] See Heb 4:9–11.

21 **ενωπιον του βηματος του Χριστου**] 2 Cor 5:10.

23*m* 1 **1834. Richter, Die Lehren von den letzten Dingen**] F. Richter, *Die Lehre von den lezten Dingen* [The Doctrine of the Last Things], 2 vols. (Breslau, 1833–1844). In 1834 Richter published *Der Gott der Wirklichkeit* [The God of Actuality]. — **Friedrich Richter**: (1807–1848), a philosopher of religion, who earned his living as a bookseller in Breslau. In *Die Lehre von den lezten Dingen* he argued that Hegelianism led to the denial of immortality, an assertion that initiated a debate on the subject among German Hegelians.

2 **Weize Die philosoph. Geheimlehre von der Unsterblichkeit**] C. H. Weiße, *Die philosophische Geheimlehre von der Unsterblichkeit des menschlichen Individuums* [The Secret Philosophical Doctrine of the Immortality of the Human Individual] (Dresden, 1834). — **Christian Hermann Weiße**: (1801–1866), German philosopher of religion, from 1828 to 1838 extraordinary professor at Leipzig and ordinary professor from 1845. Weiße held a middle position between Hegelianism and late idealism.

4 **Göschel**] C. F. Göschel, *Zur Lehre von den letzten Dingen* [On the Doctrine of the Last Things] (Berlin, 1834). — **Carl Friedrich Göschel**: (1784–1861), German jurist and philosopher. From 1819 he held various judicial posts and in 1834 held office in the Ministry of Justice in Berlin. He was a Right Hegelian and defender of speculative theology.

Fichte] I. H. Fichte, *Die Idee der Persönlichkeit und der individuellen Fortdauer* [The Idea of Personality and of Individual Survival] (Elberfeld, 1834; ASKB 505). — **Immanuel Hermann Fichte**: (1796–1879), German philosopher, professor at Bonn from 1840 and at Tübingen from 1842 to 1863. 4

κρισις αιωνιος] Later editions have ἁμαρτημα (hamártçma), "sin" instead of κρισις. 7 24

το σκωληξ αυτων ου τελευτᾳ] → 22,25. Kierkegaard writes το instead of ὁ. 7

Athenagoras, (περι αναςταξεως των νεκρων)] Athenagoras (2nd century A.D.), Christian apologist and generally supposed to have written the treatise whose title is given here (peri anastáseôs tôn nekrôn [On the Resurrection of the Dead]) and that seeks to provide a philosophical justification for faith in the resurrection of the body. 29

Tertullian † 220] → 7,8 and → 24*m*,1. 30

Justin M. † 165] → 19,10. Justin wrote on the resurrection in the first part of his *Apology* (between A.D. 150 and 160), written for the Emperor Antonius Pius (see ASKB 141). 30

two books by Origen † 254] → 7,9. According to Eusebius, Origen wrote a "Treatise on the Resurrection, Which Comprises Two Books." See Eusebius, *Kirkens Historie gjennem de tre første Aarhundreder af Eusebius* [Eusebius's History of the Church in the First Three Centuries], trans. C. H. Muus (Copenhagen, 1832; ASKB U 37), bk. 2, chap. 24, p. 369. 30

a book by Clement of Alex († 218)] → 7,8. The reference could be to the lost "Treatise on Easter." See *Kirkens Historie gjennem de tre første Aarhundreder af Eusebius* (→ 24,30), pp. 351–352. 31

Hymenaeus and Philetus] Hymenaeus and Philetus were two teachers of false doctrine named in 2 Tim 2:17–18 as "claiming that the resurrection has already taken place." 37

de resurrectione carnis] Latin (book title), *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, by Tertullian (→ 7,8). 1 24*m*

Celsus] Epicurean philosopher of the 2nd century and the target of Origen's apologetic work Κατὰ Κέλσου (*Against Celsus,* ca. 246–248), which responded to Celsus's attack on Christian teachings in his Ἀληθὴς λόγος (*True Doctrine,* written between 176 and 180). 2

25 6 **Paulicians**] A dualistic Armenian sect that developed in the 7th century. They rejected parts of both the OT and the NT, and also rejected baptism, the Eucharist, crosses, and icons. They survived wars with both Greek Orthodox and Muslim opponents in Anatolia and possibly influenced the Cathars.

6 **Cathars**] A dualistic sect, "the pure ones" of the 12th century, teaching the salvation of the soul from the realm of darkness by means of ascetic exercises. Brutally suppressed by the Latin Church.

7 **scholastics**] The generic term for medieval Latin theologians, whether based in monasteries or universities, and especially for those using the methods and findings of Aristotelian philosophy in their theological work.

8 **More recent dogmaticians**] e.g., Marheineke (→ 25,*9*).

9 **Marheincke**] i.e., Marheineke (→ 12,*9*). See his *Die Grundlehren der christlichen Dogmatik als Wissenschaft*, §§ 598–607, pp. 384–391.

13 **ψυχοπαννυχια**] See Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m*,*1*), § 144, p. 642: "the hypothesis of a sleep of the soul (ψυχοπαννυχία—*Psychopannychitae*) via the sect of the *Arabians*." Hahn also mentions that in 1545 Calvin published a work titled Ψυχοπαννυχία (p. 643).

16 **μεταψυχησις**] See Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m*,*1*), § 144, p. 642, where he discusses the introduction into Christianity of what he calls "the oriental-Greek notion of a *migration* of souls (μετεμψύχωσις) by the *Gnostics* and *Manichees*."

16 **the Jewish idea of a Hades**] The name Hades comes from Greek mythology. It is an underworld, depicted as a dark realm of shades under the earth. The term is sometimes used in Hellenistic Judaism for Sheol (→ 20,*8*), the subterranean abode of the dead.

23 **his preaching in the underworld**] This refers to the traditional interpretation of 1 Pet 3:19, where it is said that "he went and made a proclamation to the spirits in prison."

30 **patres**] i.e., the OT patriarchs.

34 **locus purgatorius**] i.e., purgatory (→ 26,*1*).

36 **Orcus s. Geenna**] "Orcus" is a Roman term for the underworld; "Gehenna" is a Greek form of the Hebrew *gê'-hinnom* ("the vale of Hinnom"), a ravine in the vicinity of Jerusalem and, from the time of Jeremiah, believed to be the place where the wicked were punished after death.

"weeping and gnashing of teeth."] See Mt 22:13. 5 25*m*

identitas ex primis staminibus] A reference to J. S. Baumgarten's idea, taken up into orthodox doctrine, that the identity between the present body and the resurrected body is concentrated in the most essential and noblest elements of the present body. See Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m*,*1*), § 152, p. 661n. 10

The gospel of Nicodemus . . . during his death] → 52,*33*. 11

Hermas's . . . the dead] *The Shepherd of Hermas*, "The ninth parable," chap. 16, verses 5–7. *The Shepherd of Hermas* (Ποιμην) is a work of the apostolic Fathers, written in Rome ca. 120–140, its author describing himself as a freed slave. 15

The doctrine of purgatorial fire] Catholic doctrine teaches that souls that are not yet sufficiently pure to enter heaven are purged (thus "purgatory") in the course of an intermediate state between life on earth and life in heaven. 1 26

the Zenda religion] A dualistic religion traced back to the Iranian philosopher and prophet Zarathustra (or Zoroaster), its sacred books being known as the *Zend-Avesta*. These teach that the world will be cleansed by an universal conflagration at the end of time. See *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m*,*1*), § 124, p. 374 n. 7. 2

Pythagoras] (580–ca. 500 B.C.). In addition to his mathematical work, Pythagoras was known as a religious teacher inspired by Orphic ideas of the immortality of the soul. 3

Plato] According to Plato, the world conflagration is merely an external image of the purgation of the soul. See *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m*,*1*), § 124, p. 374 n. 7. 3

Heraclitus] (ca. 540–480 B.C.), Greek philosopher, known as "the obscure" because he often gave his teaching in contradictory aphorisms. His work survives only in fragments. He taught that the world was formed out of fire and would in the end be destroyed by fire. 3

the Stoics] A Greco-Roman philosophical school that flourished from ca. 300 B.C. to ca. A.D. 200. The Stoics developed a comprehensive philosophy with special emphasis on logic, physics, and ethics. They developed Heraclitus's idea of a world-conflagration. In earlier versions of this idea, a new world would emerge after the fire. Later, the conflagration was seen as teleologically ordered toward the 3

generation of such a new world. Seneca (1st century A.D.) also teaches a twofold ending of the world, one through water, one through fire.

4 **the Scandinavians**] Norse mythology speaks of Surt (or Surtur), the sworn enemy of the gods who, on the day of Ragnarok, will invade heaven and consign heaven and earth to fire. See J. B. Møinichen, *Nordiske Folks Overtroe, Guder, Fabler og Helte indtil Frode 7 Tider* [The Superstitions, Gods, Fables and Heroes of the Nordic Peoples up to the Times of Frode VII] (Copenhagen, 1800; ASKB 1947), p. 426. Only the poem "Vøluspá" has a more extensive account of the world conflagration, probably influenced by Christian ideas.

5 **Gregory M. † 604**] Gregorius Magnus, i.e., Gregory the Great (Gregory I), ca. 540–604, pope from 590.

8 **Synodus Florentina 1439**] The Synod of Florence, 1437–1439. The aim of the council was to reunite the Eastern and Western Churches, not least with regard to the question of purgatory and the associated practice of indulgences. Although the council made some progress, it did not achieve lasting success.

9 **Conc. Trid. 1545–63**] Concilium Tridentinum or the Council of Trent, 1545–1547, 1551–1552, and 1562–1563. This reaffirmed the doctrine of purgatory (→ 26,*10*), although the doctrine of indulgences did not receive complete theological clarification.

10 **catholica ecc. . . . altaris sacrificio juvari**] A shortened adaptation of the Council of Trent's decree on purgatory. See *Sacrosancti et oecumenici concillii Tridentini . . . canones et decreta* [Most Holy and Ecumenical Council of Trent . . . Canons and Decrees] (Rouen, 1657), p. 238.

14 **festum omnium animarum**] The origins of this festival are uncertain, but it has been widely kept since the 10th century and with official sanction from the 15th. It is dedicated to intercession for the "faithful departed," sometimes with a view to shortening their time in purgatory.

18 **Justin M. † 165**] → 19,*10*.

19 **Tatian**] Greek philosopher and Christian apologist, flourished in the second half of the 2nd century. Born in Assyria, he was converted in Rome, ca. 150, and became a follower of Justin Martyr. His theology was influenced by Gnosticism and idealism and is known from the Latin translation of his apology, *Oratio ad Graecos* [Address to the Greeks].

Theophilus] Clausen is probably thinking of Theophilus of Antioch (second half of the 2nd century), Christian apologist and bishop of Antioch. His theology is known from a three-part apologetic work addressed to a pagan friend, *Theophilos to Autolykos*. 19

Athanasius] Athanasius the Great (ca. 297–373), Greek Church Father, from 326 bishop of Alexandria, and often referred to as "the father of orthodoxy" for his defense of the divinity of the Son against the Arians. 19

Clement] → 7,*8*. 21

Origen] → 7,*9*. 21

σκοτος εξωτερον] Mt 22:13. 23

Justinian] Justinian I or the Great, Byzantine emperor (527–565). 27

553 at the Conc. Constantinopolitanum] Concilium Constantinopolitanum, i.e, the Council of Constantinople, the fifth ecumenical council, called by Justinian in 553. 28

Gregory of Nyssa † 394] Gregory (ca. 335–394) was one of the three great Cappadocian Fathers. From 372 he was bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia (in eastern Asia Minor) and participated in the second ecumenical council at Constantinople in 381. 30

Theodore of Mopsuestia † 428] Theodore (ca. 350–428) was a Greek theologian with a background in philosophy and rhetoric. From 383 he was a presbyter in Antioch and later bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia (southeast Asia Minor). An important exegete, he participated in many of the doctrinal debates of the time but was declared heretical at the fifth ecumenical council at Constantinople in 553. 30

Jerome † 420] → 7,*9*. 31

Diodore of Tarsus † 360] Diodore (d. 394), was a Greek theologian and from 378 was bishop of Tarsus. He took part in the second ecumenical council at Constantinople in 381. Only the titles and some fragments of his works have survived. He was subsequently regarded as heretical. 31

Augustine] → 19,*13*. 33

Because the Greeks were present] → 26,*8*. 3 26*m*

the fire] i.e., of purgatory. 5

poenæ damni] According to *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m*,*1*), § 127, p. 383, these are to be understood as privative, i.e., as their being deprived of blessedness. 1 27

1 **poenæ sensus**] i.e., punishments of a physical as well as a spiritual kind. Among these is the recognition by the damned that their lives have been wasted, resulting in a hopeless despair. When these punishments are referred to as positive, this is not in the sense that they have any positive or ameliorating effect, but that they are experienced as something inflicted, and not merely as privative.

9 **scientia media**] → 75,5.

22 **Doederlein**] Presumably Johann Christopher Döderlein (1745–1792), German Protestant theologian, a representative of Lutheran orthodoxy and a supernaturalist (→ 9,16) who was well regarded as an exegete and dogmatician. From 1772 he was professor at Altorf and from 1782 at Jena.

23 **Morus**] Samuel Friedrich Nathanael Morus (1736–1792), German philologist and Protestant theologian of Enlightenment views. From 1771 he was professor of ancient languages at Leipzig and from 1782 professor of theology.

23 **Storr**] Gottlob Christian Storr (1746–1805), German Protestant theologian, a supernaturalist (→ 9,16); at the University of Tübingen he served as professor of philosophy from 1775 and of theology from 1777. From 1797 he was a member of the Consistory Council in Stuttgart.

23 **Reinhardt**] Franz Volkmar Reinhard (1753–1812), German Protestant theologian, a supernaturalist (→ 9,16), who was extraordinary professor of philosophy at Wittenberg and from 1784 also ordinary professor of theology. From 1792 he was a member of the Church Council and of the Upper Consistory Council in Dresden.

23 **Knapp**] Georg Christian Knapp (1753–1825), German Protestant theologian influenced by Halle pietism. From 1775 he was professor at Halle and from 1785 director of the Franck Foundations in Halle. He was editor of *NTG* (→ 14,35).

33 **the symbolic books of our Church**] The primary symbols (confessional books) of the Danish Church were *Den augsburgske Bekendelse* [The Augsburg Confession] (1530) and *Dr. Martin Luthers lille Katekismus* [Dr. Martin Luther's Little Catechism] (1529).

40 **In the other . . . definitely rejected**] See, e.g., *Artikel christlicher Lehre / Articuli christianae doctrinae* [Articles of Christian Faith] (also known as the Schmalkaldic Articles), written by Luther in 1536 as a comprehensive statement of doctrine for Protestants and translated from German into Latin in 1541 and 1580. In pt. 2, art. 2.12 (on the Mass) *Fegdeuer* ("Purgatory") is referred to as a *Teufelgespenst* ("a devilish phantom") and is said to contradict the chief article of evangelical faith, that Christ alone, and not any human work, is able to save souls (*Die Bekenntnisschriften* [→ 7,20], p. 420).

Symb. apost.] Symbolum apostolicum (the Apostles' Creed). 1 27*m*

κυριος ερχεται . . . και νεκρους] Quoted in accordance with the early formulation by Marcellus of Ancyra (ca. 340); "The Lord" is an addition. 1

πιστευω εις σαρκος αναστασιν και ζωην αιωνιον] Quoted in the form found in Marcellus of Ancyra (ca. 340). "I believe in" and the "and" are additions. 3

symb. Nicænum] Symbolum Nicænum (the Nicene Creed), promulgated at the Council of Nicea in 325. 5

προςδοκωμεν αναστασιν . . . ζωην μελλοτος αιωνος] From the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, promulgated at the second ecumenical council at Constantinople in 381. 5

Symb. Athanas.] Symbolum Athanasianum (the Athanasian Creed) (→ 38,4). 1 28*m*

Omnes homines resurgere habent . . . rationem] See *Den danske Kirkes symbolske Bøger* (→ 7,20), p. 5. From art. 38, in *Libri symbolici,* p. 4 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften,* p. 30). 1

et qui bona egerunt . . . in ignem æternum] See *Den danske Kirkes symbolske Bøger* (→ 7,20), p. 5. From art. 39, in *Libri symbolici,* p. 4 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften,* p. 30). 4

Confessio Aug.] *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7,19). 7

Chr piis et electis . . . finem poenarum futurum esse] See *Den danske Kirkes symbolske Bøger* (→ 7,20), p. 17. Approximate quotation is from *Confessio Augustana*, art. 17, "De Christi reditu ad judicium" [On Christ's Returning in Judgment], in *Libri symbolici,* p. 14 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften,* p. 72). 7

Confessio Gallica] or *Gallicana,* Latin, "the Gallic Confession." A Reformed confession from 1559, composed in Latin and presented to the French King Francis II. 15

humanum commentum . . . conscientiis impositum] An approximate quotation from art. 24 in *Confessio Gallicana*. See B. Winer, *Comparative Darstellung des Lehrbegriffs der verschiedenen christlichen Kirchenpartheien* [Comparative Presentation of the Doctrinal Concepts of the Different Christian 16

Church Parties] (Leipzig, 1824; abbreviated hereafter as *Comparative Darstellung*; see ASKB 178 [2nd ed., 1837]), p. 90. It is also cited in Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m,1*), § 144, p. 646. In the original, *humanum commentum* is plural—*humana commenta*—not singular.

29 5 **According to Paul's teaching**] See esp. Rom 5–7.

9 **the O. T. narrative**] That is, the story of the Fall in Gen 3.

30 9 **God's image**] See Gen 1:27.

13 **Tertullian ... power of doing good**] See Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m,1*), § 80, pp. 367–368 n. 1, where there is a fully sourced account of Tertullian's (→ 7*,8*) interpretation.

19 **Pelagius ... hum. relation to God**] Pelagius (→ 19*,12*) denied the doctrine of original or hereditary sin and asserted that free will is sufficient to lead a sinless life in accordance with the will of God. He regarded sin as an action, not a state, and believed that all are born, like Adam, as originally created by God. However, he did not reject the idea of grace, which he believed to have been given through Christ and which assists us in becoming holy by Christ's inspiring example. His teachings were condemned at Augustine's instigation by two African synods in 416 and 418, and, at the urging of Augustine, by a Western imperial edict in 419. He was not, however, formally condemned in the East.

25 **Augustine proposed this doctrine**] It is only after Augustine (→ 19*,13*) that the idea of original sin was made a dogma, that is, a binding article of faith. Augustine's view was that sin is effective in sexual reproduction and thereby present in conception in such a way that all are born without the capacity to do the good. See *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m,1*), § 81, p. 231.

28 **This system triumphed**] The dogma of original sin was affirmed at the Councils of Carthage in 412, 416, and 418 and at the Council of Ephesus in 431.

31 **semi-Pelagian ... good works**] Semi-Pelagianism, which was especially influenced by the monastic writer John Cassian (d. ca. 435), asserted that saving grace is offered by God to all, but that human beings are free to refuse it and may cooperate in doing the good and in their salvation.

34 **gen. acceptance in the Middle Ages**] Semi-Pelagianism had sufficient support in southern Gaul to secure the condemnation of Augustine's doctrine of predestination at a synod in the 470s. This elicited a strong reaction from supporters of the Augustinian view, especially Cæsarius of Arles (d. 543), which led to the countercondemnation of semi-Pelagianism at the Council of Orange in 529, which adopted a modified view of Augustine's doctrine of grace. On the one hand, the Council of Orange asserted that, because of human absolute sinfulness, salvation is by God's grace alone, but, on the other hand, it rejected the view that God foreordains men to do evil. And because at the same time it emphasized that the human will is set free by divine grace and, with God's help, can and should do those works that are rewarded with eternal life, scope was given for ideas of human cooperation in the work of salvation. The council's view was confirmed by the bishop of Rome in 531 and thus became the official doctrine of the Western Church.

36 **sanctioned at the conc. Trid.**] See Concilium Tridentinum (→ 26*,9*), session 5, "De peccato originale" [On Original Sin], § 5, and session 6, "De justificatione" [On Justification], canon 1. See *Sacrosancti et oecumenici concilii Tridentini* (→ 26*,10*), pp. 14–15, 37.

4 31 **Augsb. Conf.**] The Augsburg Confession (→ 7*,19*).

9 **the Formula of Concord ... div. grace**] The Formula of Concord was the last of the Lutheran confessions. Written in German, it was signed in 1577–1578 by a great many princes, imperial cities, and theologians (for a total of about eight thousand signatures). It thus acquired the status of a confessional document, although this was never so in Denmark. Published in the *Konkordiebogen* [Book of Concord] in 1580, it was translated into Latin as the *Formula Concordiae* in 1598; see pt. 2, art. 1, "Von der Erbsünde" / "De Peccato Originis" [On Original Sin]. See also *Apologia Confessionis Augustanae* [A Defense of the Augsburg Confession], written in Latin by the German Reformer, Philipp Melanchthon in 1530–1531. This was ratified in 1537 as part of the Schmalkaldic Articles and thus became an official Lutheran confession. It had been freely translated into German in 1531; see art. 2, "De Peccato originali" / "Von der Erbsünde" [On Original Sin]. See also *De schmalkaldiske Artikler* (→ 27*,40*), pt. 3, art. 1, "Von der Synde" / "De Peccato" [Of Sin], and *Libri symbolici* (→ 7*,20*), esp. pp. 639–654, 50–59, 317–318. (*Die Bekenntnisschriften,* pp. 843–866, 145–157, 433–435).

14 **Conf. Aug.**] *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7,19).

14 **docent . . . coram deo justificari posse**] From *Den danske Kirkes symbolske Bøger* (→ 7,20), pp. 10–11. Quoted from art. 2, "De peccato originis" [On Original Sin] in *Confessio Augustana*, in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), pp. 9–10 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 53).

23 **Jansenius**] Cornelius Jansen the younger (1585–1638), a Catholic theologian from the Low Countries, was professor at Leuven from 1619 and from 1636 bishop of Ypres. Jansen founded the reform movement known as Jansenism, which became especially influential in France. The reference here is to his main work *Augustinus* (→ 65*m*,2), which appeared two years after his death and in which he offered a new interpretation of Augustine's doctrine of sin and grace. The work was banned by the Inquisition for repeating several of Michael de Bay's (→ 64*m*,19) teachings.

32 2 **Soteriology**] The doctrine of salvation.

10 **Messiah**] Greek, transcription of the Hebrew (māšîaḥ and Aramaic mešîḥa), corresponding to the Greek, *Christos*; Latin, *Christus*.

17 **κατ᾽ ευδοκιαν του θεληματος**] Eph 1:5 in *NTG*.

18 **κατ᾽ ευδοκιαν, ην προεθετο**] Eph 1:9 in *NTG*.

18 **κατα προθεσιν των αιωνων**] Eph 3:11 in *NTG*.

24 **αγαπη, χρηστοτης . . . χαρις αντι χαριτος**] Kierkegaard writes φιλανθροπια instead of φιλανθρωπια (philanthrôpía) and σωτεριος instead of σωτηριος (sôtçrios).

32*m* 1 **Messianic psalms**] Psalms interpreted as prophetic of the coming Messiah (→ 32,10). [kn1-9000] **Micah 5:1**] N. B.: here and elsewhere there is different numeration of verses in the Danish and English Bibles. The Danish numeration is followed in the main text, and the *NRSV* and King James version references are given in translator's footnotes.

19 **the shoot of David's rod**] See Isa 11:1. (Jesse was father of David.)

33 **political grounds**] This refers to the view that the Alexandrian Jews excluded descriptions and expectations of the Messiah from the apocryphal books in order to keep such passages from being interpreted politically in the 2nd century B.C., when the situation was tense because of conflicts between the Seleucid (Syrian) and Ptolemaic (Egyptian) dynasties (→ 21*m*,18).

33 **Platonic philosophy**] The Alexandrian School (→ 19,19) was influenced by Platonic philosophy.

Chr. potuit non peccare] This and the following assertion attempt to distinguish between (1) Christ's power over actual sins and (2) his freedom from the very possibility of sinning. The former was regarded as an older and the latter as a more modern view. See, e.g., *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m*,1), § 9, p. 260 n. 10. 18 33

Chr. non potuit peccare] See preceding note. 18

Chr.'s temptation] See Mt 4:1–11. 22

the letter is not authentic] The letter to the Hebrews is in fact anonymous and was only taken into the canon at a late date. It has been traditionally ascribed to Paul, but it is more likely to have been written by a disciple of the apostles in the 80s or 90s. Luther regarded it as not firmly evangelical and identified it, along with the letters of James and Jude and the Book of Revelation, as being outside "the right and sure main works of the NT." 24

Suetonius] Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (ca. A.D. 70–post-121), Roman historian. The reference is possibly to a description of the prophecies concerning the birth of the Emperor Augustus that are similar in style to some messianic prophecies. See *C. Suetonii Tranquilli Tolv første romerske Keiseres Levnetsbeskrivelse* [An Account of the Lives of the First Twelve Roman Emperors by C. Suetonius Tranquillus], trans. J. Baden, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1802–1803; ASKB 1281), vol. 1, p. 185. 4 33*m*

Tacitus] Publius Cornelius Tacitus (ca. 55–120), Roman historian, praetor, and consul. The reference is possibly to Tacitus's discussion of Jesus' trial before Pilate in bk. 15, chap. 4 of his *Annals*. See *Cajus Cornelius Tacitus*, trans. J. Baden, 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1773–1797; ASKB 1286–1288), vol. 2 (1775), pp. 281–282. 4

the second Temple] The Temple of Zerubabbel, built 520–515 B.C., after the return from exile (Ezra 3–6). 15

the prayer in Gethsemane] See Mt 26:39. 26

Mt 14:17] The correct reference is to Mt 19:17. 27

ουκ ην δυνατον . . . υπο θανατου] *NTG*, however, reads αυτου instead of θανατου. 19 34

In 1819 Brennecke published . . . the resurrection] J. A. Brennecke, *Biblischer Beweis: Daß Jesus nach seiner Auferstehung noch sieben und zwanzig Jahr leibhaftig auf Erden gelebt und zum Wohl der Menschheit in der Stille fortgewirkt habe. Jesu zu Ehren, allen Theologen zu ernster Prüfung empfohlen* [A Biblical Proof That after His Resurrection, Jesus Lived Bodily on 1 34*m*

Earth for Twenty-seven Years and Secretly Worked for the Good of Humanity. In Honor of Jesus, and Earnestly Recommended to All Theologians] (Lüneburg, 1819). — **Brennecke**: Jakob Andreas Brennecke; no further information about him is available to the editors.

4 **impalpable and nonlocal**] This alludes to the new properties that Lutheran orthodox dogmatics ascribed to Christ's resurrected body: glorification, invisibility, impalpability, non-locality, and immortality. See, e.g., Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m*,1), § 97, p. 473n.

35 11 **γενομενος εκ γυναικος**] Gal 4:4.

18 **ηρξατο λυπεισθαι και αδημονειν**] Mt 26:37.

19 **γενομενος εν αγωνια**] Lk 22:44.

19 **ενεβριμησατο τω πνευματι**] Jn 11:33.

20 **εγαλλιασατο τῳ πνευματι**] Lk 10:21. *NTG* has ηγαλλιασατο.

25 **ὁν ὁ πατερ ηγιασε**] Jn 10:35. Kierkegaard writes πατερ instead of πατηρ.

36 1 **ὁ λογος σαρξ εγενετο**] Jn 1:14 in *NTG*.

2 **πληρης πνευματος αγιου**] Lk 4:1 in *NTG*.

4 **εργα εποιησε, α ουδεις αλλος**] Jn 15:24 in *NTG*.

10 **the judges and kings**] The Israelite judges and kings in general, although 2 Sam 7:14 refers only to King David.

15 **the 3 gosps.**] i.e., the three synoptic Gospels, Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

15 **epistles**] The NT epistles or letters, primarily those of Paul.

19 **ο πατερ εδιδαξεν με**] Jn 8:28. Kierkegaard writes πατερ instead of πατηρ.

21 **ὁ πατερ φιλει . . . α ποιει**] Jn 5:20 in *NTG*. Kierkegaard writes πατερ instead of πατηρ.

21 **πατηρ εν εμοι μενων**] Jn 14:10 in *NTG*.

37 20 **Gnostic**] → 7,5.

20 **Ebionite**] The Ebionites were an early Christian sect that emphasized Christ's human rather than his divine nature and regarded him chiefly as a prophet.

23 **θεανθρωπος**] i.e., the doctrinal statement that Jesus Christ is truly God and truly human in a genuine and actual unity. The expression is first encountered in Origen (→ 7,9).

35 **Apollinarian**] In the second half of the 4th century, Apollinaris (ca. 310–ca. 390), bishop of Laodicea in Syria, asserted that the divine Logos or Word took the place of the human rational soul in Christ, with the further implication that Christ only assumed a human body and not also a human soul or reason. Apollinarianism was condemned at the Council of Constantinople in 381.

Nestorian] The Nestorian dispute took place in the first half of the 5th century, occasioned by Nestorius (ca. 381–451), bishop of Constantinople from 428, who asserted that the divine and human natures in Christ remained separate, so that there was not a genuine unity but only a "conjunction" of the two natures. The Nestorian dispute (428–451) was in fact more concerned with the Virgin Mary's title as *theotókos* ("one who gave birth to God"). The Nestorians were willing to accept this but wanted to supplement it with *anthropotókos* ("one who gave birth to a human being") or, ideally, *Christotókos* ("one who gave birth to Christ"). Nestorianism was condemned at the fourth ecumenical council of Chalcedon in 451. (→ 37,37). 36

Monophysite] The Monophysite dispute of the first half of the 5th century was occasioned by Eutyches's (see below) assertion that after the incarnation the divine and human natures constituted a single nature and that the divine nature had absorbed the human. Monophysitism too was condemned as heretical at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 (→ 37,37). 37

Eutyches] Eutyches (ca. 378–post-454) was abbot of a large monastery in Constantinople. 37

the Council of Chalcedon 451] The fourth ecumenical council, which brought an end to the Christological controversies of the preceding centuries. 37

ο χριστος . . . μιαν υποσταςιν] Loosely quoted from the Chalcedonian Definition. Clausen's source has not been traced. — **Duophysitism**: As opposed to Monophysitism, duophysitism maintains that Christ's two natures remained distinct. 38

Symbolum Athanas.] Symbolum Athanasianum (→ 38,4). 19 37*m*

sicut anima rationalis . . . deus et homo unus est Chr.] From *Den danske Kirkes symbolske Bøger* (→ 7,20), p. 5. Quoted from art. 35 of the Athanasian Creed, in *Libri symbolici*, p. 4 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 30). The "et" before "deus" is superfluous. 19

De Wette . . . theology] W. M. L. de Wette, *Ueber Religion und Theologie. Erläuterungen zu seinem Lehrbuch der Dogmatik* [On Religion and Theology: Clarifications of His Textbook on Dogmatics], 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1821 [1815]), p. 252. — **Wilhelm Martin** 22

Leberecht de Wette: (1780–1849), German Protestant theologian, from 1807 professor at Heidelberg, and from 1810 at Berlin; owing to his theological and political liberalism he was dismissed in 1819, subsequently becoming professor at Basel (1822).

38 4 **Symb. Athans.**] Symbolum Athanasianum (the Athanasian Creed). Not in fact composed by Athanasius the Great, this is a doctrinal development of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds from the 6th or 7th century, and regarded as normative from the 13th century. Subsequently it was also accepted by the Reformed Churches, including the Anglican Church.

4 **Chr. perfectus deus . . . in deum**] From arts. 30, 32, 34, and 33 of the Athanasian Creed, in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 4; *Den danske Kirkes symbolske Bøger*, pp. 4–5 (*Die Benkenntnissschriften*, pp. 29–30).

8 **Monotheletic**] The Monothelitic controversy of the 7th century centered on whether Christ had a divine and a human will or a single will (*mono-thelesis*, where *thelesis* means "will"). The Monothelites taught that although Christ had two natures, he had only one will. In 638 the emperor made Monothelitism the official doctrine of the Roman Empire, but it was condemned by the seventh ecumenical council at Constantinople in 680–681.

8 **Council of Constantinople**] See preceding note.

9 **δυο φυσικα θεληματα . . . πανσθενει θεληματι**] A shortened and approximate quotation from the anti-Monotheletic definition of the Council of Constantinople (→ 38,8). See Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5m,1), § 95, pp. 465–466 n. 3, where the whole passage is given. Kierkegaard writes ουκ instead of ουχ.

13 **Adoptionist**] Refers to the Adoptionist controversy of the second half of the 8th century, occasioned by the two Spanish bishops Elipandus (→ 38,13) and Felix (→ 38,13), their followers being known as the Adoptionists. Wanting to secure the complete humanity of Christ, they held that it was only through adoption that he received the divine nature and was therefore called Son of God. Adoptionism was condemned at a Frankish royal synod in 792.

13 **Elipandus Toletanensis**] Elipandus of Toledo (717–ca. 800), bishop of Toledo from ca. 780.

13 **Felix Urghellitanus**] Felix of Urgel (d. 818), bishop of Urgel in Catalonia.

16 **Whereas . . . unity in Chr.**] See art. 3, "De filio Dei" [On God's Son] in *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7,19).

18 **the Formula of Concord . . . over-nicety**] See art. 8, "Von der Person Christi" / "De persona Christi" [On the Person of Christ], in both pt. 1 and pt. 2 of *Formula Concordiae* (→ 31,9).

27 **Propositiones verbales**] The source of the expression has not been traced, but it could correspond to the *propositiones personales*, the propositions expressing the consequences of the *communio naturarum* ("communion of natures") or the reciprocal relationship between the divine and human natures in Christ, as well as of the *unio personalis* ("personal union") of the two natures in one person. See Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5m,1), § 94, pp. 451–452 n. 2, and *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5m,1), § 92, p. 262.

28 **Propositiones idiomaticæ**] i.e., propositions that explain and, on the basis of Scripture, demonstrate the mutual *communicatio idiomatum* ("communication of properties") between the divine and human natures in Christ. Art. 8 of the *Formula Concordiae* (→ 31,9) describes three types of such propositions: (1) *genus idiomaticum* (→ 39,2); (2) *genus apotelesmaticum* (→ 39,5); (3) *genus majestaticum* (→ 39,9). See Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5m,1), § 94, pp. 455–456 n. 2, and *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5m,1), § 92, pp. 264–266.

1 38m **The dogmatic writers . . . the div. nature**] A reference to the doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum* (→ 38,28).

2 39 **genus idiomaticum**] Those propositions in which both the divine and human attributes are directly predicated on the whole person (as when Jesus says [Jn 8:38] "before Abraham was, I am," which can be understood as the human Jesus applying the divine attribute of eternity to himself). Cf. *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5m,1), § 92, p. 265.

5 **genus apotelesmaticum**] Those propositions relating to what Christ accomplished or fulfilled in his work of atonement and that belong to his whole person, yet are predicated of either the human or the divine nature (as, perhaps, in the saying "saved by the blood of Jesus," in which the work of salvation is predicated of the human attribute of blood). Cf. *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5m,1), § 92, p. 265.

9 **genus majestaticum s. αυχηματικον**] Propositions of this kind apply the divine attributes directly to the human person, as when it might be said "Jesus is God." Cf. *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5m,1), § 92, p. 266.

39*m* 7 **It was said . . . participate in it**] A reference to the Lutheran doctrine of ubiquity, i.e., of Christ's omnipresence, such that he is able to be both in heaven, at the Father's right hand, and present "in, with, and under" the bread and wine of the Eucharist. See, e.g., art. 10 in *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7,19). See also the doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum* (→ 38,28).

40*m* 20 **Jehovah**] → 14,4.

41 11 **particularism**] The view that only some and not all are elected to be saved by Christ. It was especially prominent among Jansenists (→ 31,23) and Calvinists.

19 **after the closing of the canon**] After the closing of the OT (non-Hellenistic) canon. Clausen here follows the dominant view of his time that the closing of the OT canon occurred in the 2nd century B.C., although more recent scholarship suggests that it was, in fact, in the latter part of the 1st century A.D.

41*m* 33 **Ψ**] → 14,11.

42*m* 5 **cockatrice's den**] The cockatrice, also known as the basilisk, is a mythical animal with the wings of a fowl, the head of a cock, and the tail of a dragon.

40 **the Lord Sabaoth**] "The Lord of Hosts," one of the names of God in the Bible and in Christian worship.

41 **festival of booths**] Also known as the feast of tabernacles, this is one of the three main feasts of the Jewish calendar. Prescriptions for the festival can be found in the books of Leviticus (23:24), Deuteronomy (16:13–16, 31:10) and elsewhere in the OT. It has features of a harvest festival, being kept in autumn (between the fifteenth and the twenty-first days of the seventh month, Tishri), and was also connected with pilgrimage to the Temple in Jerusalem.

44 4 **כָּאֲרִי**] This reading is not given in Kierkegaard's *Biblia hebraica*, but is common in Christian interpretations, suggesting a prophecy of the crucifixion, e.g., "they pierced my hands and my feet" (King James version); but "my hands and my feet have shriveled" (*NRSV*). N. B.: in both King James and *NRSV* this is Ps 22:16.

17 **the disciples . . . and death**] See Mt 16:22–23; Mk 8:32–33; Lk 9:45, 18:34.

19 **an offense to the Jews**] 1 Cor 1:23.

44*m* 5 **the Mosaic religion**] The religion of Israel, Judaism.

10 **חֶבְלֵי הַמָּשִׁיחַ**] i.e., the sufferings preceding the coming of the Messiah.

16 **the great yearly atonement sacrifice**] See Leviticus 16.

16 45 **ὁ υιος του ανθρωπου**] This is the designation Jesus uses most frequently in the Gospels with respect to himself.

3 45*m* **God visits the sins of the fathers**] A reference to the idea expressed in Ex 5:20: "I the Lord your God am a jealous God, punishing children for the iniquity of parents, to the third and fourth generation of those who reject me." See also Ex 34:7; Num 14:18; Deut 5:9.

5 **Ahab**] King of the northern kingdom of Israel (874–851 B.C.) , regarded as an archetypally bad king in the OT for having allowed the cult of Baal to spread under the influence of his wife Jezebel.

9 **The destruction . . . by Nebuchadnezzar**] → 45*m*,11.

11 **Jehoiakim**] Jehoiakim himself died during the war with Babylon, and it was his son Jehoiachin who was actually taken into captivity in 598. The Bible interprets these events as punishment for the idolatry practiced by Jehoiakim's grandfather Manasseh.

12 **the ungodliness of Manasseh**] See 2 Kings 21:1–18. Manasseh was king of the southern kingdom of Judaea from 696 to 642 B.C.

10 46 **ευαγγελιον σωτεριας**] See Eph 1:13 in *NTG*. Kierkegaard wrote σωτεριας instead of σωτηριας.

11 **χαρις σωτεριος**] See Titus 2:11 in *NTG*. σωτεριος is a mistake for σωτηριος.

27 47 **ειρηνην . . . πνευμα υιοθεσιας**] See Rom 8:15 in *NTG*.

38 **προσφορα . . . εις οσμην ευωδιας**] See Eph 5:2 in *NTG*.

23 48 **the apostolic letters**] The letters in the NT ascribed to apostolic authorship.

25 **περιπατειτε ὡς τεκνα φωτος**] Eph 5:8.

8 49*m* **Tertullian . . . satisfacere**] See Tertullian (→ 7,8), *De poenitentia* [On Penance], esp. chap. 7: "Offendisti, sed reconciliari adhuc potes. Habes, cui satisfacias et quidem volentem." ("You have offended, but you may still be reconciled. You have one who can make satisfaction and that is his will.")

1 50 **Anselm of Canterbury . . . satisfactio vicaria**] Anselm of Canterbury (ca. 1033–1109), English scholastic theologian, from 1063 prior of Bec in Normandy, and from 1093 archbishop of Canterbury. In his work *Cur Deus homo?* [Why God Be-

came Man] (1094–1098), he developed his seminal theory of the atonement. A central feature of this is the notion of satisfaction, i.e., that God, having been injured by human wrongdoing, must receive satisfaction before forgiveness can be effected, otherwise his righteousness will be undermined. However, human beings are unable to make satisfaction, on account of their sinfulness. Only the death of Jesus, the sinless one, vicariously bearing in his body the punishment due to all human beings, can do this. The merits of this atoning death are then transferable to human beings, and God's righteousness as well as his will to forgive are united.

4 **The satisfaction theory**] See previous note.

6 **the Catholics' teaching ... works of satisfaction**] In medieval Catholic theology, Christ's death only warded off the eternal punishment of sins, but not the temporal punishment for sins committed after baptism. These temporal punishments were prescribed in the form of penances, imposed as a condition of absolution, thus *satisfactiones canonicae* ("canonical satisfactions"). Clausen also discussed this in his account of the Catholic sacrament of penance in his *Catholicismens og Protestantismens Kirkeforfatning, Lære og Ritus* [Catholic and Protestant Church Constitutions, Doctrines, and Rites] (Copenhagen, 1825), pp. 476–504, esp. p. 481: "Works of ecclesiastical satisfaction are thus to be regarded partly as a punishment for deeds committed, whereby the Church is also satisfied, and partly as a means of improvement, in that the penances imposed are either immediately healing for the errors and transgressions committed, to which they are expressly related, or because they more generally deter from future sinful conduct."

9 **the Augsburg Confession**] → 7,20. See art. 3, "De filio Dei" [On God's Son], and esp. art. 4, "De iustificatione" [On Justification], → 50,19 and → 50,22.

11 **emphasized ... Formula of Concord**] See art. 3, "Von der Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens für Gott" / "De iustitia fidei coram Deo" [On the Righteousness of Faith before God] in the second part of *Formula Concordiae* (→ 31,9).

14 **activa obedientia**] i.e., Christ's fulfilling of the Law that is vicariously effective for human beings.

16 **Arminians**] The Arminians, also known as Remonstrants, were named after Jakob Arminius (1560–1609), a Dutch Calvinist theologian whose teaching moderated the strict Calvinist view of predestination (→ 30,34). He argued that divine sovereignty is compatible with human free will and that Christ died for all and not only for a limited number of the elect. Arminianism was condemned as heretical at the Synod of Dort (Dordt, Dordrecht) (1618–1619).

Socinians] → 9,13. 18

natus ... pro omnibus actualibus peccatis] From 19
Den danske Kirkes symbolske Bøger (→ 7,20), p. 11; an abbreviated quotation from art. 3, "De filio Dei" [On God's Son] in *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7,19), in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 10 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 54).

Chr. ... satisfecit] See *Den danske Kirkes symbolske* 22
Bøger (→ 7,20), p. 12. This is a slightly misquoted extract from art. 4, "De iustificatione" [On Justification] in *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7,19), in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 10 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 56).

Scriptura unum Chr. ... et intercessorem] See *Den* 23
danske Kirkes symbolske Bøger (→ 7,20), p. 23. This is a slightly misquoted extract from art. 21.2, "De cultu sanctorum" [On the Cult of Saints], in *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7,19), in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 19 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 83b).

Cathechismus major] Latin, "the Large Cate- 26
chism," i.e., *Dr. Martin Luthers store Katekismus* (published in 1529 as *Deutsche Katechismus*), which was among the Lutheran symbolic books, though not in Denmark.

Chr. irati patris ... nobis conciliavit] This is a 27
slightly misquoted extract from the exposition of the second article of Luther's *Large Catechism* in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 494 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 652).

repetitio Confessionis (confessio Saxonica)] i.e., P. 28
Melanchthon, *Repetitio Confessionis Augustanae* [The Repetition of the Augsburg Confession] written in 1551 in connection with the Council of Trent (→ 26,9), where he was to have represented the Lutherans. In its twenty-three articles the work recapitulates the content of the *Confessio Augustana*. As the work was commissioned by the Saxon Elector Moritz, it is also called *Confessio Saxonica* [Saxon Confession].

Tanta est justitiæ severitas ... deprecatione filii] 29
The quotation has not been identified.

Cathechismus Heidelbergensis] Latin, "the 32
Heidelberg Catechism" (1562), commissioned by

Elector Frederick III of Pfalz and subsequently a standard of orthodoxy in the Palatinate. The catechism is moderately Calvinist, but conciliatory toward Lutheranism.

50*m* 1 **H. Grotius . . . (justitia rectoria)**] Quoted from *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m*,*1*), § 96, p. 279, 9–12. — **H. Grotius**: Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), Dutch jurist, theologian, and poet. From 1607 he was advocate fiscal of Holland and from 1613 pensionary of Amsterdam (public advocate). He favored the Arminians (→ 50,*16*) and opposed the Socinians (→ 9,*13*). In his main doctrinal work, *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ* [On the Truth of the Christian Religion], he developed a view of the atonement that emphasized God's wisdom rather than his wrath and that anticipated more recent liberal theories. — **justitia rectoria**: i.e., God's righteousness as revealed in the moral or ethical world order.

18 **satisfecit**] → 50,*22*.

19 **the Catholics' teaching**] → 59,*26*.

51 1 **modo beneficia Chr. . . . ipse perfecte præstitissem**] The quotation has not been identified.

8 **The texts . . . obedientia activa**] See, e.g., Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m*,*1*), § 101, p. 484, and *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m*,*1*), § 96, p. 280. — **obedientia activa**: → 50,*14*.

11 **obedientia passiva**] i.e., the obedience shown by Christ's (vicarious) submission to suffering and death.

12 **sufficientissima poenarum . . . poenas sponte susceptam**] This is a slightly abbreviated quotation from *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m*,*1*), § 96, p. 280.

16 **agendo sustulit . . . patiendo sustulit poenam**] See art. 3 in pt. 2 of *Formula Concordiae* (→ 31,*9*).

51*m* 1 **perfectissima legis . . . pro hominibus suscepta**] From *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m*,*1*), § 96, p. 280. According to Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5*m*,*1*), § 101, p. 484n., this gloss is from the rationalist Protestant theologian C. F. von Ammon (ca. 1800).

52 7 **Tollner**] Johann Gottlieb Toellner (1724–1774), German Lutheran theologian, and one of the rationalist neologists. From 1754 he was professor of philosophy and theology at Frankfurt an der Oder. Toellner disputed whether Christ's active obedience (→ 50,*14*) was relevant to his work as an atoner.

7 **Eberhardt**] Johann August Eberhard (1739–1809), German philosopher, occupied a middle position between the Wolffians and the Enlightenment philosophers. Professor of philosophy at Halle from 1778, he regarded natural religion as the sole rational and sufficient religion.

Steinbarth] Gotthelf Samuel Steinbart (1738–1809), German Lutheran theologian and philosopher, and one of the rationalist neologists. From 1774 he was ordinary professor of philosophy and extraordinary professor of theology (ordinary professor from 1806) at Frankfurt an der Oder. 7

Loffler] Josias Friedrich Christian Löffler (1752–1816), German Lutheran rationalist theologian. From 1782 he was professor at Frankfurt an der Oder, and from 1788 general superintendent and upper consistory councilor at Gotha. He was critical of the doctrine of the Trinity and of the satisfaction theory. 8

Hencke] Heinrich Philipp Konrad Henke (1752–1809), German Lutheran rationalist theologian. He was extraordinary professor at Helmstedt from 1778 and ordinary professor from 1780, as well as filling many church offices. He is best known as a church historian. 8

Wegscheider] Julius August Ludwig Wegscheider (1771–1849), German Protestant rationalist theologian. From 1806 he was professor of philosophy and theology at Rinteln, and from 1810 professor of theology at Halle. 8

"**that XChr.'s death . . . their disposition"**] Despite the quotation marks, this seems not to be an actual quotation but a summary of the views of the theologians mentioned. It has similarities with the summary given in *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m*,*1*), § 96, p. 284, incl. n. 14. — **Accommodation**: → 6,*34*. 8

apocryphal gosp. of Nicodemus] The gospel of Nicodemus is an apocryphal work, not earlier than the 4th century. It represents Nicodemus as a witness to the trial and the resurrection of Jesus. It also includes an account of the harrowing of hell. 33

Formula of Concord] → 31,*9*. 34

Satanam devicit . . . sublimibus imaginibus scrutemur] This is an approximate quotation from *Formula Concordiae*, pt. 2, art. 9.2, "De descensu Christi ad Inferos" [On Christ's Descent to Hell], (*Libri symbolici* [→ 7,*20*], p. 788; *Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 1053). 34

Kant . . . hum. being] This is a reference to Kant's idea that Christ is the ideal or archetype of a human being who is well pleasing to God by virtue of 1 52*m*

his moral perfection. See *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloßen Vernunft* [Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone] (Königsberg, 1793), pp. 67ff.

3 **Krug . . . good pleasure**] Untraceable reference. — **Krug**: Wilhelm Traugott Krug (1770–1842), German philosopher and theological rationalist. From 1801 he was extraordinary professor at Frankfurt an der Oder, and from 1804 at Königsberg (as Kant's successor), and from 1809 at Leipzig.

6 **Marheincke . . . metaphysical definition**] See Marheineke, *Die Grundlehren der christlichen Dogmatik als Wissenschaft* (→ 12,9), §§ 380ff., pp. 227ff.

9 **Rufinus says**] A reference to Rufinus's *Commentarius in symbolum apostolorum* [Commentary on the Apostles' Creed], the earliest Latin exposition of the Apostles' Creed (→ 27*m*,1). — **Rufinus**: Tyrannius Rufinus (ca. 345–410), early monastic writer, active in Italy, Egypt, and Jerusalem. He also translated some works by Origen (→ 7,9) into Latin, with the intention of vindicating their orthodoxy.

14 **symb. nicænum**] (→ 27*m*,5).

15 **nic. const.**] Symbolum Nicæno-Constantinopolitanum (→ 27*m*,5).

15 **Athanasii Symbolum**] The Athanasian Creed (→ 38,4).

16 **descendit ad inferos**] See *Den danske Kirkes symbolske Bøger* (→ 7,20), p. 5. Quoted from art. 36 of the Athanasian Creed, in *Libri symbolici*, p. 4 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 30).

53 4 **status exinanitionis**] A reference to dogmatic teaching about Christ's two "states," that of humiliation (*status exaninitionis*) and that of exaltation (*status exaltationis*). See Phil 2:7, where the Vulgate has *exinanivit* for "humbled himself," with reference to his life "in human form" and especially to his suffering and death.

9 **Æpinus, priest in Hamburg**] Johannes Aepinus or Æpin, i.e., Johannes Hoeck (1499–1553), German Lutheran theologian, from 1529 priest and subsequently, from 1532, the first church superintendent in Hamburg. He provoked controversy by interpreting Christ's descent into hell as the ultimate stage of his humiliation and not as the triumphant deliverance of the imprisoned spirits of the just, as in traditional Church teaching.

53*m* 1 **Marheincke . . . evil**] See Marheineke, *Die Grundlehren der christlichen Dogmatik als Wissenschaft* (→ 12,9), § 351, pp. 209–210.

justified . . . by faith not by works] See Rom 3:21–31. 23 54

the apostle James's teaching] See Jas 2:14–26. It was with particular regard to this passage that Luther called the letter of James an "epistle of straw," as it contradicted what Luther understood as the decisive Pauline and evangelical teaching on the priority of faith. 31

This assertion . . . Paul] → 54,23. 3 55

inseparabilis est bona vita . . . bona vita] Approximate quotation from Augustine, *De fide et operibus* [On Faith and Works], 23.42. 4 55*m*

συναποθνῃσκειν τῳ χριστῳ] See 2 Tim 2:11. 1 56

αποδυεσθαι] The word does not appear in *NTG*, although ἐκδυεσθαι (2 Cor 5:4, "be unclothed") and ἐπενδυεσθαι (2 Cor 5:2, "to be clothed") do occur. 3

εγειρεσθαι εξ υπνου] See Rom 13:11. 9

αποθεσθαι τα οπλα] The expression does not occur in *NTG*, but cf. Rom 6:13. 9

το πνευμα αγιον . . . δια της πιστεως] The expression το πνευμα αγιον της πιστεως is not found in the NT, but because 2 Cor 4:13 is referred to, the reference may well be to the expression πνευμα της πιστεως ("the spirit of faith"). 14

Trident. Conc.] The Council of Trent (→ 26,9). 33 57

justificatio non est sola peccatorum . . . cooperationem] Composite and approximate citation from the Council of Trent (→ 26,9), session 6, "De justificatione" [On justification], chap. 7. See *Sacrosancti et oecumenici concilii Tridentini* (→ 26,10), pp. 26–27. 33

disponuntur homines ad justitiam . . . per poenitentiam] Composite citation from the Council of Trent, session 6, chap. 6. See *Sacrosancti et oecumenici concilii Tridentini* (→ 26,10), pp. 25–26. 2 58

fides, nisi ad eam spes . . . cum Chr.] Adapted from the Council of Trent, session 6, chap. 7. See *Sacrosancti et oecumenici concilii Tridentini* (→ 26,10), p. 27. 10

si quis dixerit . . . anathema sit] Abbreviated citation from the Council of Trent, session 6, canon 9. See *Sacrosancti et oecumenici concilii Tridentini* (→ 26,10), p. 39. 11

licet in hac vita quantumvis sancti . . . desinunt esse justi] Shortened quotation from the Council of Trent, session 6, chap. 11. See *Sacrosancti et oecumenici concilii Tridentini* (→ 26,10), p. 31. 15

Si quis dixerit . . . signa justificationis esse] Shortened quotation from the Council of Trent, session 6, canon 24. See *Sacrosancti et oecumenici concilii Tri-* 17

dentini (→ 26,10), p. 41. The words *coram deo* have been omitted just prior to *per bona opera*.

20 **vel justificatum ... anathema sit**] Précis of the Council of Trent, session 6, canon 32. See *Sacrosancti et oecumenici concilii Tridentini* (→ 26,10), p. 43.

59 26 **olim vexabantur ... certamine intelligi potest**] From *Den danske Kirkes symbolske Bøger* (→ 7,20), p. 21. A summarizing quotation from art. 20, "De bonis operibus" [On Good Works] in *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7,19), in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 17 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften,* pp. 78–79).

59*m* 1 **confessio augustana 20th Article**] Art. 20 in *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7,19) is titled "De bonis operibus" [On Good Works]. See *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), pp. 15–19 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften,* pp. 75–81).

2 **justificatio and remissio peccatorum**] See *Confessio Augustana*, art. 20.9.

3 **apologia confessionis**] Latin, shortened version of *Apologia Confessionis Augustanae* (→ 31,9).

4 **consequi remissionem peccatorum et justificari**] Shortened quotation from art. 2.1, "De justificatione" [On Justification] of *Apologia Confessionis*, in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 60 (art. 4.1, in *Die Bekenntnisschriften,* p. 158).

6 **Formula of Concord**] → 31,9.

6 **vocabulum justificationis ... suppliciis absolvere**] Shortened quotation adapted from art. 3.17, "De justitia fidei coram Deo" [On the Righteousness of Faith before God] of *Formula Concordiae*, in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 685 (art. 4.1 in *Die Bekenntnisschriften,* p. 919).

10 **deus non propter nostra merita ... in gratiam recipi**] From *Den danske Kirkes symbolske Bøger* (→ 7,20), p. 12. Quotation from art. 5.3, "De ministerio ecclesiastico" [On Ecclesiastical Office], of *Confession Augustana* in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 11 (art. 4.1, in *Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 58).

60 8 **ordo or oeconomia salutis**] The expression was introduced by J. Carpzov and developed in collaboration with J. S. Baumgarten in the first half of the 18th century in his criticism of pietism's freer approach to the stages of justification and sanctification (→ 60,17).

12 **pietistic schools ... real life**] → 60,8. See *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m*,1), § 106, p. 319.

15 **Luther's Little Cat.**] i.e., *Dr. Martin Luthers lille Katekismus* [Dr. Martin Luther's Little Catechism] (→ 27,33).

Sp. s. me per evangelium vocavit ... conservavit] 15
From *Den danske Kirkes symbolske Bøger* (→ 7,20), p. 68. A quotation from the second art. in *Dr. Martin Luthers lille Katekismus*; see *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 372 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften,* p. 512). — **Sp. s.**: Latin, *Spiritus sanctus*, "the Holy Spirit."

later dogmatic wrtngs] See Hahn, *Lehrbuch des* 17
christlichen Glaubens (→ 5*m*,1), § 112, p. 521: "although the theologians were very far apart in their definitions of the number of stages [in sanctification], they were eventually largely in agreement on the main *five*: *calling*, *illumination*, *repentance*, *salvation*, and *secret* or *mystical union with God*."

vocatio] → 60,17. 19

illuminatio] → 60,17. 19

mediata] This kind of illumination by means of the 20
word of God was also called "ordinary" or "regular."

immed.] Also called "extraordinary," and referring 21
to illumination occurring through inspiration or the immediate action of the Holy Spirit (→ 5*m*,1). Against the Catholic belief in the inspiration of the ecumenical councils and against the mystics' belief in the individual's inner light, Lutheran dogmatics argued that "immediate illumination" had ceased with the ending of the apostolic age. See *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m*,1), § 109, p. 321.

conversio or poenitentia] → 60,17. 21

Constat poenitentia duabus partibus ... fructus 22
poenitentiæ] From *Den danske Kirkes symbolske Bøger* (→ 7,20), pp. 14–15. A slightly shortened quotation from art. 12, "De poenitentia" [On Penance] in *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7,19), in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 12 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften,* pp. 66–67).

remitti nostra peccata propter Xstum] Loose quo- 3 60*m*
tation from art. 4, "De justificatione" [On Justification], in *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7,19), in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 10 (art. 4.1, in *Die Bekenntnisschriften,* p. 56).

necessitas meriti] i.e., of meritorious works, pleas- 5
ing to God.

formula concordiæ ... harmfulness] See art. 4, "De 7
bonis operibus" [On Good Works], in pts. 1 and 2 of *Formula Concordiae* (→ 31,9).

Schleiermacher ... justification re. God] See 12
F. D. E. Schleiermacher, *Der christliche Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche im Zusammenhange dargestellt* [The Christian Faith Coherently Expounded According to the Basic Principles

of the Evangelical Church], 2 vols. (Berlin,1830–1831 [1820–1821]; abbreviated hereafter as *Der christliche Glaube* [The Christian Faith]), vol. 2, § 107, p. 180: "Assumption into living fellowship with Christ, regarded as a man's changed relation to God, is his Justification; regarded as a changed form of life, it is his Conversion" (English translation by Mackintosh and Stewart [→ 5,*15*], p. 478). — **Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher**: German theologian and translator of Plato (1768–1834). Often referred to as the father of modern theology, Schleiermacher was extraordinary professor at Halle from 1804, and from 1810 professor of theology at Berlin, where he played a key role in shaping the agenda of theological education.

61 6 **hoc est ... ac morum in melius**] From *Den rette uforandrede Augsburgske Troesbekjendelse med sammes, af Ph. Melanchthon forfattede, Apologi* [The True, Unaltered Augsburg Confession together with the Apology for the Same by P. Melanchthon], trans. A. G. Rudelbach (Copenhagen, 1825; ASKB 386), p. 274. The quotation is from art. 12.28, "De poenitentia" [On Penance], in *Apologia Confessionis Augustanae* (→ 31,*9*), art. 5, in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,*20*), p. 165 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften,* p. 257).

7 **santificatio**] → 60,*17*.

8 **unio mystica**] i.e., the mystical union between God and the soul (→ 60,*17*).

26 **H. S.**] Holy Spirit.

62 37 **fullness of time**] See Gal 4:4.

63 13 **§**] That is, § 62.

14 **αποκεκρυμμενον προ χρονων αιωνιων**] The expression does not occur in *NTG*. Eph 3:9, which is referred to, reads: τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνιων "the mystery hidden from eternity."

15 **φανερωθεν εν τω πληρωματι του χρονου**] The expression does not occur in *NTG*. Gal 4:4, which is referred to, reads ὅτι δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου "when the fullness of time had come."

16 **The two phenomena discussed in the §**] "Calling" and "election." See § 62.

21 **ταττειν**] This may be a reference to the passive form with the sense "be destined," as in Acts 13:48.

21 **αιρειν**] This may be a reference to the passive form, meaning "choose" or "elect"; see 2 Thess 2:13.

64 2 **The Augustinian theory ... incapacity**] See § 38.

26 **Jansenists**] → 31,*23*.

Gotschalck] Gottschalk (ca. 804–ca. 869), a heterodox Saxon monastic theologian who taught a double predestination. He formulated his teaching in a creed that was condemned at the Synod of Mainz in 848, and a year later at the Synod of Quiercy, after which he was imprisoned. His work was taken up again in the 17th century, in the contexts of then current debates about predestination. 27

prædestinatio gemina electorum ... ad mortem] A quotation from Gottschalk's creed. 28

Rabanus Maurus] Rabanus Maurus (780–856), poet, teacher, and church administrator. From 822 he was abbot of the Benedictine monastery in Fulda, and from 847 archbishop of Mainz. He produced books on grammar and chronology, as well as biblical commentaries and treatises on Church law. 29

Hincmarus Rhemensis] Hincmar of Rheims or Hincmarus Rhemensis (ca. 806–882), archbishop of Rheims. As well as being a leading figure in Church politics and a writer on practical ecclesiastical issues, his many works include a strongly worded argument against the predestination of the damned. 30

Augustine] → 19,*13*. 35

Pelagianism was anathematized] → 30,*19*, and see § 38. 36

the semi-Pelagian system] → 30,*31*. 38

sanctioned ... as Ch. teaching] → 30,*34*. 40

loci theol. 1st edition] First edition of P. Melanchthon, *Loci communes rerum theologicarum seu hypotyposes theologicae* [Commonplaces in Theology or Theological Outlines], generally referred to as *Loci theologici* and first published in 1521. 3 64*m*

quandoquidem omnia ... voluntatis nostræ libertas] From "Respon." ("Responsum," i.e., "Answer") in the section "De hominis viribus adeoque libero arbitrio" [On Human Powers, or More Properly on Free Will] in *Loci theologici.* See *Philippi Melanchthonis Loci theologici ad fidem editionis primae MDXXI* [Philip Melanchthon's *Loci theologici*, First Edition, 1521], ed. J. C. W. Augusti (Leipzig, 1821). 4

Calvin] Jean Calvin (1509–1564), French jurist and Reformer. The reference is to his strong statement of predestination (→ 30,*34* and → 65,*13*). 8

æternum dei decretum ... præordinatur] Approximate quotation from bk. 3, chap. 21.5 in *Joannis Calvinis Institutio christianæ religionis* [John Calvin's Insitutions of the Christian Religion], ed. A. 8

Tholuck, 2 vols. (Berlin 1834–1835; ASKB 455–456; abbreviated hereafter as *Calvinis Institutio*), vol. 2, p. 133.

14 **non ideo deum . . . quia elegit illos**] This is not a quotation but a summary of Calvin's argument for predestination (which he bases on Eph 1:4), in bk. 3, chap. 22, in *Calvinis Institutio*, vol. 2, pp. 137–146; see esp. paragraph 3, p. 139.

18 **Supralapsarii**] i.e., those Calvinists who argued that God's predestination even determined the Fall.

18 **Infralapsarii**] i.e., those Calvinists who adopted a milder form of predestination, who argued that Adam's Fall was the result of a free act on Adam's part, but foreseen by God; yet God has predetermined which of Adam's progeny will turn away from and which will remain bound by the consequences of the Fall. The Infralapsarians were dominant in the Synod of Dort in 1618 (→ 50,*16*).

19 **Michael Baius**] Michael Baius (1513–1589), Dutch Catholic theologian, who from 1544 was professor of philosophy and from 1550 professor of theology at Leuwen. His return to Augustinian views of sin and grace led to the condemnation of his views in papal bulls of 1567 and 1579, after which Baius formally recanted his errors.

20 **bull**] A papal mandate.

20 **Pius V**] Michele Ghisleri (1504–1572), pope from 1566 till his death.

21 **Clement VIII**] Ippolito Aldobrandini (1536–1605), pope from 1592 until his death.

21 **Ludwig Molina**] Luis de Molina (1535–1600), Spanish Jesuit theologian who taught at Coimbra (1563–1567) and Evora (1568–1583), lived subsequently in Lisbon and Cuença, and was appointed professor of moral theology at Madrid at the end of his life. The eponymous doctrine of grace known as "Molinism" emphasizes human freedom and rests on an idea of divine foreknowledge of future contingents. Though popular among Jesuits, his views were rejected by, e.g., the Dominicans.

21 **Leonhard Lessz.**] Leonhard Lessius (1554–1623), Belgian Jesuit theologian, from 1585 professor at Leuwen. Thirty-four of his theses were censured by the theology faculty of Leuwen for positions akin to Molinism.

65 1 **synergism . . . Melanchthon and his school**] Synergism is the doctrine that human beings are able to cooperate freely in their salvation. Luther taught that the human will is in bondage to sin and that conversion and rebirth are uniquely and exclusively the work of the Holy Spirit. In 1535, Melanchthon (in the 2nd ed. of *Loci theologici* → 64*m,3*) proposed the view that the Holy Spirit and the human will cooperate in salvation; and in 1543 (in the 3rd ed. of *Loci theologici*), he proposed that with the regenerative assistance of the Holy Spirit, the will, preceded by grace, was able to consent to the gospel in effecting conversion. After the deaths of Luther (1546) and Melanchthon (1560) the dispute about synergism became more intense. Johann Pfeffinger (→ 65*m,10*) and Victorinus Strigel (professor at Jena) supported Melanchthon's synergism, but they were opposed by Nicolaus von Amsdorf (→ 65*m,10*) and Matthias Flacius (→ 65*m,11*), who took Luther's stricter "monergistic" view. The Formula of Concord (→ 31,*9*) attempted to resolve the dispute. — **Melanchthon**: Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), German theologian and Reformer. He was professor of Greek at Wittenberg from 1518 and from 1519 a member of its theology faculty. He was a close friend and colleague of Luther and played a large role in composing the Lutheran confessional writings *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7,*19*), *Apologia Confessionis Augustanae* (→ 31,*9*), *Confessio Augustana variata* [The Augsburg Confession Revised] (1540), and *Repetitio Confessionis Augustanae* (→ 50,*28*).

Melanchthon] → 65,*1*. 2

Formula of Concord . . . resistible by hum. beings] 5 See art. 1, "Von der Erbsünde" / "De peccato originale" [On Original Sin]; art. 11, "Von der ewigen Vorsehung und Wahl Gottes" / " De aeterna praedestinatione et electione Dei" [On God's Eternal Predestining and Electing]; and art. 2, "Vom freien Willen" / "De libero arbitrio" [On Free Will].

the strict Calvinistic doctrine] This refers to 13 Calvin's (→ 64*m,8*) doctrine of predestination, according to which every human being was from eternity predestined to salvation or damnation. Connected by Calvin to the doctrine of divine foreknowledge (providence), this doctrine was developed in the second, expanded edition of his main theological work, *Institutio religionis Christianae* [The Institutes of the Christian Religion] (1539 [1536]; ASKB 455–456 is an edition from 1834–1835) (→ 64*m,8*). See marginal note *[f]* to Not1:8 and the accompanying explanatory note (→ 64*m,8*) on p. 478 in the present volume.

15 **Arminians**] → 50,16.

22 **humana voluntas . . . per verbum sp. s. concipitur**] From *Den danske Kirkes symbolske Bøger* (→ 7,20), pp. 17–18. Abbreviated quotation from art. 18, "De libero arbitrio" [On Free Will] in *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7,19), in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), pp. 14–15 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften,* p. 73).

25 **Damnant Pelagianos . . . quoad substantiam actuum**] From *Den danske Kirkes symbolske Bøger* (→ 7,20), p. 18. Quotation from art. 18, "De libero arbitrio" [On Free Will] in *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7,19), in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 15 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften,* p. 74).

28 **Sp. s. fidem efficit . . . qui audiunt evangelium**] From *Den danske Kirkes symbolske Bøger* (→ 7,20), p. 12. Abbreviated quotation from art. 5, "De ministerio ecclesiastico" [On Ecclesiastical Ministry] in *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7,19), in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 11 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften,* p. 58).

30 **per fidem efficitur sp. s.**] "Efficitur" is a mistake for "accipitur," so that the sense should be "the Holy Spirit is accepted by faith." See *Den danske Kirkes symbolske Bøger* (→ 7,20), p. 22. See art. 20.29, "De bonis operibus" [On Good Works], in *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7,19), in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 18 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften,* p. 80).

65*m* 1 **Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres**] → 31,23.

2 **Augustinus . . . adversus Pelagianos et Massilienses**] Latin (book title), *Augustine, or the Doctrine of Augustine Concerning the Health, Sickness, and Medicine Fitting for Human Nature, against the Pelagians and Massilians*. This was the title of vols. 2 and 3 of Cornelius Jansen's most important work, begun in 1628, these last two volumes appearing in 1640 after his death. Vol. 1 was titled solely *Augustinus*. — **Pelagians**: → 30,34. — **Massilienses**: Latin, a term used of the semi-Pelagians, especially those who followed John Cassian (→ 30,31) and Gennadius of Marseille (→ 12,15).

6 **Paschasius Quesnel**] Pasquier Quesnel (1634–1719), French Catholic theologian and Jansenist (→ 31,23), his best-known work being his 1692 translation of the New Testament into French, together with accompanying commentary (*Nouveau testament en francais avec des réflexions morales sur chaque verset* [New Testament in French with Moral Reflections on Every Verse]). From 1681 he was subject to various restrictions and condemnations on account of his Jansenist views.

Pfeffinger] Johann Pfeffinger (1493–1573), German Lutheran theologian, from 1530 the first Lutheran superintendent in Leipzig (→ 65,1). 10

N. Amsdorff] Nicolaus von Amsdorf (1483–1565), German Lutheran theologian and a close friend and collaborator of Martin Luther. From 1524 superintendent in Magdeburg. 10

Flaccius] Matthias Flacius (1520–1575), also known as Illyricus from his birthplace in Istria. German Lutheran theologian, pupil of Melanchthon and professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg (1544–1547) and at Jena (1557–1561) (→ 65,1). 11

Museus] Simon Musäus (1529–1582), German Lutehran theologian, from 1557 superintendent at Gotha and professor at Jena. Supported M. Flacius in the synergism controversy (→ 65,1). 11

Wigandt] Johann Wigand (1523–1587), German Lutheran theologian. He was a professor at Jena from 1560 to 1562 and from 1568 to 1573, serving from 1562 to 1568 as superintendent in Wismar. From 1573 he was professor at Königsberg and from 1575 bishop of Pomerania. A supporter of Flacius in the synergism controversy and the author of a polemical work against V. Strigel (→ 65,1). 11

gratia præveniens] i.e., grace preparing the way for conversion. 14

g. operans] i.e., grace that operates to bring about conversion. 14

g. cooperans] i.e., grace strengthening the voluntary efforts of the believer in conversion and sanctification. 15

universalis] That is, *gratia universalis* (Latin, "universal grace"), i.e., the grace offered to all. 15

resistibilis] That is, *gratia resistibilis* (Latin, "resistible grace"), i.e., divine grace that the sinner is able to resist. 15

amissibilis] That is, *gratia amissibilis* (Latin, "irrevocable grace"), i.e., grace that, once received, cannot be lost. 16

benevolentia universalis . . . s. idealis] i.e., God's good will manifested in his desire that all should be saved. 16

benevolentia specialis . . . s. realis] i.e., God's good will manifested in the election of some actual persons to salvation. 18

universalists] Namely, those who emphasize God's purpose to save all. There are two forms of universalism, hypothetical (→ 65*m*,20) and absolute (→ 65*m*,23). 20

20 **hypothetici**] Hypothetical universalists were those who followed the arguments developed by John Cameron (see following note) and M. Amyraut (thence "Amyraldism") (→ 65*m*,*21*). Amyraut held that God willed to save all, but because salvation was dependent on an act of faith that human beings were unable to fulfill as a result of the Fall, this universal will remained purely hypothetical. Only those who were the objects of God's "special" election would, in fact be saved (or otherwise).

21 **Johan Cameron**] John Cameron (1579–1625), Scots Reformed theologian, minister at Bordeaux from 1608 and from 1618 professor at the Protestant Academy of Saumur. Briefly principal of Glasgow University, he returned to France to become professor of divinity at Montauban in 1624, but he died partly as a result of violent attacks provoked by antipathy to his teachings. A promoter of hypothetical universalism (see previous note), later developed by M. Amyraut (see following note).

21 **Moses Amurand**] Moïse Amyraut or Amyraldus (1596–1664), French Reformed theologian, minister at Saumur from 1626 and from 1633 professor at the Protestant Academy. He expounded the doctrine of hypothetical universalism (→ 65*m*,*20*) in his *Brief traité de la prédestination* [Brief Treatise on Predestination], published in 1634.

22 **Johan Dallæus**] Jean Daillé or Dallæus (1594–1670), French Reformed theologian, from 1625 minister at Saumur and from 1626 until his death a minister at Charenton. A supporter of Amyraut, he was moderator of the last national synod of the French Reformed Church in 1659.

22 **Ludvig Capellus**] Louis Cappel or Cappellus II (1585–1658), French Reformed theologian and philologist of Semitic languages. From 1618 he was professor of Hebrew and from 1626 professor of theology at the Protestant Academy of Saumur.

23 **absoluti**] i.e., those who maintain that God has elected all to salvation and that saving grace is offered universally.

24 **Anabaptists**] Literally, "rebaptizers," the term refers to a range of Protestant Reformation groups, especially in Germany and Switzerland, who rejected infant baptism and practiced adult believers' baptism only. The best known of their early leaders was Thomas Münzer. The term was applied by their many opponents, because, not recognizing infant baptism, they regarded themselves as practicing the sole valid form of baptism (and thus referred to themselves as "Taüfer" or Baptists). They were condemned in several articles of the *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7,*19*); see esp. art. 5 ("On Ecclesiastical Office"), where it is said that they hold "that the Holy Spirit comes upon a person without the external word, as a result of their own preparations and works," and art. 9 ("On Baptism"), where it is said that they "hold baptism in contempt, and assert that children may be saved without baptism." See *Den danske Kirkes symbolske Bøger* (→ 7,*20*), pp. 12, 14.

24 **Schwenkfeldians**] Followers of the Silesian Reformation theologian Caspar Schwenckfeld (1489–1561). An early follower of Luther, he soon split with the Lutherans over, e.g., teaching on the Eucharist and Church discipline. Teaching the deification of Christ's human body, his followers became known as "Confessors of the Glory of Christ." Some communities still survive.

25 **Weigelians**] Followers of the Lutheran mystical writer Valentin Weigel (1533–1588), pastor at Zschopau, near Chemnitz. Under the influence of the mystical tradition and, e.g., Paracelsus, he influenced later Protestant mystics such as J. Arndt and J. Boehme. Weigel's idealist epistemology anticipated later philosophical conceptions.

25 **Böhmists**] Followers of Jakob Boehme (1575–1624), German Lutheran lay theologian and mystical writer, also known as "Philosophus Teutonicus" and an important influence on German idealism, largely in connection with his dynamic view of the divine being and life. His English followers are referred to in contemporary literature as "Behmenists" (from "Behmen," another anglicization of his name).

25 **Quakers**] Members of the Society of Friends, which developed under the early leadership of George Fox in the English Civil War period. Pennsylvania was founded by William Penn as a community based on Quaker principles. As well as the active social works for which they are now well known, early Quakers were marked by strong mystical tendencies and known by such names as "Children of the Light" or "Friends in the Truth."

26 **Methodists**] Originally a movement within the Church of England, influenced by German Pietism and led by John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield. With roots going back to 1729, the

Methodists had, by the end of the 18th century, split away from (or been excluded from) the Church of England and came to exist as a distinct Christian Church.

28 **Formula of Concord**] → 31,9.

31 **Sp. s. operatur in nobis illud velle et perficere**] Abbreviated quotation from art. 2.39, "De libero arbitrio" [On Free Will], in pt. 2 of *Formula Concordiae,* in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 666 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften,* pp. 887–889).

66m 1 **liberum arbitrium . . . evangelio credere**] Abbreviated quotation from art. 2.77, in pt. 2 of *Formula Concordiae,* in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), pp. 677–678 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften,* p. 904).

6 **Synergism**] → 65,1.

8 **X. omnes peccatores ad se vocat . . . subveniri sinant**] Abbreviated quotation from art. 11.8, "De aeterna praedestinatione et electione Dei" [On God's Eternal Predestination and Election], in pt. 1 of *Formula Concordiae,* in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 618 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften,* p. 818).

15 **ut Deus in æterno . . . damnationi devovere velit**] Abbreviated quotation from art. 11.40, in *Formula Concordiae,* in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 808 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften,* p. 1075).

26 **Tridentine Counc.**] Council of Trent (→ 26,9).

28 **Semi-pel.**] Semi-Pelagianism (→ 30,31 and → 30,34).

28 **August.**] Augustinianism (→ 30,34 and → 19,13).

67 28 **preserving the unity of faith in the bonds of peace**] Cf. Eph 4:3.

69 3 **ex opere operato**] A reference to the scholastic view that the sacraments are effective irrespective of the inner intention or receptivity of the person ministered to or the faith of the one who ministers; this was one of the perennial points of controversy between Catholic and Protestant theologies. See, e.g., Concilium Tridentinum (→ 26,9), session 7, "De sacramentis" [On the Sacraments], canon 8, which condemns those who say that grace is not given in the sacraments of the New Covenant *ex opere operato*. For the opposite, Protestant view, see *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7,19), pt. 1, art. 13, "De usu sacramentorum" [On the Use of the Sacraments], which condemns those who teach that the sacraments justify those who use them *ex opere operato*.

10 **sacramentum**] i.e., the sacraments, regarded as the means of grace.

10 **potestas clavium**] i.e., the power of the clergy to pronounce or to withhold absolution for sins. See Mt 16:19, and Jesus' promise to Peter that whatever he binds on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever he looses on earth will be loosed in heaven.

verbum divinum] i.e., the divine Word in scripture and in the preaching, exposition, and reception of the Word in the Church. 10

scrip. utterances . . . all Xns] See 1 Pet 2:5 and 2:9. 23

the arrangements made by Xt and the apostles] See Lk 24:50 and Acts 1:2, together with Acts 6:6, 13:3, 14:23; 1 Tim 4:14; 2 Tim 1:6. 26

7 sacraments] Baptism, confirmation, communion, penance, extreme unction, ordination, marriage. 5 70

the two sacs.] Baptism and communion, the only two sacraments recognized as such by Protestants. 6

curial—episcopal view] A reference (1) to the Roman Catholic view that the pope, as bishop of Rome and Peter's successor, is, as such, the supreme ecclesiastical authority on earth. The Curia is his administrative office. And (2) to the view that the episcopacy, rather than the papacy and the curai, should have the decisive role in ecclesiastical governance. This latter view was applied in various ways in different Protestant Churches, and is represented in contemporary Catholicism in the conciliar movement. 6 73

analogia fidei] → 10,23. 8

the Symbols] The normative confessional writings. 8

norma docendorum] More fully, *norma docendorum doctrinae publicae* (Latin, "norms of teaching public doctrine"), i.e., the function of the Protestant symbolic writings to set norms for teaching in the Church. See *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5m,1), § 48, pp. 134–135. 8

norma credendorum] More fully, *norma credendorum fidei* (Latin, "norms for the confession of faith"), i.e., norms, as provided by the symbolic writings, for what is to be believed. See *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5m,1), § 48, p. 134–135. 9

norma normata] i.e., the Church's symbolic writings that have their norms set by the Bible's *norma normans* ("normative normativity"). 9

accomodatio formalis—realis] → 7,10. 12

negativa] → 7,12. 14

positiva] → 7,12. 14

he has not left himself without witness] See Acts 14:17. 21

23 **nominalism**] In medieval philosophy and theology, nominalism was the view that, as opposed to realism, universals did not have real, independent existence but were simply names (Latin, *nomen*) used for human convenience in ordering the data of experience.

23 **realism**] See preceding note.

30 **ratio fidei ad Carolum V. by Zwingli**] *Fidei ratio ad Carolum imperatorum* [A Reasoned Account of Faith to the Emperor Charles] or *Fidei ratio* is the abbreviated title of the personal confessional work (full title: *Ad Carolum Romanorum imperatorem Germaniæ comitia Augustæ celebrantem, Fidei Huldrychi Zuinglij ratio* [To Emperor Charles of the German Roman Empire, Who Holds Court in Augsburg, by Huldrych Zwingli]) sent by H. Zwingli to Emperor Charles V at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, in which he strongly defended his controversial views, e.g., on communion. The document occasioned much consternation, both among Catholics and Lutherans, and it never received any official status. — **Zwingli**: Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531), Swiss Reformer and leader of the Reformation in Zurich.

30 **confessio tetrapolitana (Strasburg ... Lindau)**] Latin (book title), *Confessio Tetrapolitana* [The Confession (of Faith) of the Four Cities of Strasbourg, Cossnitz, Memmingen, and Lindau] was a confessional statement by Martin Bucer, leader of the Reformation in Strasbourg, delivered to Charles V at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. Bucer attempted to mediate between the Lutheran and Zwinglian understandings of the sacraments. — **Cossnitz**: error for Konstanz (or Constance).

31 **confessio Basiliensis 1532**] Latin, "the Basel Confession" (or "the first Basel Confession), a Reformation confession by the Basel minister O. Mykonius, accepted by the citizens of Basel in 1534, translated into Latin in 1561.

31 **confessio prior Helvetica 1536 (by Bullinger, Leo Judæ)**] Latin, the "First Swiss Confession," also known as the "Later Basel Confession," a joint confessional statement by the Zwinglian towns and cities, composed in Latin in 1536 by a number of theologians, including H. Bullinger and L. Jud, shortly afterward translated into German. The confession lays special emphasis on the controversial issue of communion. — **Bullinger**: Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575), leading Swiss Reformer and Zwingli's follower in Zurich. — **Leo Judæ**: Leo Jud (1482–1542), leading Swiss Reformer and collaborator of Zwingli.

conf. secunda Helvetica. 1566] Latin (book title), *Confessio secunda Helvetica* [Second Swiss Confession] also known as *Confessio Helvetica posterior* [Later Swiss Confesssion], written by H. Bullinger in 1562, printed in 1566, and at the request of Elector Frederick of Pfalz proposed for subscription in Switzerland and other Reformed regions (including Scotland, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and Holland). It combines Calvinistic and Zwinglian elements. 32

Consensus Tigurinus 1549] Latin, the "Tigurine Agreement," an agreement by Calvinist and Zwinglian theologians, including H. Bullinger and J. Calvin, comprising twenty-six articles. It led to the Swiss Reformers' acceptance of the Calvinist view of communion. The term derives from a Celtic name for one of the Swiss tribes. 33

Cathechismus Genevensis 1545] Latin, the "Geneva Catechism," written (1545) in French and Latin by Calvin (→ 64*m,8*) and divided into four parts on faith, the Law, prayer, and the sacraments. It forms the basis of later Calvinist catechetical literature. 33

in Denmark ... 43 Articles] A reference to the forty-three "Copenhagen Articles" of the *Confessio Haufniensis* [The Copenhagen Confession], largely written by Hans Tausen, which was promulgated in the summer of 1530, a couple of weeks prior to the appearance of the *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7*,19*), as a common statement of faith by the Danish Protestant clergy. Published in Malmö in 1530. 34

1537] A reference to the form of Church Order, drawn up in Latin after the introduction of the Reformation in Denmark and sent to Wittenberg for approval by Luther himself in 1537. Thereafter it was authorized by King Christian III on September 2, 1537, and published under the title *Ordinatio ecclesiastica Regnorum Daniæ et Norvegiæ et Ducatuum Slesvicensis, Holstatiæ etc* [The Church Order for the Kingdom of Denmark and Norway and the Duchies of Slesvig, Holstein, etc.]. It remained normative for 150 years. 34

1569: articuli pro peregrinis] Latin, "Articles Concerning Aliens." These were twenty-five articles probably drawn up by Prof. Niels Hemmingsen and promulgated by a royal order of September 20, 1569. The articles summarized the Lutheran tenets 34

of faith for religious refugees from other Protestant lands, especially from Holland. If they were able to subscribe to them, they received permission to stay in Denmark. If not, they were deported.

35 **1574 on the occasion of the crypto-Calvinist disputes**] This probably refers to *Tabella de coena domini* [The Table of the Lord's Supper], written in Latin in 1557 by Niels Hemmingsen at the instruction of Christian III. It gave an overview of various erroneous views on the communion and an exposition of the Lutheran doctrine. It was published in Danish in 1574, although with a heightened polemical tone. The errors that are especially emphasized are those of the crypto-Calvinists. Hemmingsen himself was ultimately suspended from his university chair in 1579 for just such views. All university professors had to subscribe to the *Tabella de coena domini,* which can therefore be regarded as a confessional document of the Danish Church.

36 **1625 "the professors"**] A reference to a decree of 1625 requiring university professors to swear to the *Confessio Augustana* (→ 7,19). This remained in force until 1872.

36 **1651, the Royal Law**] Probably a reference to the *Lex regia,* actually given royal assent in 1665 but first published in 1709. This established the absolutist monarchy in Denmark, and article 1 defined the monarch's relation to the Church as requiring adherence to the Bible and to the Augsburg Confession (→ 7,19), maintaining the populace in the true faith, and combating heresy. Article 6 granted the monarch power over the clergy and the authority to prescribe the ordering of churches and the worship conducted in them. The date 1651 is probably a mistake for 1661, when another, related decree relating to the monarch's absolute rights was promulgated.

74 1 **indistantia, or adessentia**] These two expressions are used for God's *omnipraesentia substantialis*, i.e., the omnipresence of his substantial being. See, e.g., Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5m,1), § 42, remark 1, p. 185.

3 **σωτηϱ**] σωτηϱ is used in 1 Tim 1:1, 4:10; 2 Tim 1:10, 2:10; Titus 2:11.

3 **pastoral epistles**] The collective designation for the Pauline letter to Timothy and Titus, their recipients identified as Church leaders or pastors.

15 **τα ϰϱυπτα του ανθϱωπου**] See Rom 2:16.

justitia interna] Also the inner *justitia vitæ* ("righteousness of life") that is given in justification and shown forth in renewal and sanctification. See Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* (→ 5m,1), § 111, note on p. 518, which refers to F. V. Reinhard (→ 27,23) and J. P. Baumgarten (→ 60,8). 19

justitia externa] Also *justitia fidei* ("righteousness in faith"); like "inner righteousness" (see preceding note), it is received in justification but is manifest more particularly in freedom from the punishment due to sin. 20

Hilary] Hilary of Poitiers (ca. 315–367 or 368), bishop of Poitiers (ca. 350) and one of the leading Church Fathers of the West prior to Augustine. His defense of Christological orthodoxy and especially his work *De Trinitate* [On the Trinity] earned him the title "the Athansius of the West." 26

Augustine] → 19,13. 28

deus sine qualitate bonus . . . faciens] An approximate quotation from Augustine, *De Trinitate,* bk. 5, 1.2. 28

via negationis, via eminentiæ, via causalitatis] These designate three of the ways in which, according to scholastic theology, it was possible to speak of God. These are, respectively, by denying to God the attributes of creatures (as in: God is in-finite, im-mortal, etc.); by applying to him the attributes of creatures but in a preeminent degree (God is good to the uttermost power of goodness); and as the cause of creatures (God is good as causing goodness in human beings). 31

attributa immanentia, quiescentia, metaphysica] This is one of various scholastic divisions of God's properties, relating especially to the internal properties, here God's eternity, changelessness, and simplicity. 1 75

attributa moralia, operantia, transeuntia] These are properties relating especially to God's relation to the world, in particular God's holiness, righteousness, omnipresence, omniscience, and goodness. 2

scientia necessaria, libera, media. (de futuribilibus)] These terms seek to specify God's omniscience. *Scientia media* related to God's knowledge of what might possibly come to be in the future, i.e., under possible conditions that do not actually come to pass, and therefore it was also called *scientia hypothetica*. See Bretschneider, *Handbuch der Dogmatik* (→ 5m,1), vol. 1, § 54, p. 402. 5

5 **voluntas necessaria, libera, media**] These terms seek to specify the modes of God's will. The *voluntas media* ("mediate will") relates to the corresponding form of knowledge (*scientia media*); see preceding note) and indicates God's power to will what he does not, in fact, will.

7 **Tertullian**] → 7,8.

7 **Nihil incorporale … anima corpus sui generis**] Approximate quotation from Tertullian, *De carne Christo* [On the Body of Christ], chap. 11.

8 **invisibilis licet videatur … humanis æstimetur**] Quotation from Tertullian, *Apologeticus adversus gentes* [Apology against the Pagans], chap. 17, although the original text has *etsi* ("as if") instead of *licet* ("although").

10 **Justin M.**] Justin Martyr (→ 19,10).

10 **Gregor Nanz.**] Gregory of Nazianzus (329 or 330–389 or 390), one of the Cappadocian Fathers and a leading theological figure in the ancient Greek-speaking Church.

11 **Dionysius the Areopagite**] The supposed author of highly influential mystical writings from the 5th or 6th centuries A.D., emphasizing the apophatic or negative aspect of our knowledge of God. He was erroneously identified with the Athenian thinker who followed Paul, according to Acts 17:34 and is therefore also known as Pseudo-Dionysius (or, sometimes, Denys).

11 **Origen**] → 7,9.

13 **ὁ κοσμος και παντα εν αυτω**] See Acts 17:24.

14 **θεος εποιησε … παντα εν αυτοις**] See Acts 14:15.

20 **Schleiermacher**] See "Von der Schöpfung" [On Creation], §§ 40–41, in Schleiermacher, *Der christliche Glaube* (→ 60*m*,12), vol. 1, pp. 210–221 (English translation, pp. 150ff.).

21 **Joh. Scotus Erigena**] Johannes Scotus Erigena (or Eriugena) (ca. 810–ca. 877), Irish Christian philosopher who interpreted and produced Latin translations of key Greek texts, including those in the Neoplatonic tradition stemming from Dionysius the Areopagite, which he combined with Augustinian theology, thereby laying the foundations for many medieval developments. His best-known work, *Periphyseon* [On Nature] or *De divisione naturae* [On the Division of Nature], seems to have pantheistic tendencies and was condemned in the 13th century.

21 **Creatio ex nihilo … nulla processio seu occasio**] The quotation has not been identified.

the scholastics] → 25,7. 23

nihil negativum … materia rudis, indigesta] This refers to the circumstance that in their understanding of "nothing," the scholastics and the early dogmatists made a distinction between *nihilum negativum*, as the expression of not-being in general, and *nihilum privatum*, as expressing the lack of properties in raw material; also refers to the circumstance that in their understanding of creation *ex nihilo*, they emphasized both senses of this "nothing." 23

creatio primitiva and creatio continuata] This refers to the distinction between the creative work of God "in the beginning" and his continued creative work in preserving and sustaining creation (also subsumed in teaching on divine providence). 24

The interpretation of Genesis … Origen] A reference to the fact that the supernaturalists, like Origen (→ 7,9) and the Alexandrian School (→ 19,19), interpreted the creation narrative allegorically. See *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m*,1), § 61, p. 165. 1 76

Origen speaks … lost perfection] See bk. 3, chap. 5 of Origen's Περὶ ἀρχῶν (Peri archôn), or *De principiis* [On the Principles, i.e., On God and the Universe]). 5

καταβολη του κοσμου] See Jn 17:24 and Eph 1:4. Origen interprets the expression προ καταβολης κοσμου as the decline of the original perfection of the world to a less perfect state. 7

ψυχη (from ψυχος "cold")] According to Origen, the soul was not created by God but by a subordinate demiurge. 7

553] That is, at the fifth ecumenical eouncil at Constantinople. 8

Methodius of Tyre] Bishop of Tyre (d. 311), and an opponent of Origen. In his *De libero arbitrio* [On Free Will] he opposed the view of Methodius that the material of creation (→ 75,23) had existed from eternity. 9

Alexandr.] Alexandrians (→ 19,19). 10

mundus non est factus … cum tempore] From bk. 6, chap. 6 of Augustine's (→ 19,13) *De civitate Dei* [The City of God]. 10

Symb. apost.] Symbolum apostolicum (→ 27*m*,1). 11

πιστευω εις θεον παντοκρατωρα] As in the oldest known version of the Apostles' Creed in Marcellus of Ancyra (→ 27*m*,3). 11

ποιητης ουρανου και γης] As in the version of the Apostles' Creed current from the 8th century A.D. 12

Symb. Nic.] Symbolum Nicænum (→ 27*m*,5). 12

15 **τα παντα εν αυτω συνεστηκε**] Cited from Col 1:17 in *NTG*, though it should be noted that the Greek text has συνεστηκεν instead of συνεστηκε.

27 **Ψ**] → 14,*11*.

28 **the apocryphal books**] → 15,*37*.

34 **3 Macc**] This is found in the Septuagint (→ 20,*29*) but is not included in either Catholic or Lutheran compilations of apocryphal works (→ 15,*37*); at 12:21 God is spoken of as **ὁ πάντων ἐπόπτης** (ho pántôn epóptçs), "the one who observes [watches over] all things." See *Vetus Testamentum graecum iuxta Septuaginta interpretes ex sixti qvinti pontificis maximi editum* [The Old Testament in Greek, in Harmony with the Seventy Translators: Published on the Order of Pope Sixtus V], ed. L. van Ess (Leipzig, 1824; ASKB 12).

35 **εφορων παντα**] See 2 Macc 2:22 in *Vetus Testamentum graecum*.

36 **particularizing ideas**] This refers to the Jewish claim to a particular role in the divine plan.

77 10 **præscientia, decretum exsecutio**] These dogmatic terms specify the modes of divine providence.

11 **providentia universalis, specialis, specialissima**] These terms refer, respectively, to God's providential relation to all creation, to humankind, to the saints.

12 **conservatio rerum simplicium, nexus cosmici**] Dogmatics subdivides the manner of providential action as conservation, governance, guidance (→ 77,*17*), and cooperation (→ 77,*19*). The idea of conservation is further subdivided with regard to its object, namely, the world as material (*res simplices*) and form (*nexus cosmicus*).

12 "**quousque vult" terminus vitæ**] The expression *quousque Deus vult* comes from J. A. Quenstedt (*Theologia didactico-polemica* [Didactic-Polemical Theology], 1685), a German theologian of Lutheran orthodoxy, and implies a specification of the working of *conservatio* with regard to the duration of human life. See *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m,1*), § 64, pp. 173–174.

13 **decretum . . . hypotheticum . . . decretum absolutum**] The point here is that the duration of a human life is not based on God's absolute decree, which precedes and excludes all natural causes (*omnes causae secondae*), but on his hypothetical decree, taking the effects of secondary causes into account. If the sustaining of a person's life was based on God's *decretum absolutum*, not only would the length of life, but every detail of life would be determined. See *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m,1*), § 64, p. 174 n. 4.

15 **terminus præternaturalis and naturalis**] These terms refer to the distinctive roles of divine providence with regard, respectively, to human beings' lives as more than physical (*vita hyperphysical*) and as physical (*vita physica*) beings. Whereas the latter concerns only the, so to say, biological powers at work in human life, the former relates to the spiritual life, as manifested in piety and obedience (or their opposites). Both forms of life are included under God's "hypothetical decrees" (see preceding note). See *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m,1*), § 64, p. 174 n. 4.

17 **gubernatio. ordinaria and miraculosa**] These terms refer to the subdivision of divine guidance (*gubernatio*) with regard to its form and manner of working, either ordinary (*ordinaria*) or miraculous (*miraculosa*).

19 **concursus et ad materiale et ad formale**] This is a reference to the following dogmatic statement: "Deus in malis actionibus concurrit ad *materiale,* non ad *formale,* in bonis *utrumque*." ("In bad actions, God collaborates materially, not formally; in good actions, both.") See *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m,1*), § 64, p. 176 n. 8. Here, *materiale* means the "matter" of an individual action, whereas *formale* refers to the way in which this matter is formed, i.e., the content of an action.

20 **concursus ad materiam**] See preceding note.

21 **impeditio, permissio, directio, determinatio**] These are from a much more extensive list of ways in which divine providence operates with regard to wrong actions or sins. See *Hutterus redivivus* (→ 5*m,1*), § 64, p. 176 n. 8.

24 **θρονοι, Χερουβιμ, Σεραφιμ**] These are among the different orders or ranks of angelic beings mentioned in the Bible. See, e.g., Ex 25:17–22; Ps 18:11, 80:2; Isa 6:2ff.

24 **εξουσιαι, κυριοτητες, δυναμεις**] These are among the NT terms for angelic powers. See, e.g., Eph 3:10; Col 1:16; Rom 8:38.

25 **αρχαι, αγγελοι, αρχαγγελοι**] For "rulers" see, e.g., Col 1:16. Angels (literally "messengers") are referred to innumerable times in both the OT and the NT; archangels are referred to in, e.g., Lk 1:19,26; 1 Thess 4:16.

26 **apologia conf.**] Latin, *Apologia Confessionis Augustanae* (→ 31,*9*).

26 **hæc largimur, quod angeli orent pro nobis**] Quotation from art. 9.8, "De invocatione Sanctorum" [On the Invocation of the Saints], of *Apologia Confessionis*, in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 224 (art. 21.8 in *Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 318), which has *hoc* instead of *hæc*.

26 **Articuli Schm.**] Articuli Schmalcaldici, i.e., the Schmalkaldic Articles (→ 27,40).

27 **tamen non sequitur ... hoc enim est idolatria**] Composite quotation from pt. 2, art. 2.26, "De invocatione Sanctorum" [On the Invocation of the Saints], of *Articuli Smalcaldi*, in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 311 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 425). The original text specifies that what is being said applies to both angels and saints.

78 5 **Michaelmas**] The feast day of the archangel Michael, referred to in Dan 10:13, 20:12; Jude 8; Rev 12:7.

11 **γεγονοτες κατ᾽ ομοιωσιν του θεου**] κατ᾽ should read καθ᾽.

12 **Beselem and Kidmut**] The two expressions used in Gen 1:26 to refer to the "image" (בְּצֶלֶם, b^{e}ṣælæm) and "likeness" (כִּדְמוּת, kidmût) to God in which human beings were created.

13 **πνευμα—σαρξ· εσω αντρωπος and εξω**] αντρωπος should read ανθρωπος.

18 **justitia originalis**] i.e., the righteousness possessed by Adam before the Fall.

19 **apologia confessionis**] Abbreviation for *Apologia confessionis Augustanae* (→ 31,9).

19 **accessorium**] → 78,27.

20 **æquale temperamentum qualitatum ... vis ista efficiendi**] A composite adaptation from art. 1.17, "De peccato originali" [On Original Sin], of *Apologia confessionis Augustanae*, in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), pp. 53–54 (art. 2.17 in *Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 150). This and the following quotation are as found in Winer, *Comparative Darstellung* (→ 28*m*,16), p. 18.

21 **hominem potuisse ... habere justitiam originis**] Adapted from art. 1.9, in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,20), p. 52 (art. 2.9, in *Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 149).

25 **Cathec. Rom.**] *Cathecismus Romanus*, the Roman Catechism, produced at the instigation of the Council of Trent (→ 26,9) and published in 1566.

25 **tum originalis justitiæ donum admirabile addidit**] Quoted, with alterations, from pt. 1, chap. 2.19 of the *Cathecismus Romanus*, as quoted in Winer, *Comparative Darstellung* (→ 28*m*,16), p. 18.

Thomas Aquinas] Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), Catholic theologian, from Aquino in Italy, but especially associated with the University of Paris, where he taught from 1255 to 1261 and from 1269 to 1271. A thinker of encyclopedic knowledge and one of the dominant theological figures of the Middle Ages, Aquinas remains one of the normative theological voices in Catholic theology. 27

pura naturalia] This refers to the notion that the first human beings were pure in reason and will, and, as such, indifferent to the difference between good and evil. It was to this originally pure nature that God added immortality, impassibility, and original righteousness as a *donum supranaturale* ("supernatural gift"). See, e.g., pt. 1, chap. 2.19 in *Cathecismus Romanus*, quoted in Winer, *Comparative Darstellung* (→ 28*m*,16), p. 18. 27

donum divinitus datum supranaturale et admirabile] This is Clausen's gloss on "original righteousness." 28

immortalitas, impassibilitas, justitia originalis] → 78,27. 29

It is only ... the system] A reference back to the category of "pure Being," which, according to Hegel is the starting point of the system. See G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, 3 vols. (Nuremberg, 1812–1816). 6 79

απολυτρωσις της σαρκος] The expression does not occur in the NT, but see Rom 8:23. 2 80

the story of the Fall] Gen 3. 31

Ψ] → 14,11. 38

Ophitic Gnostics] From the Greek *ophis* ("snake"). Adherents of a Gnostic sect of the 2nd century A.D., for whom the serpent mentioned in the story of the Fall was of special importance, sometimes as a power of good, sometimes of evil. 2 81

Tertullian] → 7,8. 6

Pelagius's teaching] → 30,19. 7

Augustine's system] → 30,25 and → 30,34. 19

semi-Pelagianism] → 30,31 and → 30,34. 22

on the concept of temptation (Baader)] The reference is probably to lectures 11–16 in vol. 1 of F. Baader, *Vorlesungen über speculative Dogmatik* [Lectures on Speculative Dogmatics], 5 vols. (vol. 1, Stuttgart, 1828; vols. 2–5, Münster, 1830–1838; ASKB 396), vol. 1, pp. 67–103; see esp. pp. 90–91: "We shall in what follows see how far the history satisfies the speculative exposition of the temptation that is being attempted here—in which the 24

person was to prove to be the image of God—because as I. H. Fichte remarks [in *Sätze zur Vorschule der Theologie* (Elementary Principles of Theology) (Stuttgart, 1828; ASKB 510)] mere speculation is not enough when it comes to anything having to do with freedom. And here, gentlemen, I merely draw your attention to the correctness with which scripture represents the power that is hostile to the type of the virgin as a serpent. It is not merely because of the devilish arrogance alone, nor animality alone, but only as the combination—as a possessed animal, that is, precisely, as a serpent—that it is able to make this enmity effective or forceful. This double tendency of a possessed animality can thus be shown in every sinful desire and in every coiling, serpentine movement." See *Journal AA*, entry AA:22 in *KJN* 1, 35. — **Baader**: (Benedikt) Franz (Xaver) von Baader (1765–1841), German Catholic writer, variously a medical doctor, mining official, and philosophical and theological thinker, professor honoris causa at Munich in 1826.

25 **Conc. Tridentinum**] The Council of Trent (→ 26,*9*).

25 **totum Adamum secundum corpus … Jesu Christi**] Adapted from Concilium Tridentinum, session 5, "Decretum de peccato originali" [Decree on Original Sin], paragraphs 1 and 3. See *Sacrosancti et oecumenici concilii Tridentini* (→ 26,*10*), p. 13.

29 **liberum arbitrium … vel odium Dei mereri**] Adapted from Concilium Tridentinum, session 6, "Decretum de justificatione" [Decree on Justification], chap. 1, canon 5; chap. 1, canon 7. See *Sacrosancti et oecumenici concilii Tridentini* (→ 26,*10*), pp. 23 and 38. In the original, the last sentence is completed by an anathema directed at all those who hold the view here condemned.

33 **Luther**] Martin Luther (1483–1546), instigator of the Protestant Reformation in Wittenberg.

33 **hominis essentiam esse peccatum**] A precise source for this often-used expression has not been traced; but see, e.g., *Formula Concordiae*, pt. 2, art. 1.52, where the following statement is ascribed to Luther: "Tua nativitas, tua natura, tota sua substantia est peccatum" ("Your birth, your nature, all your substance is sin"), in *Formula Concordiae*, in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,*20*), p. 651 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 861). See also M. Flacius (→ 65*m*,*11*), *Etliche klare vnd treffliche Zeugnusse M. Luthers von dem bösen Wesen, essentia, Bild, Form oder Gestalt des irdischen toten Adams vnd von der wesentlichen Verwandlung des Menschen* [Some Clear and Apt Testimonies of M. Luther Concerning the Evil Nature, Essence, Image, Form, and Shape of the Earthly, Dead Adam and of the Essential Transformation of Man] (1574); and T. Heßhus, *Klare vnd helle Zeugnissen Doctoris Martini Lutheri, das die Erbsünde nicht sey das Wesen des Menschen* [Clear and Lucid Testimonies of Dr. Martin Luther, That Original Sin Is Not the Essence of Man] (1572).

Formula Concordiæ] → 31,*9*. 34

hæreditarium malum est … natura filii iræ simus] Abbreviated quotation from art. 1.9, "De peccato originis" [On Original Sin], in pt. 2 of *Formula Concordiae*, in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,*20*), pp. 639–640 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 848). 34

peccatum originis … anima hominis relinquit] Adapted from art. 1.8 in pt. 1 of the *Formula Concordiae*, in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,*20*), p. 574 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 772). 1 82

Peccatum originale … corde et voluntate] Abbreviated and adapted from art. 1.11, in pt. 2 of the *Formula Concordiae*, in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,*20*), p. 640 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 848). 3

Homo ad bonum … reliqua manserit] Abbreviated quotation from art. 2.7, "De libero arbitrio sive de viribus humanis" [On the Freedom of the Will or of Human Powers], in pt. 2 of the *Formula Concordiae*, in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,*20*), p. 656 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 874). 8

In spiritualibus … rebellis et inimicus] Abbreviated and adapted from art. 2.20, and 2.17, in pt. 2 of the *Formula Concordiae*, in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,*20*), pp. 661 and 660 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, pp. 879–880 and 878). 10

Liberum arbitrium … activum et efficax] Abbreviated quotation from art. 2.7, in pt. 2 of the *Formula Concordiae*, in *Libri symbolici* (→ 7,*20*), p. 656 (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, p. 874). 12

caput seminale, naturale hominum. caput foederatum] That is, Adam viewed not merely as a particular individual or private person, but as head of the human race—both in the sense that he was the first human being and that the human race is thus descended from his stock, and also in the sense that God concluded the first covenant with him. These three designations set the framework for 18th- and 19th-century discussions on original sin among Protestant theologians. The first two were already 14

found in the dogmaticians of the Lutheran orthodoxy, and the third in the Calvinist federal theology (→ 12,*10*).

16 **scientia dei media**] → 75,*5*.

18 **Satan**] → 14,*35*.

18 **Beelzebub**] → 14,*35*.

19 **Belial**] → 14,*35*.

20 **LXX**] The Septuagint, the standard Greek translation of the OT. According to tradition it was the work of seventy-two Jewish scholars, completed in seventy-two days in Alexandria in ca. 250 B.C. Later the number was rounded down to seventy (= LXX in roman numerals).

20 **testamentum duodecim patriarcharum**] Latin (book title), *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, a Jewish pseudepigraphical work, the title of which refers to the twelve sons of Jacob and eponymous ancestors of the twelve tribes of Israel. Written in Greek between 150 and 60 B.C., the term "Testament" refers to the deathbed testimonies given by the patriarchs. It is first referred to by Origen, with particular reference to its contribution to demonology. It makes frequent use of the name Belial (→ 14,*35*) as a synonym for Satan.

21 **ὁ πονηρος**] See, e.g., Mt 13:9. (Mt 12:24 refers to Beelzebub (→ 14,*35*.)

22 **ὁ αρχων του κοσμου**] See Jn 14:30.

23 **ὁ δρακων**] δραχων should be δρακων.

Notes for
NOTEBOOK 2

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NOTES FOR NOTEBOOK 2

Critical Account of the Text by
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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript

Notebook 2 is an inexpensive copybook in quarto format. It originally consisted of ten leaves or twenty pages.[1] Some individual leaves are missing, wholly or in part. In one case, the missing text has been transmitted indirectly by H. P. Barfod's edition *Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer* (*EP*).[2] In two cases, only the introductory words of the entries have been preserved, namely by having been registered in Barfod's catalogue of Kierkegaard's posthumous papers (*B-cat.*).[3] The notebook is in the Kierkegaard Archive (KA) at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

II. Dating and Chronology

Notebook 2 contains fourteen entries, six of which are dated. The first dated entry, Not2:3, is from March 16, 1835. When the first two entries were made cannot be established with certainty, but the first half of March 1835 seems likely. A number of discontinuities are also to be noted in the chronology: Not2:7 was written in December 1835; Not2:9 is from September 1835; Not2:10 is from October 13, 1835; and finally, Not2:13 and Not2:14 are from March 28, 1835. The explanation in the last two cases may be that they are Kierkegaard's transcriptions of entries he had made previously, perhaps on loose slips of paper. And Not2:9 is on a slip that has been glued in, which is perhaps why it is some months older than Not2:7 and therefore probably contemporary with Not2:8. There is nothing unusual in the possibility of Not2:10 being older than Not2:7, as we know that

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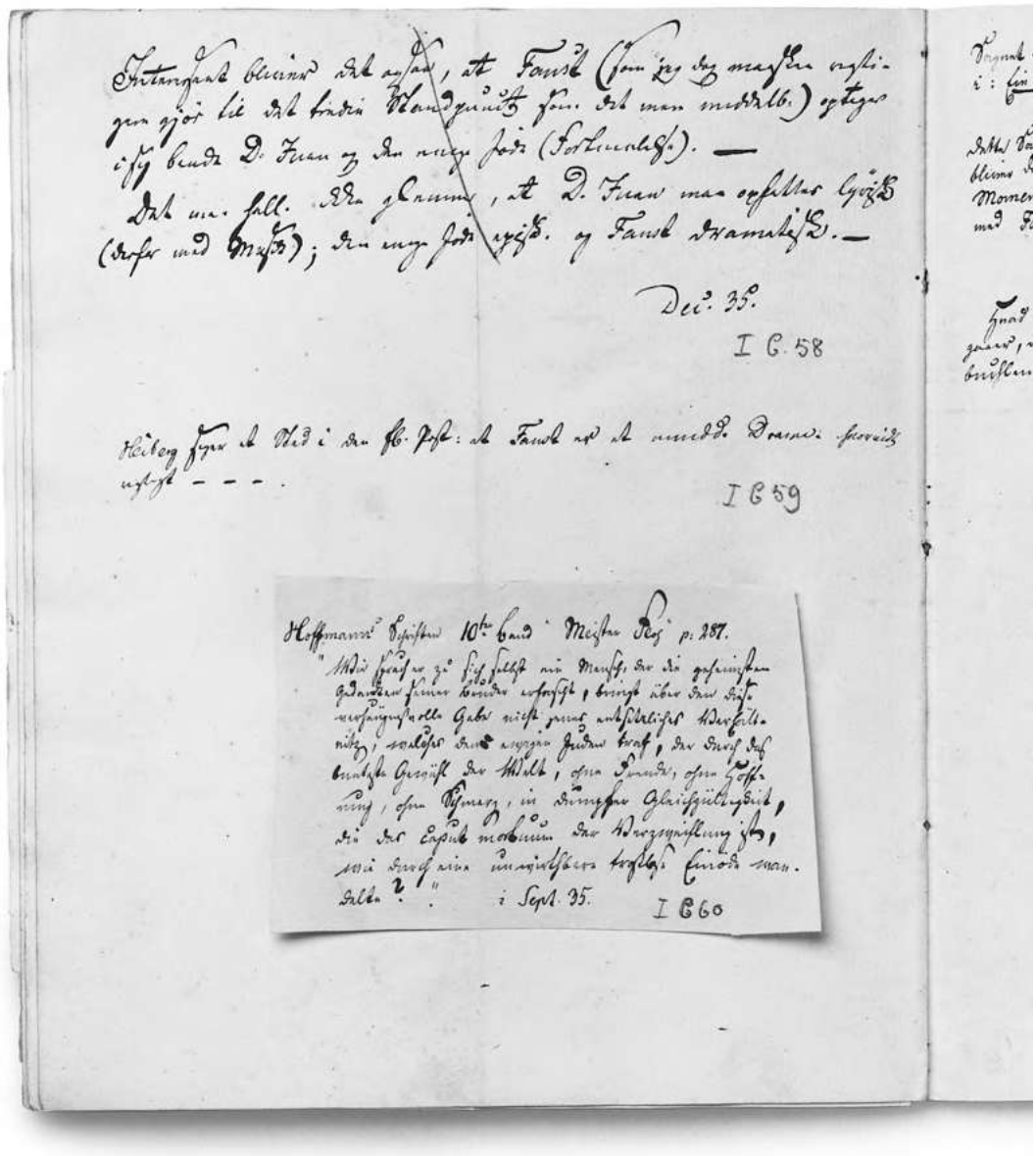
1) In *B-cat.* 453 only eighteen pages are registered, because Barfod did not count the first, unwritten leaf of the notebook, but started his pagination on the second leaf, i.e., the third page.

2) This is the case with entry Not2:3.

3) This is the case with entries Not2:4 and Not2:5.



Dec. 35.

I G. 58

I G 59

Hoffmanns Schriften 10te Band Meister Floh p. 287.

I G 60

Notebook 2:7–9

Kierkegaard often left room for later entries when he wanted to expand on something. Thus the notebook was probably begun in March 1835 and to all appearances was concluded in December of the same year.

III. Contents

Notebook 2 reflects Kierkegaard's growing preoccupation with the three figures of Faust, Don Juan, and the Wandering Jew. These studies later took on a more thorough and systematic character in *Journal BB*, where it was primarily Goethe's *Faust* that would attract his attention.[1]

The notebook's longest entry, Not2:2, contains short excerpts from C. Ludwig Stieglitz's treatise "Die Sage vom Doctor Faust" [The Legend of Doctor Faust], in *Historisches Taschenbuch* [Historical Handbook], ed. Friedrich von Raumer (Leipzig, 1834), pp. 125–210. Following an account of the Faust legend and the historical development of the Faust literature, Stieglitz's treatise ends with a comprehensive bibliography (pp. 183ff.). Kierkegaard begins by citing sporadically from the first part of the treatise, using various headings, and then transcribes just a small part of the bibliography, remarking "I shall note only some of the literature. There is a very comprehensive list to be found in v. Raumer." Stieglitz's bibliography includes 107 items, and in the autumn of 1836 Kierkegaard found it necessary to transcribe all of these into *Journal BB* as entry BB:12. In comparing the two transcriptions, the main difference between Not2:2 and BB:12 is in quantity: in addition to a few individual titles, Not2:2 includes only the last three sections of Stieglitz's bibliography (pp. 203–206): "Schriften über Göthes *Faust*" [Literature on Goethe's Faust], "Erzählungen" [Tales], and "Opern" [Operas], the two latter in reverse order from that of Stieglitz, whereas BB:12 presents them in the order of the source. It is also important to note that where the relevant titles in Stieglitz and BB:12 are numbered 40–63, in Not2:2 only the titles under the category "Schriften über Göthes *Faust*" are numbered (from 1 to 9) by Kierkegaard. There are also some orthographical differences. From these divergences one may conclude that in BB:12 Kierkegaard cannot have transcribed these parts of the bibliography from the previous tran-

1) See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal BB*" in *KJN* 1, 365–367.

scriptions he had made in Not2:2 but must have gone a second time to the source, Stieglitz's treatise in *Historisches Taschenbuch*.

On the other hand, there are reasonable grounds to suppose that BB:16 is a transcription of the list of the literature on the Wandering Jew that Kierkegaard had earlier written in Not2:12. Kierkegaard originally gathered information on academic theses on the topic from Rasmus Nyerup's *Almindelig Morskabslæsning i Danmark og Norge igjennm Aarhundreder* [Popular Light Reading in Denmark and Norway throughout the Centuries] (Copenhagen, 1816). Entries BB:16 and Not2:12 are almost identical except for the addition in Not2:12 of the parenthetical remark "(Ahasuerus. Shoemaker. Cartophilus. Doorkeeper.)," plus the inclusion in BB:16 of the work *Blade af Jersusalems Skomagers Lommebog* [Pages from the Notebook of a Jerusalem Shoemaker], ed. B. S. Ingemann (Copenhagen, 1833; ASKB 1571), which Kierkegaard first acquired in February 1836. There is also another duplication: in Not2:10, dated October 13, 1835, Kierkegaard refers to *Ein Volksbüchlein* [A Little Popular Book], ed. Ludwig Aurbacher, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1835), and adds a note saying "The Student Union has it." The same reference occurs in BB:16, but according to a bill from the bookseller C. A. Reitzel, dated February 3, 1835, Kierkegaard had acquired the book (ASKB 1460) before he wrote Not 2:10. The work is also referred to in Not2:11.

Not2:3 is an amusing reflection on Mephistopheles's transformation into a dog based on a remark by Stieglitz, concerning "the secret arts performed by others that were transferred to Faust. We mention only the dog which appears as Faust's faithful companion and in which, as the legend stresses, an evil spirit is concealed" ("Die Sage vom Doctor Faust," p. 133). Stieglitz and his references to the literature were undoubtedly of great use to Kierkegaard. Stieglitz mentions many works of which Kierkegaard later made a deeper study, including K. E. Schubarth, *Ueber Goethe's Faust* [On Goethe's Faust] (Berlin, 1830; ASKB U 96), see especially the lengthy excerpt in BB:7; and Johannes Falk, *Goethe aus näherm persönlichen Umgange dargestellt* [Goethe, Presented by Those Who Knew Him Personally] (Leipzig, 1832), see Not3:6 and Not3:8. The reference to Lessing's Faust fragment in the marginal entry Not2:2.b also stems from Stieglitz's bibliography, though not from the part transcribed in *Notebook 2*, but as the fifth work listed in the section Stieglitz called "Dichterische Behandlungen" [Poetic Treatments] (see BB:12 in *KJN* 1, 92). It is to this that Kierkegaard later refers in BB:8 from September 1836 (see *KJN* 1, 83).

In Not2:7 (*see illustration*), where Kierkegaard directly juxtaposes

Faust, Don Juan, and the Wandering Jew, there is a hint of a project,[1] but without any clear indication of its more detailed nature:

> Also of interest is the fact that Faust (whom perhaps more appropriately I assign to the third standpoint as the more mediate) embodies both D. Juan and the Wandering Jew (despair).—
> Nor must it be forgotten that D. Juan must be grasped lyrically (therefore with music); the Wandering Jew epically. and Faust dramatically.—
>
> Dec. 35.

The next entry, Not2:8, contains a reference to Heiberg's categorization of *Faust* as an "immediate drama," in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post* [Copenhagen's Flying Post] in 1828, but Kierkegaard here refrains from developing objections to this interpretation—objections that are intimated, e.g., in BB:23 (*KJN* 1, 107) and on two loose slips dated September 8, 1836, printed as *Pap.* I C 102. For Kierkegaard the immediate stage is Don Juan, which he does not expand on in *Notebook 2*, although the matter would later be dealt with in entry BB:24 from January 1837, which bears the title "*Something on the Page in* Figaro; *Papageno in* The Magic Flute, *and* Don Giovanni" and is a preliminary study for "The Immediate Erotic Stages or the Musical Erotic" in *Either/Or.*[2] There, in BB:24, it is asserted that "being immed., all three stages [Cherubino, Papageno, Don Giovanni] are purely musical, and any attempt at another presentation is likely to place too much consciousness in them," to which Kierkegaard adds the following note: "Isn't it in Faust that the more mediated love-life begins, to the extent that he reproduces Don Juan?" (*KJN* 1, 111). The same thought is found here, in Not2:7, where, as "the more mediate," Faust is said to embody both Don Juan and the Wandering Jew. Here the Wandering Jew is already identified with despair. The same applies to the quotation from Hoffmann's *Meister Floh* [Master Flea], Not2:9, where the reason for despair is a fully developed capacity for observation.

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1) See Not3:16 in this volume for Kierkegaard's own comment on his intentions. See also BB:51, *KJN* 1, 135; the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal BB*," *KJN* 1, 365n2, 367, and the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 3*," pp. 515–516 in the present volume.

2) See the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Enten—Eller*, *SKS* K2–3, 39.

Not2:14 poses the question of whether one should not be able to say of the Wandering Jew, as one does of Don Juan, that some people have too much of him in them. No answer is provided here, but a year later Kierkegaard (in FF:19) resumes the matter of the personification of Faust and Don Juan, concluding that in the development of the world there is only one Faust and one Don Juan, but that in each individual's development there is "one for each."[1]

As the preceding shows, there is quite a close connection between *Notebook* 2 from 1835 and *Journal BB* from the period 1836–1837, where the topics raised in *Notebook 2* would undergo further examination. What in the first instance was only loosely sketched in *Notebook 2* would take on a firmer shape in the *Journal BB*, where Kierkegaard has become significantly clearer about the aim of his aesthetic studies. Finally, *Notebook 2* should be seen also in connection with *Notebook 3*, where the interest in Faust finds expression in a thorough study of Goethe.[2]

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1) See *KJN* 2, 72 and BB:49, dated March 19, 1837, in *KJN* 1, 132–134, where Kierkegaard ponders the extent to which Faust is representative of the age and discusses how human despair is attributable to "the relativity of everything."

2) See the further discussion of this in the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 3*," p. 515 in the present volume.

Explanatory Notes

85 *1* **Faust und D. Juan ... Frankfurt. 1829**] Refers to *Don Juan und Faust. Eine Tragödie* [Don Juan and Faust: A Tragedy] (Frankfurt am Main, 1829; ASKB1670). The piece, written by the German writer Christian Dietrich Grabbe (1801–1836), is as indicated in octavo but is in four acts, not five. Kierkegaard has transcribed the title as in Steiglitz's "Die Sage vom Doctor Faust" (→ 86,*1*), p. 198, which contains the same mistake, and the wording of which corresponds exactly to Kierkegaard's.

86 *1* **Historisches Taschenbuch ... Leipzig 1834. pp. 128–210**] Refers to the treatise "Die Sage vom Doctor Faust" [The Legend of Doctor Faust] by the German government official, historian of architecture, and writer, Christian Ludwig Stieglitz (the elder, 1756–1836), in the annual *Historisches Taschenbuch* [Historical Handbook], ed. Friedrich von Raumer (Leipzig; hereafter referred to as Stieglitz, in *HT*), vol. 5, 1834, pp. 125–210. Stieglitz presents the Faust legend, including the historical development of the literature, and adds a comprehensive bibliography of Faust literature (see below). Only significant deviations in Kierkegaard's excerpts will be noted in the following, not differences in punctuation and orthography.

5 **Has Faust actually existed?**] See Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 129, which reads, in summary: "There stands the enigmatic hero before us, and we try to find out whether he was an actual person or only a creation of fantasy."

5 **ob faustum in rebus peractu difficillimis successum**] Latin, "so that he will have good luck and success with things that were very difficult to accomplish" (the adjective *faustus* means "bringing good luck, successful, fortunate"). See p. 129, where Stieglitz writes: "Some of the earlier writers would not admit Faust's reality. Others take the name Faust to be fictitious; it has, as they believe, been assigned to a magician, *ob faustum in rebus peractu difficillimis successum*."

6 **Manlius ... in Cracow**] See Stieglitz, in *HT*, pp. 129–130, where it is said there can be no doubt that there actually existed a Faust famous for his black arts, who lived at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries. The dependable witness to this is Manlius, who is mentioned as having known Faust, who, according to Manlius, was born in Kundlingen and studied magic in Cracow. — **Manlius**: The writer Jacob Manlius (or Mennel) (1540–1590), a student of the Reformer Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560); Manlius later became historian to Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II (1527–1576). His information on Faust is found in *Locorum communium collectanea* [Collection of Commonplaces] (Basel, 1563), pp. 42–44; the work appeared in several later editions, including one published in Basel in 1600, where the passages mentioned are on pp. 38–39.

Del Rio. (Wier)] See Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 130, where *8* Wier is said to have been a contemporary of Faust, who is described by Del Rio as a friend and companion of the philosopher, theologian, and magician Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, though Wier himself, a student of Agrippa, makes no mention of this. — **Del Rio**: The German jurist, philologist, and theologian Martin Anton Del Rio (or Delrio) (1551–1608) tells of Faust in *Disqvisitionvm Magicarvm Libri Sex* [Disquisition on Magic in Six Books], 3 vols. (Löwen [Louvain, Leuven], 1599), vol. 1, p. 167; in later eds. (e.g., Mainz, 1603) the passage is in vol. 1, p. 131. — **Wier**: Johann Wierus (German, Weiher, also Weier, Weyer, Wier) (1515–1588) became a physician and was a student of Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (see above and → 86,*22*). His information on Faust is in *De Praestigiis Daemonvm* [On the Tricks of the Devil] (Basel, 1568), pp. 142–144. The passage is not found in earlier eds. (1563, 1564, and 1566) but in later eds., e.g., 1577, 1578, and 1582, it is on pp. 156–158.

Conrad Gesner] Conrad Gessner (1516–1565), an *8* author, lived in Zurich, where he was a physician, naturalist, and philosopher; he mentions a recently deceased Faust, one of the traveling scholars, in his *Epistolae Medicinales* [Medical Letters], 3 bks. (Zurich, 1577); later ed. in 4 bks. (Wittenberg, 1584); see

the second letter, dated August 16, 1561. See Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 130, where more of Gessner's testimony to the actual existence of Faust is cited; Gessner placed Faust on a par with Paracelsus.

8 **Begardi**] See Stieglitz, in *HT*, pp. 130–132, who provides the otherwise unknown Philipp Begardi's information on Faust, citing Begardi's *Index Sanitatis* [Index of Health], also titled *Zeyger der Gesundtheit* [Signs of Health] (Worms, 1539), chap. 4, leaf xxviib (i.e., p. 54, the verso side of leaf 27).

8 **Others make his birthplace**] See Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 132, where Stieglitz notes that although there can be no doubting Faust's "personality," "different opinions prevail" as to where he was born. Stieglitz takes Manlius's identification of Kundlingen as Faust's birthplace to be "the most correct." Earlier histories of Faust, including the *Volksbuch* [Popular Book] published by Johann Spies in 1587, and Georg Rudolf Widman (or Wideman) in his three-volume *Historien des Doctor Faust* [History of Doctor Faust] (1599), give Roda, a small town near Jena, as Faust's birthplace, while other authors, including Johan Nikolaus Pfitzer, in *Faust's Leben* [Faust's Life] (1674), give "Soltwedel or Sandwedel," a small town in Anhalt. The first popular book on Faust was Spies's 1587 edition of the above-mentioned *Volksbuch*, which appeared in countless reissues. Widman's 1599 *Historien des Doctor Faust*, also mentioned above, was a new and tendentious reworking of the Faust legend, and it was this work, revised by Pfitzer (Pfitzerus), a Nuremberg physician, and published in 1674 as *Faust's Leben*, that became the most widely disseminated German popular edition. The edition in Kierkegaard's library (ASKB 1636), printed in Reutlingen in 1834, is an abridgement of Pfitzer's edition.

10 **That as a boy . . . in Ingolstadt**] See Stieglitz, in *HT*, pp. 132–133: "Whatever else the legend says about Faust's parentage, of his early years, of his cousin in Wittenberg taking him in as a boy, bringing him up, and endowing him with remarkable abilities, so that he went to Ingolstadt and earned the degree of doctor of medicine—all this is far too much wrapped up in the folktale for it to be possible to arrive at any certainty on the matter."

12 **All this . . . lurked**] See Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 133, for the passage about Faust's dog alluded to in entry Not2:3 and mentioned in the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 2*," p. 496 in this volume.

He had . . . the classics] See Stieglitz, in *HT*, pp. 133–134, where it is said that it appears that Faust was educated in classical literature as well as medicine and natural science. 14

Faust's stay in Prague, Wittenberg? in Erfurt . . . Polyphemus] See Stieglitz, in *HT*, pp. 140–141, where the rumor of a Faustian house in Prague with an underground passage to the town hall is mentioned. Evidence is also provided of Faust having been in Wittenberg, in spite of von Neumann's claim (in his dissertation on Faust [→ 87,11]) that it was his native Württemberg that Faust visited, and that Wittenberg is merely an error for Württemberg. Stieglitz cites two additional sources that make it likely that Faust had been in Wittenberg. Stieglitz cites J. C. W. Moehsen, *Verzeichnis einer Samlung von Bildnissen, gröstentheils berühmter Aertze* [Catalogue of a Collection of Portraits, Chiefly of Famous Physicians] (Berlin, 1771), pp. 16–17, as a source for the story that Faust was permitted to lecture in Erfurt on Homer and the Greek heroes. Reportedly, students sought out Faust because he was reported to be able to do marvelous things. They asked him to call Homer's heroes up from the dead; Faust complied, and finally conjured up the giant Polyphemus. — **Polyphemus**: the Cyclops, or one-eyed giant, by whom, according to Homer's *Odyssey*, Odysseus and his companions were trapped in a cave but from whom they managed to escape. 15

At a merry party . . . by the nose] See Stieglitz, in *HT*, pp. 143–144, where Faust is reported to have been encouraged to practice his art at a festive occasion, where he conjured forth a grapevine; the drunken guests, seizing at the grapevine with knives, took hold of one another's noses instead. Goethe made use of the event in the scene from Auerbach's cellar in *Faust*, where a vine is conjured forth and the merrymakers find themselves with knives in their hands and, the wine turning to fire, are about to rush at Mephistopheles but, after another trick, take each other by the nose instead. 18

In other places . . . innkeepers, etc.] See Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 144, which recounts that the coins that Faust and Agrippa (Neumann [→ 87,11], 1, chap. I, § 8) used to pay the innkeepers would turn into worthless scrap some days later. — **Cornelius Agrippa**: Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–1535), German philosopher and theologian. He was 22

Faust with students in Auerbach's cellar in Leipzig (→ 86,25).

1525.
Doctor Faustus zu dieſer Friſt = Auf einem Faß mit Wein geſchwind = Solches durch ſeine ſubtilne Kunſt hat gethan
Aus Auerbachs Keller geritten iſt. = Welches geſehen viel Mutterkind. = Und des Teufels Lohn empfangen danon. 1525.

Faust examines a wine cask in Auerbach's cellar in Leipzig (→ 86,25).

a controversial figure around whom myths congregated; he traveled through most of Europe as soldier, physician, and teacher, leading a fitful fate, at one time in the service of princes, at another incarcerated or on the run as a heretic.

24 **He was in Leipzig ... connection**] See in Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 144, which reads: "Faust carried on his trade and demonstrated his art in Leipzig, of which we are reminded by two preserved pictures in the cellar beneath Auerbach's court."

25 **They are reproduced in v. Raumer**] One (*see top illustration on page 501*) is reproduced on a separate sheet before the title page, while the other (*see bottom illustration on page 501*) is on a separate sheet between pages 146 and 147. Stieglitz discusses the two illustrations on pp. 144–148.

27 **Vive, Bibe ... gradu 1525**] Quoted from Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 147, which has *Asterat amplo Gradu*, while beneath the panel (*see top illustration*) it reads: *ASTERAT AMPLA. GRADV*. Stieglitz correctly notes the attempt in *Leipziger Tageblatt* (→ 86*m*,1) to elucidate the inscription's obscure wording by, e.g., construing *ast erat ampla* as an interpolation.

32 **Doctor Faust ... empfangen davon. 1525**] Quotation, with minor orthographic differences, from Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 147 (*see bottom illustration*).

86*m* 1 **various explanations ... Nos. 22, 23, 25**] See Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 147, which reads: "The Latin inscription, obscured by barbaric words, must be left to the philologist to clarify." The note that Kierkegaard translates relates to this. The reference concerns *Leipziger Tageblatt und Anzeiger* [Leipzig Daily News and Informer], 1833, no. 22, p. 182; no. 23, p. 191; and no. 25, p. 207, where the Latin inscription under the picture in Auerbach's cellar (*see top illustration*) is translated and discussed. See *Bibliotheca Faustiana*, no. 2092.

87 5 **Faust is supposed ... his amanuensis**] See Stieglitz, in *HT*, pp. 154–155, where it is noted that after his death Faust also acquired a reputation as a writer, reputedly but not confirmably the source of a system of magic under the title *Faust's Höllenzwang*. — **Faust's Höllenzwang**: German (book title), *Faust's Book of Black Arts*, an anonymously authored popular book printed in Georg Conrad Horst's (1769–1832) anthology, *Zauber-Bibliothek oder von Zauberei, Theurgie und Mantik, Zauberern, Hexen, und Hexenprocessen, Dämonen, Gespenstern, und Geistererscheinungen* [Library of Magic, or On Magic, Theurgy and Mantics, Wizards, Witches, and Witch Trials, Demons, and Apparitions of Spirits], 6 vols. (Mainz, 1821–1826; abbreviated hereafter as Horst, *Zauber-Bibliothek*); see Stieglitz's list of Faust literature in *Journal BB* (BB:12, item 25, in *KJN* 1, 89). — **Christoph Wagner**: according to the legend, but also in Goethe, the name of Faust's scientific assistant. He appears in connection with two popular books on Stieglitz's list; see *Journal BB* (BB:12, items 5 and 6, in *KJN* 1, 86).

I shall note ... v. Raumer] Stieglitz's list of Faust literature is on pp. 183–206 and contains 107 items. The works are divided into the following groups: "Volksbücher" [Popular Books] (eleven items), "Schriften über Faust, und die ihn erwähnen" [Writings about Faust, and Those That Mention Him] (thirty-one items), "Dichterische Behandlungen" [Poetic Treatments] (sixty-three items in all, including those subcategories that follow): "Französiche Uebersetzungen" [French Translations], "Englische Uebersetzungen" [English Translations], "Schriften über Göthes Faust" [Literature on Goethe's *Faust*], "Opern" [Operas], and "Erzählungen" [Tales]. Kierkegaard transcribes the three last subcategories in their entirety, assigning them his own numbering. Where it has been impossible to identify firsthand the works that follow, the editors of the present edition have relied on two modern bibliographies: Karl Dietrich Leonhard Engel, *Bibliotheca Faustiana. Zusammenstellung der Faust-Schriften vom 16. Jahrhundert bis Mitte 1884* [Library of Faust: Compilation of Writings on Faust from the 16th Century to Mid-1884] (Oldenburg, 1885), reprinted Hildesheim, 1970, abbreviated hereafter as *Bibliotheca Faustiana*; and Hans Henning, *Faust-Bibliographie* [Faust Bibliography], 5 vols. (Berlin, 1966–1976), abbreviated hereafter as *Faust-Bibliographie*). In BB:12 Kierkegaard transcribed Stieglitz's list in its entirety; see *KJN* 1, 85–96. 9

Neumann et C. C. Kirchner ... 1743, 1746] Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 189, has "Wittenberg," which Kierkegaard may have confused with Württemberg. Stieglitz adds that this is the first critical treatment of the Faust story and that the book appeared in several editions (1742, 1743, and 1746). Kierkegaard's reference is to the historical investigation of the magician Faust, *Disqvisitio historica de Fausto præstigiatore, qvam in alma hac leucorea publico examini committunt præses M. Joh. Georg. Neumann belt.* 11

saxo, et Carol. Christianus Kirchner preza saxo. autor respondens [Historical Disquisition on the Magician Faust, Which the Candidate, M. Joh. Georg. Neumann, … and the Respondent, Carl Christian Kirchner, … of Saxony, Commit to Public Examination] (n. p. [Wittenberg], 1683), no page. The treatise was presented for public defense at the university in Wittenberg by the theology professor Johann Georg Neumann (1661–1709); the respondent was Carl Christian Kirchner. This treatise later appeared in several editions, though not in 1742; it appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana*, as nos. 47–49 and in *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 1, as nos. 757–759.

14 **Bouterwek: Geschichte der Poesie … vol. IX, p. 422**] Stieglitz, in *HT*, pp. 191–192. Refers to *Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit seit dem Ende des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* [History of Poetry and Rhetoric since the End of the 13th Century], 12 vols. (Göttingen, 1801–1819), vol. 9 (1812), p. 422 (bk. 2, chap. 2, treatise 3), where the professor of philosophy and historian of literature, Friedrich Bouterwek (1765–1828), discusses the old novel of magic attributed to Faust, the exponent of black magic; see G. C. Horst, *Zauber-Bibliothek*, above (→ 87,5). In a note Bouterwek comments that the Faust myth's relation to the historical Faust has still not been altogether clarified. Appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as no. 109.

16 **Ueber Calderons wunderthatige … Dr. Rosenkrantz. 1829**] Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 192 has: "wunderthätigen Magus" and "*Dr. Rosenkranz*. Halle, 1829." The allusion is to the German philosopher, theologian, and aesthetician Karl Rosenkranz's (1805–1879) treatise, *Ueber Calderon's Tragödie vom wunderthätigen Magus. Ein Beitrag zum Verständniß der Faustischen Fabel* [On Calderon's Tragedy of the Wonder-Working Magician: A Contribution to an Understanding of the Faust Fable] (Halle, 1829; 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1836). Appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as no. 120 and in *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 1 as no. 2765. Here the Faust theme is investigated in the philosophical drama *El magico prodigioso* [The Wonderful Magician; German, *Der wunderthätige Magus*] from 1640, the work of the Spanish dramatist Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681).

19 **Schriften über Göthes Faust**] German, "Literature on Goethe's *Faust*," is a heading that appears in Stieglitz, *HT*, pp. 203–205. Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832) wrote and published his *Faust* in several stages, which Stieglitz notes by providing a sketch of the various editions (pp. 198–201). (Goethe's so-called *Urfaust*, 1774–1775, was only discovered in 1887.) Stieglitz notes the first edition, *Faust. Ein Fragment* [Faust: A Fragment] (1790), which was later changed and enlarged to *Faust. Eine Tragödie* [Faust: A Tragedy] (1808). This first part was supplemented in its turn by separate segments of part 2 in *Goethe's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand* [Goethe's Works: Complete Edition, with the Author's Final Changes], 55 vols. (Stuttgart, 1828–1833; ASKB 1641–1668; hereafter abbreviated as *Goethe's Werke*), where it is to be found in vol. 12 (1828), pp. 1–247 (pocket ed.). Part 2 of *Faust* was first printed in full in 1832 as vol. 1 of *Goethe's nachgelassene Werke* [Goethe's Posthumous Works], which constitutes vol. 41 of *Goethe's Werke*. It was not until the beginning of 1836 that Kierkegaard bought *Goethe's Werke*, together with a separate edition of *Faust*.

Ueber Göthes Faust … Leipzig. 1824] Refers to the 20
anonymously published *Ueber Göthe's Faust und dessen Fortsetzung. Nebst einem Anhange von dem ewigen Juden* [On Goethe's Faust and its Continuation, together with an Appendix on the Wandering Jew] (Leipzig, 1824). This work was by the German writer and philosopher Carl Friedrich Göschel (1781–1862). Following the introduction ("Ueber die Sage von Faust im Allgemeinen" [On the Legend of Faust in General]), the work contains sections on Goethe's *Faust* and C. C. L. Schöne's sequel in *Fortsetzung des Faust von Goethe. Der Tragödie zweiter Theil* [Continuation of Goethe's Faust: Part Two of the Tragedy] (Berlin, 1823). After this there is an appendix on the Wandering Jew, in which, following the introduction, there is a section titled "Von dem ewigen Juden in Beziehung auf Göthe's Entwurf zu einer epischen Geschichte des ewigen Jude" [The Wandering Jew, with Reference to Goethe's Draft of an Epic Poem on the Wandering Jew]. The work concludes with a section "Nachträgliche Erläuterungen" [Supplementary Comments]. Appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as no. 1101 and in *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 2, pt. 2 as no. 2874. (The figure known in English as "the Wandering Jew" is known in German as *der ewige Jude* and in Danish as *den evige Jøde*, in both cases, literally, "the eternal Jew." In Latin dissertations the same figure is known as *judaeo im-mortali* [or *immortali*] or *judaeo*

nonmortali [also *non mortali* or *non-mortali*], all of which are translatable into English as "the immortal Jew.")

22 **Aestetische Vorlesungen ... Halle 1825**] Refers to *Aesthetische Vorlesungen über Goethe's Faust als Beitrag zur Anerkennung wissenschaftlicher Kunstbeurtheilung* [Aesthetic Lectures on Goethe's Faust, as a Contribution to the Recognition of the Scientific Judgment of Art] (Halle: H. F. W. Hinrichs, 1825). The author is the German philosopher Hermann Friedrich Wilhelm Hinrichs (1794–1861), and the work consists of an extensive preface together with twelve lectures held in Heidelberg, 1821–1822. Appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as no. 1102 and in *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 2, pt. 2 as no. 2875.

25 **Vorlesungen von Wolf ... nicht gedrucht**] German, "Lectures by Wolf on Goethe's Faust, held in Jena in 1829, not printed." Cited from Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 203. The lectures were by Oskar Ludwig Bernhard Wolff (1799–1851), professor of modern literature at Jena, who lectured on Goethe's *Faust* in the spring of 1829.

27 **Vorlesungen uber Gothes Faust ... Berlin 1830**] Refers to the lectures *Ueber Goethe's Faust* [On Goethe's Faust], by K. E. Schubarth (Berlin, 1830; ASKB U 96). Karl Ernst Schubarth (1796–1861) was a German writer. Appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as no. 1110 and in *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 2, pt. 2 as no. 2230. Schubarth's twelve lectures on Goethe's *Faust* are painstakingly excerpted in *Journal BB* (BB:7) from 1836 (see *KJN* 1, 70–83).

29 **Heroldstimme ... Leipzig. 1831**] Refers to the German writer and philosopher Carl Friedrich Göschel (1781–1862) and his treatise *Herolds Stimme zu Göthe's Faust, ersten und zweiten Theils, mit besonderer Beziehung auf die Schlußscene des ersten Theils von C. F. G. . . . .l* [Herold's Voice for Goethe's Faust, Parts One and Two, with Special Reference to the Concluding Scene of Part One, by C. F. G—l] (Leipzig, 1831). Appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as no. 1112 and in *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 2, pt. 2 as nos. 1789, 2883, and 3905.

32 **L. B. (Bechstein) ... Stuttgardt 1831**] The parenthesis stems from Stieglitz, in *HT*. The allusion is to *Die Darstellung der Tragödie Faust v. Göthe auf der Bühne. Ein zeitgemässes Wort für Theaterdirektionen, Schauspieler und Bühnenfreunde* [The Presentation of Goethe's Tragedy Faust on the Stage: A Timely Word for Theater Directors, Actors, and Friends of the Stage] (Stuttgart, 1831). The author of the book, which discusses contemporary stagings of Goethe's *Faust*, is given as "L. B.," i.e., the German writer Ludwig Bechstein (1801–1860). Appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as no. 1111 and in *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 2, pt. 2 as no. 4547.

1 87*m* **In the so-called ... Nachlasse.—**] Variant: This passage is on a slip of paper that has been glued into the notebook. — **Dr. Joh. Faustens Miracel, Kunst und Wunderbuch**: Stieglitz, in *HT* (p. 159) gives the full title and provides Horst's *Zauber-Bibliothek* (→ 87,5) as the source. In part 3 of Horst's anthology (1822), pp. 86–114, and part 4 (1823), pp. 141–163, an anonymous work, *Dr. Johann Faustens Miracul- Kunst- und Wunder-Buch oder die schwarze Rabe auch der Dreifache Höllen Zwang genannt* [Dr. Johann Faust's Book of Miracles, Arts, and Wonders, or the Black Raven, also Called the Tripartite Book of Black Magic] (Lyons, 1469), is printed in its entirety. Appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as no. 119 and in *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 1, as nos. 35, 3212–3213. — **how Faust ... with him**: See Stieglitz, in *HT*, pp. 159–161, where Faust, in an extract from the above-mentioned book, relates how he conjured forth three spirits that were to serve him. He asked each how quick they were. The first (Mochiel) answered: "as the wind," the second (Aniguel) answered: "as a bird in the air," but both were rejected. Faust continues: "In a trice the third, known as Aziel, was also in front of me. I asked him, How quick was he? *As quick as man's thought*. I said, You, in front of me, it is you I will have. And I accepted him. As has been written about at some length, this spirit has served me for a long time." — **It is also this that Lessing ... Raumer p. 161**: See Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 161, where the cited passage continues: "Here, in this passage, we see incontestably the source that Lessing draws on for a scene he has composed for his play 'Faust.' Faust needed the quickest spirit from Hell to serve him, and he chose from seven spirits the one who announced that he was *as quick as the passage from good to evil*." (Note that Kierkegaard has written "from evil to good.") — **See Lessing's ... theatralischem Nachlasse**: Variant: *added*. Kierkegaard transcribes this reference in line with Stieglitz's catalogue of Faust literature, pp. 195–196. Refers to the fragment of a Faust drama published by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), the German poet, li-

brarian, and philosopher, though much of his working-out of it is lost. The only completed scene, "Faust und sieben Geister" [Faust and Seven Spirits], was reported in his *Briefe die Neueste Litteratur betreffend* [Letters Concerning the Most Recent Literature], 24 vols. (Berlin, 1759–1766), vol. 1 (1759), pp. 103–107 (letter 17, dated February 16, 1759). After Lessing's death, this letter with the scene in question was published in his *Analekten für die Litteratur* [Analects for Literature], 4 vols. (Bern, 1785–1786), vol. 1 (1785), pp. 206–214 (letter 15, the Faust scene, pp. 210–214). Stieglitz discusses the scene on p. 161, where he also points out Lessing's immediate sources. In volume 2 of *Gotthold Ephraim Leßings Theatralischer Nachlaß* [Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's Posthumous Works for the Theater], ed. Karl Gotthelf Lessing, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1786), the editor's foreword discusses Lessing's work with the Faust material: "I know from reliable sources that he had drafted two different plans; and one of his friends has assured me that he himself had read through twelve books of this drama, in manuscript form, here in Breslau, but nothing more remains than what I present here" (p. xxxix). Pp. 187–206 also reproduce a report sent to editor Gotthelf by the theatrical director, philosopher, and poet Johann Jakob Engel (1741–1802) in which a scene from Lessing's piece is recounted; this is followed by Lessing's Faust drama, as he had sketched it, and is followed in turn by the scene "Faust and the Seven Spirits." See *Bibliotheca Faustiana*, nos. 626, 629–630 and *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 1, nos. 2846, 2848–2849.

88 1 **Ueber Erklärung ... Leipzig. 1831**] German, "On the Explanation and Continuation for the Theater of Faust, Generally, and in Particular on the Christian Postlude to the Tragedy Faust." Presumably, the reference is to the review article in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* [Pages for Literary Entertainment] (Leipzig, 1832), no. 47, February 16, 1832, pp. 194–196, which bears the title "Ueber Erklärung und Fortsetzung des 'Faust' im Allgemeinen und insbesondere über: 'Geistliches Nachspiel zur Tragödie Faust,' von K. Rosenkranz" [On the Explanation and Continuation for the Theater of Faust, Generally, and in Particular on the 'Spiritual Postlude to the Tragedy Faust,' by K. Rosenkranz] (Leipzig, 1831). The review, signed "34," discusses in general the possibility of a sequel to part 1 of Goethe's *Faust* and criticizes in particular K. Rosenkranz's attempt to write such a sequel in the dramatic poem *Geistlich Nachspiel zur Tragödie Faust* [Spiritual Postlude to the Tragedy *Faust*]. It seems, however, that Rosenkranz never in fact wrote such a work; in *Bibliotheca Faustiana*, supplement no. 30, Stieglitz is taken to task for having introduced this misunderstanding, and Rosenkranz is cited as having subsequently denied writing anything of the sort; see *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 3, no. 305.

Vorlesungen über ... Büdingen. 1830] Refers to 4
Friedrich August Rauch (1806–1841), German privatdocent at Giessen, and his *Vorlesungen über Göthe's Faust* [Lectures on Goethe's Faust] (Büdingen, 1830; ASKB 1800). Following the introduction are three thematic sections: "Gott" [God], "Welt" [World] and "Teufel" [Devil]. Appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as no. 1109 and in *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 2, pt. 2 as no. 2882.

Sehr treffende ... dargestelt] "Falk provides very 6
apt remarks and explanations concerning Goethe's *Faust* in his book 'Goethe, Presented by Those Who Knew Him Personally'"; cited from Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 204. Refers to the German writer Johannes Falk (1768–1826) and his *Goethe aus näherm persönlichen Umgange dargestellt. Ein nachgelassenes Werk* [Goethe, Presented by Those Who Knew Him Personally: A Posthumous Work] (Leipzig, 1832; 2nd printing, 1836). In a chapter on Goethe's humor Falk discusses *Faust* (pp. 92–94), and the whole of *Faust I* is treated in twenty-seven chapters in "Zweiter Anhang. Über Goethe's Faust. Ein Fragment zur Erläuterung des obigen Gartengespräches" [Appendix 2. On Goethe's Faust: A Fragment in Explanation of the Aforementioned Garden Conversations], pp. 207–318. Appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as no. 1116 and in *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 2, pt. 2 as no. 1866. Kierkegaard makes excerpts from the book in *Notebook 3* (Not3:6 and 8); see pp. 101–106 and 108–110 in this volume.

Erzählungen] German, "Tales," is a heading found 9
in Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 206.

Doctor Faust ... l'enchanteur Faustus] Quotation 10
from Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 206. Refers to "L'Enchanteur Faustus, Conte" [The Magician Faust: A Tale] by the Irish-French writer Antoine Hamilton (1646–1720), first printed in his *Œuvres diverses du Comte Antoine Hamilton* [Diverse Works of Count Antoine Hamilton] (London, 1776), vol. 7, pp.

186–240, reprinted several times, also in German translation. Appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as nos. 365–366 and in *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 2, pt. 2 as nos. 3082 and 3085.

14 **Fausts Leben . . . v. Klinger**] Refers to the German poet Friedrich Maximilian Klinger's (1752–1831) anonymously authored novel, *Fausts Leben, Thaten und Höllenfahrt in fünf Büchern* [The Life, Works, and Journey to Hell of Faust, in Five Books] (St. Petersburg, 1791); later published in several editions. Appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as nos. 1367ff. and in *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 3, as nos. 37ff. Kierkegaard had excerpted from this book previously; see *Pap.* I C 46.

16 **Faust v. Mainz . . . Leipzig 1794**] Refers to the play *Faust von Mainz, ein Gemälde aus d. 15ten Jahrhundert* [Faust from Mainz: A Painting from the 15th Century] (Leipzig, 1794), by the Austrian actor and dramatist Johann Nepomuk Komareck (or Komarek) (1757–1821). See *Bibliotheca Faustiana*, no. 1517. The piece does not, however, deal with Faust.

18 **Der umgekehrte Faust . . . Heidelberg 1816**] Refers to Pastor Karl Wilhelm Seybold's (1756–1833) *Der umgekehrte Faust oder Frosch's Jugendjahre* [The Inverted Faust, or Frosch's Youth] (Reutlingen, 1816). Appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as no. 659 and in *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 3, as no. 464.

20 **Fausts Lehrling . . . 1824**] According to *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 3, no. 490, this is a reference to the Austrian professor of history and writer Wolfgang Adolph Gerle's (1781–1846) "kleine Erzählung" ("little tale"), the narrative "Doctor Fausts Lehrling" [Doctor Faust's Apprentice], printed in thirteen parts in his *Schattenrisse und Mondnachtbilder* [Silhouettes and Moonlight Pictures], 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1824), vol. 3, pp. 1–26. See *Bibliotheca Faustiana*, no. 1383.

23 **Faustus ein Gedicht . . . Leipzig 1832**] Refers to Ludwig Bechstein's (→ 87,32) lyrical poem *Faustus. Ein Gedicht* [Faust: A Poem] (Leipzig, 1833; ASKB 1626). Appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as no. 663 and in *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 3, as no. 517.

25 **Opern**] German, "Operas." This heading is to be found in Stieglitz, in *HT*, pp. 205–206.

26 **Dr. Fausts Mantel . . . Wien. 1819**] Refers to the Austrian writer Adolf Bäuerle's (1786–1859) piece *Doctor Faust's Mantel. Ein Zauberspiel mit Gesang in zwey Acten* [Doctor Faust's Cloak: A Magic Play, with Songs, in Two Acts] (Vienna, 1819). Appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as no. 1521 and in *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 3, as no. 2167. The music was written by the Austrian composer Wenzel Müller (1767–1835).

28 **Faust Trauerspiel . . . Berlin 1824**] Refers to *Faust, Trauerspiel mit Gesang und Tanz* [Faust: Tragedy with Song and Dance] (Berlin, 1823). Appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as no. 543 and in *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 3, as no. 181. The piece was written by the prolific German author Julius von Voss (1768–1832).

30 **Faust Oper in vier Aufzügen . . . v. Spohr**] German (opera title), *Faust: An Opera in Four Acts* was written by the German composer, violinist, and conductor Louis (Ludwig) Spohr (1784–1859), with text by Josef Carl Bernard (1780–1850). The work was published in several editions, the first of which appeared in Vienna in 1814, but only one version is said to be "in four acts," namely, according to *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 3, no. 3923, Louis Spohr's *Faust. Romantische Oper in vier Aufzügen von J. C. Bernard* (n.p., n.d. [ca. 1820]). See *Bibliotheca Faustiana*, no. 1597 and *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 3, nos. 3919ff.

32 **Fausto, opera seria . . . Louise Bertin**] Quotation from Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 206. Refers to a work by the Italian composer and artist Louise (Luigia) Bertin (1805–1877), who used Goethe's *Faust* as the basis for her text. The bilingual work (Italian/French) bears the double title *Fausto, opera semi-seria in quattro atti.— Faust, opéra semi-serieux en quatre actes, représenté pour la première fois, à Paris, sur le Théâtre Italien, le lundi 7 mars 1831* [Faust, Half-Serious Opera in Four Acts, Presented for the First Time in Paris at the Théâtre Italien, Monday, March 7, 1831] (Paris, 1831). Appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as nos. 575/1587 and in *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 3, as nos. 3560–3562.

35 **the legend has provided . . . see v. Raumer p. 133**] In his discussion of the two illustrations (→ 86,25) Stieglitz also discusses the dog, pp. 146–147 (→ 86,12). 88

12 **in the Student Union library**] The Student Union was founded ca. 1820 in Regensen College in Copenhagen and offered several facilities, including a lending library for students. An edition of Klinger's *Fausts Leben* (→ 88,14) from 1799 is entered as no. 689 in *Fortegnelse over Studenterforen-* 88*m*

ingens Bogsamling [Catalogue of the Library of the Student Union] (Copenhagen, 1833), p. 34.

13 **Atheneum**] Athenæum was a literary society founded in Copenhagen in 1824. It had a comprehensive library where members could read or borrow books for home use.

13 **the catalogue for 1834. p. 156**] *Fortegnelse over Selskabet Athenæums Bogsamling* [Catalogue of the Atheneum Society's Library] (Copenhagen, 1834), p. 156.

89 11 **Herder, Zerstreute Blätter**] *Zerstreute Blätter* [Scattered Leaves] 6 vols. (Gotha, 1785–1797), by the German philosopher and theologian Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803). The entry that should have been written here could be identical with Not. 3:1; see p. 95 in the present volume.

89 12 **Schleiermachers vertraute Briefe über die Lucinde**] German, "Schleiermacher's *Confidential Letters Concerning Lucinde*"; cf. the title of the second edition of the book that the German theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) published anonymously in 1800 under the title *Vertraute Briefe über Friedrich Schlegels "Lucinde."* The book consists of fictitious letters from various persons and is a defense of Friedrich Schlegel's novel *Lucinde* (1799), which aroused moral indignation in its day. Both Schlegel's novel and Schleiermacher's book were republished in 1835. Schleiermacher's book—this time, with Schleiermacher's name on the title page—appeared in two editions, one in Stuttgart and a more important one in Hamburg, accompanied by a preface in which Karl Gutzkow linked *Lucinde* to the social and political struggles that characterized "Young Germany" in the 1830s. The entry that should have been written here could be identical with Notebook 3:2; see pp. 95–96 in the present volume.

90 1 **about Faust's "collar"**] The broad collar or cravat that Faust wore in accordance with the custom of the time.

2 **Harro Harring's "Faust im Gewande der Zeit"**] Transcribed from Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 198. Refers to the piece *Faust im Gewande der Zeit. Ein Schattenspiel* [Faust in Period Dress: A Shadow Play] (Leipzig, 1831), by the Danish-German artist and writer Harro Paul Harring (1798–1870). Appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as no. 662 and in *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 3, as no. 273.

3 **"Fausts Mantelkrage."**] German, "Faust's Coat Collar"; transcribed from Stieglitz, in *HT*, p. 198. It appears that no such piece was written by Harring (→ 90,2); see *Bibliotheca Faustiana,* appendix, no. 29.

4 **see v. Schreiber p. 121 . . . und Brillen**] Refers to *Szenen aus Fausts Leben, von Schr.* [Scenes from Faust's Life, by Schr.] (Offenbach, 1792). The work, dedicated to Goethe, is by the German writer and historian Alois Wilhelm Schreiber (ca. 1764–1841). Appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as no. 655 and in *Faust-Bibliographie*, vol. 3, as no. 402. In 1835 Kierkegaard excerpted from this work; see *Pap.* I C 48. On p. 121 Faust says: "I am not among those so ridiculous as to require that spring should bring to life only the rose bud and not also the thistle; both have their value: the one plucked by man, the other by the ass. But can one be indifferent when people with collar and spectacles preach to the poor, who are credulous of their words: Prefer the thistle to the rose?"

6 90 **Also of interest . . . Faust dramatically**] Like Faust, both Don Juan and the Wandering Jew (Ahasuerus) were also the stuff of late medieval myth and were reworked by countless writers. Kierkegaard's doubt as to whether he should understand Faust as the mediate (the idea's second moment) or as the unity of the immediate and mediate (the third moment) appears to be framed in the terms of the Hegelian logic of the concept as developed in J. L. Heiberg's categorization of aesthetic genres. See the next note.

13 90 **Heiberg says . . . immediate drama**] Refers to the critical treatise, "Svar paa Hr. Prof. Oehlenschlägers Skrift 'Om Kritiken i Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post, over Væringerne i Miklagard'" [Reply to Prof. Oehlenschläger's Essay "On the Critique in Copenhagens Flying Post of The Varangians in Constantinople"], published as nine articles in *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post,* 1828, nos. 7–8 and 10–16 (January 25 to February 25), in which J. L. Heiberg develops his aesthetic theory based on Hegel. The principle behind it is to "[bring] the concept into a continuous movement through the three discrete points of the immediate, the reflected (or dialectical), and the unity of both (or the speculative)" (no. 16, col. 5). In

the development of the aesthetic genres, the concept is led through the lyrical, the epic, and the dramatic, and then within the dramatic through the immediate, the tragic, and finally the comic. Goethe's *Faust* (→ 87,19) is discussed as an immediate drama in no. 11, col. 5, and no. 12, col. 7, whereas the "lyrical drama" (Calderón) is understood as the highest development of dramatic composition (no. 13, col. 6). Some years later, however, in vol. 1 of Heiberg's *Prosaiske Skrifter* [Poetic Writings], 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1841–1843; ASKB 1560), the peak of dramatic composition is said to be the "speculative comedy" represented by Goethe's *Faust*. *Væringerne i Miklagard* is a tragedy written in 1826 by the Danish poet and playwright, Adam Oehlenschläger (1779–1850); the title is translatable as *The Varangians* [i.e., Viking mercenaries] *in Constantinople*. It was the subject of a damning review by J. L. Heiberg. — **Heiberg**: Johan Ludvig Heiberg (1791–1860), Danish writer, critic, philosopher, and journal editor; 1828–1839, translator and theater director at the Royal Theater; 1829, titular professor; 1830–1836, docent in logic, aesthetics, and Danish literature at the Royal Military College.

90 15 **Hoffmanns Schriften ... Sept. 35.**] Variant: This passage is on a slip of paper that has been glued into the notebook. — **Hoffmanns Schriften ... p. 287**: Alludes to *Meister Floh. Ein Mährchen, in sieben Abentheuern zweier Freunde* [Master Flea: A Story of Two Friends in Seven Tales] (1822) by the German writer Ernst Theodor Amadäus Hoffmann (1776–1822), reprinted in *E. T. A. Hoffmann's ausgewählte Schriften* [E. T. A. Hoffmann's Selected Writings], 10 vols. (Berlin, 1827–1828; ASKB 1712–1716), vol. 10 (1828), pp. 127–299. The passage comes from the last of seven "tales," where Herr Peregrinus Tyss speculates on the fateful optical apparatus that he has received from Master Flea. An English translation of the story is available in E. T. A. Hoffmann, *The Golden Pot and Other Tales*, trans. Ritchie Robertson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). — **"Wie? sprach er zu sich selbst ... Einöde wandelte?"**: See *E. T. A. Hoffmann's ausgewählte Schriften*, vol. 10, p. 287. — **caput mortuum**: Latin, "death's head," dregs; the expression stems from alchemy, where it refers to the residue after distillation or sublimation, hence used in general to refer to something that has lost its value.

The legend of ... Ein Volksbüchlein, München 1835] See "Geschichte des ewigen Juden" [The Story of the Wandering Jew] in *Ein Volksbüchlein* [A Little Popular Book], ed. Ludwig Aurbacher, 2 vols., 2nd enlarged and improved ed. (Munich, 1835; ASKB 1460–1461), vol. 1, pp. 1–27. The Wandering Jew or Ahasuerus is known from several legends, first laid down in chronicles in southern Europe and England in the 14th century, later reworked in innumerable popular books and poetic presentations. 24 90

The Student Union has it] See *Fortegnelse over Studenterforeningens Bogsamling* (→ 88m,12), p. 30, no. 588. 26

Ein Volksbuchlein München 1835 pp. 267 ff.] Alludes to notes on the story of the Wandering Jew in *Ein Volksbüchlein* (→ 90,24), vol. 1, pp. 267–274. 2 91

Ahasuerus ... Cph. 1816] Alludes to chap. 2 ("The Novels"), § 5 ("Biblical Novels"), piece e ("The Shoemaker of Jerusalem") in *Almindelig Morskabslæsning i Danmark og Norge igjennem Aarhundreder* [Popular Light Reading in Denmark and Norway throughout the Centuries] (Copenhagen, 1816), pp. 180–183. The book is by the librarian and professor of literature Rasmus Nyerup (1759–1829). On p. 181, Nyerup writes of "the shoemaker of Jerusalem, Ahasuerus by name, who, when Christ, bearing the cross, wanted to rest by his house, chased him off, at which manifestation of inhumanity Christ prescribed him the punishment of having to roam [the world] until the last day." He adds on p. 182: "According to another version of the story, the Jew was not a shoemaker but Pilate's doorkeeper, and is said to have struck Christ as he left, with the words: Hurry up and get out. In this account he was called Cartophilus, until later, after his conversion, he was baptized and named Joseph." 5 91

Literature: Especially theses ... non mortali] The literature on the Wandering Jew is recorded in Nyerup (→ 91,5), p. 182. Nyerup first directs attention to the two theses on the Wandering Jew to which Görres refers in *Die teutschen Volksbücher* [German Popular Books] (Heidelberg, 1807; ASKB 1440), pp. 200–203. Nyerup adds: "Both are in the University of Cop. Library," and goes on to refer to three additional theses. The first of the five theses was by the German Christoph Schultz (with Martin 8

Schmied as respondent), and according to *Bibliotheca Faustiana*, nos. 2285 and 2289, it had the title *Dissertatio historica, de JUDAEO NON-MORTALI, quam adjuvante DEO immortali, consensu amplissimae facultatis philosophica, certaminis publici argumentum facient praeses M. Christophorus Schultz, et respondens Martinus Schmied regiomonti Pruss. SS. theol. et philos. stud. in auditorio philosophorum. Ad diem XXVI. Januar. Anno M. DC LXXXIX* [With the Assistance of the Immortal God and with the Consent of the Renowned Faculty of Philosophy, a Historical Dissertation on the Immortal Jew, Which the Candidate, Christoph Schultz, Student of the Most Sacred Theology and of Philosophy, and the Respondent, Martin Schmied, Will Present for Examination in Königsberg, Prussia, in the Philosophy Auditorium, January 26, 1683] (Königsberg, 1689; reprinted 1693, 1698, and 1711). The second thesis was by Carl Anton (b. 1722), a German professor of Hebrew, and had the title *Dissertatio in qua lepidam fabulam de Judaeo immortali examinat* [Dissertation Treating the Entertaining Story of the Immortal Jew] (Helmstedt, 1756; reprinted 1760); it appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as no. 2293. This work was known in Denmark because of the Danish translation of a German rejoinder by Maria Regina Krüger (née Rühlmann), *Skrivelse til Prof. Carl Anton, hvorudi bliver beviist at Jerusalems Skomager er virkelig til. Oversat af det Tydske* [Letter to Prof. Carl Anton, in Which It Is Proven that the Shoemaker of Jerusalem Actually Existed. Translated from the German] (Copenhagen, 1758 [German, 1756]); it appears in *Bibliotheca Faustiana* as no. 2294. The third thesis was by the German philologist Gotfried Thilo (1646–1724), with the theologian and poet Johann Frentzel (1609–1674) serving as respondent, and according to *Bibliotheca Faustiana*, no. 2282, it has the title *Q. D. B. V. Meletema Historicum de JUDAEO IM-MORTALI, quod annuente JEHOVA, Amplissimo Philosophorum Ordine suffragante, in Florentissimâ, quae Wittebergae est, Academiâ, sub Praesidio M. Gottfried THILONIS, Aurimonte Silesii, Publicè ventilandum proponit in Auditorio Minor. ad d. XXII. Febr. A. O. R. cIↃ ix LXVIII* [1668]. *Johannes Frentzel, Wolaviâ Siles. Editio secunda. Wittenbergae, Literis Wendianis excudebat Daniel Schmatz, Acad. Typogr. Anno cIↃ ix LXXI* [1671] [May It Please God: Historical Investigation of the Immortal Jew, Which with the Approval of Jehova, and with the Assistance of the Excellent Faculty of Philosophy at the Flourishing Academy in Wittenberg, Presided over by M. Gottfried Thilo, of Goldberg, Silesia, Will Be Publicly Defended by Johann Frentzel, of Wohlau, Silesia. Second edition, Wittenberg, Printed by Daniel Schmatz, Printer to the University, at the Wendian Printshop, 1671]. The fourth thesis was by the German professor Sebastian Niemann (1625–1684), with Martinus Dröscher as respondent, and has the title *De duobus testibus vivis passionis dominicæ* [On the Two Living Witnesses to the Passion of the Lord] (Jena, 1679 [1668]); see *Bibliotheca Faustiana*, no. 2283. The fifth thesis was by Casparus (Jesper) Kildgaard (1711–1773) with Laurentius Gronovius as respondent, and the principal portion of the title reads: *contra Fabulam / De Judæo non mortali* [. . . Against the Fable of the Immortal Jew] (Copenhagen, 1733).

the fig tree] Alludes to Mt 21:18–20; Mk 11:12–14 and 20–21. *16* 91

Sibbern . . . in Gabrielis's Posthumous Letters . . . the Wandering Jew] Refers to the professor of philosophy Frederik Christian Sibbern's (1785–1872) epistolary novel, *Efterladte Breve af Gabrielis* [Posthumous Letters of Gabrielis] (Copenhagen, 1826), p. 101; see also the modern critical edition, *Efterladte Breve af Gabrielis*, ed. Henrik Schovsbo (Copenhagen: Det danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab [Danish Language and Literature Society], 1997), p. 73. The letters portray the student Gabrielis's unhappy love and his undergoing and overcoming a crushing sorrow. The book has a preface by J. P. Mynster, which is fictitiously presented as having been published as a review in *Dansk Litteratur-Tidende for 1826* [Danish Literature Times for 1826]. There Mynster quotes the passage adduced by Kierkegaard in entry Not2:14 as proof of the hero's not being a pitiable wimp but a healthy soul whose faith overcomes the idea of suicide as an escape from his misery: "Regardless of all the wailing, regardless of the constantly recurring lamentation—unlike Werther, of whose suffering everyone will be reminded—the soul which here expresses itself longs not for death but for life; it is crushed, imprisoned, tortured, but its inner strength has not been overcome; we are constantly assured that it is a capable existence which, after all, will emerge *23* 91

from this confusion. However much a burden life itself is here to the one who laments, still, his first and last prayer is: 'Let me not die in the midst of this misery. I would rather, like the Eternal Wanderer from Jerusalem, drag this burden throughout all the ages until the return of the Lord'" p. x (p. 12, 1997 ed.). Mynster's observations concerning Gabrielis are the focal point of the review that C. Molbech wrote in the actual *Dansk Litteratur-Tidende for 1826*, pp. 353–363, 369–384, where Molbech declares the novel's hero to be a sentimental milksop.

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NOTES FOR NOTEBOOK 3

Critical Account of the Text by
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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript

Notebook 3 is a bound book, in quarto, containing twenty-three leaves, or forty-six pages.[1] Certain entries are either partially or totally missing. In two cases the missing texts have been preserved indirectly in H. P. Barfod's edition of *Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer* (*EP*).[2] In one case the conclusion of an entry is preserved only in Barfod's transcription.[3] The notebook is in the Kierkegaard Archive (KA) at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

II. Dating and Chronology

Notebook 3 contains eighteen entries, of which five are dated. The first dated entry, Not3:2, is indicated as having been written "in Octbr. 35"; the last dated entries, Not3:5 and Not3:18, are from March 1836.

On January 14, 1836, Kierkegaard bought Baggesen's collected works, from which he cites a poem in Not3:10. On February 9, he bought the collection *Volkslieder der Serben* [Folk Songs of the Serbians], which he deals with in Not3:13. According to a receipt from Reitzel's bookstore, Kierkegaard bought *Goethe's Werke* [Goethe's Works] on February 10. This is the edition he used for his reading of *Wilhelm Meister* in connection with Not3:4, so the earliest Kierkegaard could have written the excerpt in Not3:4 is after he acquired Goethe's works, that is, on February 10. *Notebook 3* can thus be dated between October 1835 and March 1836.

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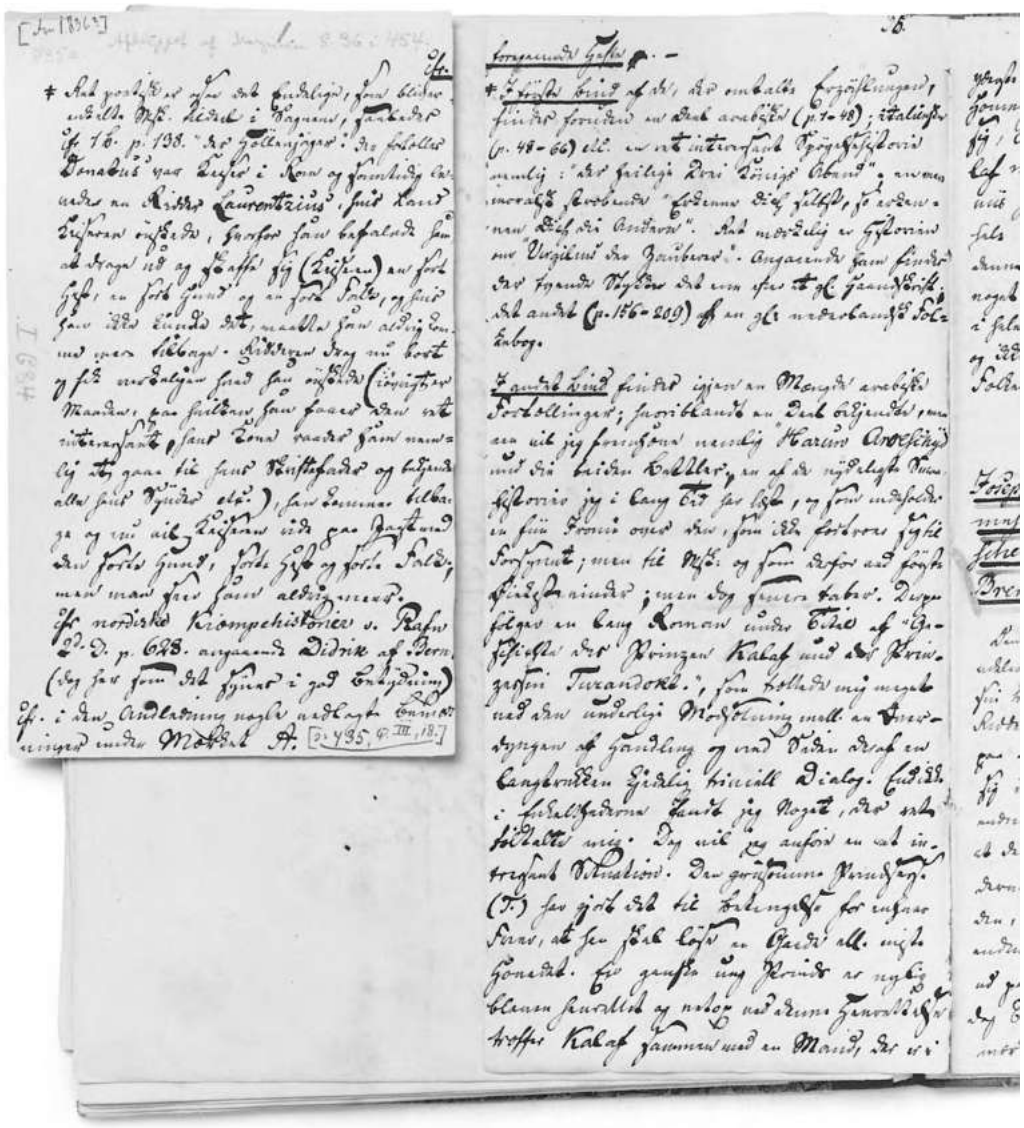
1) *B-cat.*, p. 454.

2) *EP* I-II, 25, 173. The missing entries, Not3:1.a and 11, had been written on manuscript pages 2 and 27, respectively.

3) Barfod transcribed the conclusion of Not3:5 on page 11 of the manuscript.



Notebook 3:16, with the marginal column that was cut off.
This gives an impression of the original format.

III. Contents

It appears from the page titled "aesthetic miscellanies. No. 2." (Not3:15) that the notebook originally consisted of two independent wholes: Not3:1–14 and Not:15–17. An additional sheet containing Not3:18 was subsequently fastened to these. The title of the first part may have been lost as a result of Barfod's trimming of the uppermost portion of the first page. In Not3:16, Kierkegaard refers to his "previous notebook."

The first part, comprising the first fourteen entries, is dominated by studies of Goethe. In the first of these, Kierkegaard excerpts passages from both parts of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* (Not3:4) and adds his own personal commentary (Not3:5). This is followed by an extensive excerpt from Johannes Falk's *Goethe aus näherm persönlichen Umgange dargestellt* [Goethe: A Record from Personal Knowledge], (Not3:6 and 8). Finally, there is a short excerpt from Heinrich Döring's *Goethes Leben* [Goethe's Life] (Not3:7), from which Kierkegaard cites a passage touching on Goethe's superstitiousness (Not3:9). Kierkegaard's great interest in Goethe derived not least from his own deep preoccupation with the idea of Faust (which is also reflected in *Notebook 2* and *Journal BB*).[1]

The notebook's introductory excerpts, from Herder's *Zerstreute Blätter* [Scattered Leaves] (Not3:1) and Schleiermacher's *Vertraute Briefe über die Lucinde* [Confidential Letters on Lucinde] (Not3:2),[2] are parallel to entries in *Notebook 2* (Not2:4–5), which, however, consist only of titles, the entries themselves having been lost.[3] In addition, Kierkegaard had planned to excerpt passages from some more recent German authors but did no more than set aside blank pages for that purpose (Not3:3).

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1) See also the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 2*," pp. 495–498 in the present volume, and the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal BB*," in *KJN* 1, 362–367. The work by Falk cited by Kierkegaard is found in Stieglitz's *Faustbibliographi*, Not2:2. See also BB:12 in *KJN* 1, 85–96.

2) See the explanatory note to Not3:2, p. 517 in the present volume.

3) See Not2:4–5, p. 89 in the present volume.

Whereas entries Not3:1–9 concentrate on Goethe and German literature, the remaining entries of the first section are rather diverse and testify to the wide-ranging nature of Kierkegaard's aesthetic studies. There is a quotation from Baggesen's poem "Giengangeren og han selv" [The Ghost and Himself] (Not3:10). There are two curious entries: the first, a quotation from the death dance of Lübeck (Not3:11); and the second, an anecdote concerning a sinner who awakens in Hell and asks what time it is (Not3:12). Kierkegaard also jotted down the title of the book *Volkslieder der Serben* [Folk Songs of the Serbians] (Not3:13), along with some more extensive notes on the Serbian fairy tale "Bärensohn" [Bear's Son] (Not3:14).

Beyond the title page, the second section of the notebook, "aesthetic miscellanies. No. 2," consists of only two entries: some remarks related to Kierkegaard's scattered reading in the collection *Erzählungen und Mährchen* [Stories and Fairy Tales], (Not3:16); and an excerpt from Eichendorff's novella *Viel Lärmen um Nichts* [Much Ado about Nothing] (Not3:17).

In connection with entry Not3:16, Kierkegaard uses the expression "my project" when he writes: "Beyond this, in all of this collection there is actlly nothing very noteworthy that relates to my project. The whole of it is altogether too insignificant and there isn't much of that excellence that expresses the life of a people in a specific direction." In BB:51, Kierkegaard also mentions his project as "my studies," but what he meant by "my project" and "my studies" is not clear.[1] All one can establish is that Kierkegaard's aesthetic studies were wide-ranging. This can also be seen from both *Notebook 2* and *Journal BB,* the latter of which was written as a more or less direct continuation of *Notebook 3.* Indeed, *Notebook 3* ends with the heading "Lectures by Molbech 2nd Part," which dates from March 1836, and *Journal BB* begins with precisely the same heading and date.

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1) For more discussion of this, see the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal BB*," *KJN* 1, 362–367.

Explanatory Notes

95 *1* **Herder "Zerstreute Blätter." . . . p. 102 and 3**] Reference to Johann Gottfried Herder's (1744–1803) *Zerstreute Blätter* [Scattered Leaves], 6 vols. (Gotha, 1785–1797), vol. 3 (1787), pp. 102–103. The passage is from the first chapter (titled "Vom Bilde" [On the Image], pp. 93–109) in the section "Ueber Bild, Dichtung und Fabel" [On Image, Poetry and Fable], pp. 87–190.

3 **Jedes Sylbenmaas . . . gewöhnt werden**] Quoted, with minor changes, from Herder, *Zerstreute Blätter* (→ 95,*1*), pp. 102–103.

95 *14* **Schleiermacher . . . Hamburg 1835**] This book, *Schleiermachers Vertraute Briefe über die Lucinde. Mit einer Vorrede von Karl Gutzkow* [Schleiermacher's Confidential Letters on Lucinde, with a Preface by Karl Gutzkow] (Hamburg, 1835), is a second edition. The first edition appeared anonymously in 1800 with the title *Vertraute Briefe über Friedrich Schlegels Lucinde* [Confidential Letters on Friedrich Schlegel's Lucinde]. It was written by Schleiermacher (1768–1834) and was meant as a defense of Friedrich Schlegel's novel *Lucinde.* The book consists of fictional letters written by various persons. In his preface (pp. v–xxxviii) Karl Gutzkow linked Schlegel's novel and Schleiermacher's original review to the social and political movement called "Young Germany" (→ 96,*10*). Gutzkow called attention to Schleiermacher's youthful writing in order to chastise the period's bourgeois and religious suppression of love. The second edition, with Gutzkow's preface, was published in March 1835 and was banned in Prussia within a month.

14 **Lucinde**] Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829) published his only novel, *Lucinde*, in 1799. The novel, however, became popular again with a second (unaltered) edition, which appeared in 1835. The novel was not included in Schlegel's *Sämmtliche Werke*, 10 vols. (Vienna, 1825; ASKB 1816–1825).

17 **It isn't certain**] Refers to the fact that Schleiermacher published *Lucinde* anonymously.

Versuch über die Schamhaftigkeit] "Essay on Modesty." This chapter can be found in Schleiermacher's *Vertraute Briefe*, pp. 46–68. *22*

cf. in Maanedskrift for Litteratur . . . essay by P. Møller] Poul Martin Møller (1794–1838), Danish author and philosopher, began teaching at the University of Kristiania (Oslo) in 1829 and then at the University of Copenhagen in 1831. His review of Thomasine Gyllembourg's novella *Extremerne* [The Extremes] (1835) was published in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* [Monthly Review of Literature] vol. 15, 1836, pp. 135–163. The review begins with a lengthy discussion of the nature of the critical review. On p. 140, Møller also agrees with Friedrich Schlegel's comment that "a good review of a poem is . . . itself a new poem." *5* 95*m*

Karl Gutzkov, Wienbarg, Laube, Mundt] These four authors are the main figures in the German literary movement that was dubbed, in 1835, "Young Germany." They supported the liberal tendencies that arose in the wake of the French July Revolution of 1830, which had already made a mark on the literary world with the work of Ludwig Börne and Heinrich Heine. Karl Gutzkow (1811–1878), author, critic, and editor, had written a frank preface to *Schleiermachers Vertraute Briefe über die Lucinde* (→ 95,*14*) and, in the fall of 1835, the novel *Wally, die Zweiflerin* [Wally, the Doubter]. Soon after publication, the Prussian authorities banned these writings, and Gutzkow himself had to serve some time in prison. Ludorf Wienbarg (1803–1872) published his lectures *Ästhetische Feldzüge* [Aesthetic Campaigns] in 1834, which were dedicated to "Young Germany." For this he lost his license to teach at the university. A year later he published a collection of essays titled *Zur neuesten Literatur* [On Contemporary Literature], which was also banned. In the summer of 1835, Gutzkow and Wienbarg sent out a subscription notice for a large-scale periodical, *Deutsche Revue* [German Review], but owing to severe criticisms it never materialized. In 1834, Heinrich Laube *10* 96

(1806–1884) served a prison sentence because of his political sympathies. Among other things, he had published the novel *Das junge Europa* [Young Europe] (1833–1837), *Reisenovellen* [Travel Narratives] (1834–1837), and the collection of essays *Moderne Charakteristiken* [Modern Characteristics] (1835). Theodor Mundt (1808–1861) had published a volume of critical essays titled *Kritische Wälder* [Critical Forests] (1833) and the novels *Moderne Lebenswirren* [Modern Life's Confusion] (1834) and *Madonna* (1835), which was banned soon after its publication. The actions against "Young Germany," identified mainly with these four authors, culminated in autumn of 1835. In November, the Prussian government issued an edict calling for the confiscation of the writings of these four men and banned any future publications. In December, the government of the League of German States did the same.

97 1 **Goethes Werke, 18 Band . . . 1828**] In the following excerpts, Kierkegaard cites *Goethe's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand* [Goethe's Works: Complete Edition, with the Author's Final Changes], 60 vols. (Stuttgart, 1828–1842; ASKB 1641–1668;, vols. 1–55, 1828–1833; abbreviated hereafter as *Goethe's Werke*). According to a receipt from C. A. Reitzel's bookstore dated February 10, 1836, Kierkegaard bought this edition in octavo format. Part 1 of the novel *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* appeared in 1795–1796. It is reproduced in *Goethe's Werke*, vol. 18 (→ 97,3), vol. 19, and vol. 20 (→ 99,19). Part 2, *Wilhelm Meister's Travels, or the Renunciants*, first appeared in the years 1821–1829. It is reproduced in *Goethe's Werke*, vols. 21 (→ 99,22), 22, and 23.

3 **Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre 1stes Buch. 2 und 3 Buch**] "Wilhelm Meister's Travels, 1st Book. 2[nd] and 3[rd] Book[s]." *Goethe's Werke* (→ 97,1), vol. 18, 1828, contains the first three books of *Wilhelm Meister's Travels*. Kierkegaard excerpts from bk. 1 (chaps. 1–17) and bk. 2 (chaps 1–14).

4 p. 51. **Where Wilhelm . . . attempts to prevent him**] The scene described is from bk. 1, chap. 10 of *Wilhelm Meister*. Wilhelm, son of a businessman, is at home preparing for a business trip his father has planned for him. Wilhelm has just decided he wants to be an actor and so wants to go out into the world to test his luck. At that point his friend, Werner, enters the room. In the course of their conversation, Werner praises the vocation of a businessman, and Wilhelm responds in the passage excerpted by Kierkegaard. At this point in the novel, Wilhelm has not yet become suspicious of Mariane's possible infidelity. This happens only in chap. 17 when, standing outside her house, he sees a figure leaving the house and sneaking away. This causes him such despair that, in chap. 2 of bk. 2, he casts his poetic efforts into the fire—just at that moment Werner arrives for a visit.

Verzeih mir . . . Lebens] Translation from *Wilhelm Meister: Apprenticeship and Travels*, trans. R. O. Moon, 2 vols. (London: G. T. Foulis, 1947), p. 34. 8

p. 175] *Goethe's Werke*, vol. 18, p. 175. This is in bk. 2, chap. 7, where Wilhelm, now in a traveling theater group, enters into a conversation with an older man who has distressing news about Mariane's fate: she was kicked out of the theater when it was discovered that she was pregnant. The news conjures up old memories, especially because it is certain that Wilhelm himself is the child's father. 11

p. 191. Where in the conversation . . . and gift] In bk. 2, chap. 9, Wilhelm's theater group is on an excursion and encounters a foreigner. Wilhelm discusses the art of theater with him: "But should not . . . a fortunate disposition as the first and last thing bring an actor, like every other artist, perhaps every man, close to the lofty goal he aims at?" (*Wilhelm Meister: Apprenticeship and Travels*, p. 103). To this the foreigner, or "unknown one," answers in the following quotation. 12

Naturell . . . als dieser?] Translation from *Wilhelm Meister: Apprenticeship and Travels*, p. 104. 14

pp. 221 and 20] A likely reference to bk. 2, chap. 13, where Wilhelm has sought out an old harp player whose music can soothe his tormented soul. Goethe portrays the conversation between them as follows: "Whoever has been present at a meeting of devout people, who believes that in separation from the Church they can edify themselves in a purer, more heartfelt and spiritual manner, will be able to form an idea of the present scene; he will remember how the leader of the meeting knows how to suit the verse of a song to his words, which elevate the soul, as the speaker wishes that it may take its flight, how another of the congregation adds in another melody the verse of another song, and to this again a third adds a third, whereby the kindred ideas of the songs from which they were 22

derived, were indeed aroused, but each passage by means of the new combination becomes new and individual, as if it had been invented at the moment. . .Thus did the man edify his guest, while from songs and passages known and unknown he brought into circulation feelings near and distant, awake and slumbering, pleasant and painful emotions from which in the present condition of our friend the best was to be hoped" (*Wilhelm Meister: Apprenticeship and Travels*, p. 119).

22 **p. 226. Where Wilhelm . . . different thoughts**] Alludes to bk. 2, chap. 14, where Wilhelm witnesses a scene. The harp player Philine has made the acquaintance of the Stallmeister and asked him to dinner, which makes the boy Friedrich jealous. After Philine asks Friedrich to serve the food, he shoves it between the two and spills it all over their clothes. At this, the Stallmeister boxes his ears, which makes Friedrich crave "satisfaction." The Stallmeister suggests dueling with a pair of foils upon whose points were placed buttons rubbed in chalk. It all ends in reconciliation. Wilhelm, also jealous, was watching. Goethe characterizes him this way: "Meantime in Wilhelm's soul this contest completed the picture of his own feelings, for he could not deny that he wished to drive the foil, or still rather a sword itself, against the Stallmeister. . .He did not, however, look upon Philine, guarded himself from every utterance which could betray his feeling" (*Wilhelm Meister: Apprenticeship and Travels*, p. 121). The quotation excerpted by Kierkegaard appears in *Wilhelm Meister* immediately after this scene.

98 1 **Er erinnerte sich . . . worden war**] Translation from *Wilhelm Meister: Apprenticeship and Travels*, p. 121.

12 **the entire investigation . . . pp. 73ff and 90ff.**] In chap. 13 of bk. 4, Wilhelm, theater director Serlo, and his sister Aurelia, are working on a production of Shakespeare's tragedy *Hamlet*. This gives Wilhelm an opportunity to characterize *Hamlet*. In chap. 14, at Aurelia's request, he describes Hamlet's lover, Ophelia. They take up the discussion again at the end of chap. 15, where Wilhelm comments on the play as a whole. Finally, in chap. 16, the Ophelia figure becomes the object of consideration.

13 **255 . . . Emilie Galotti . . . about this performance**] *Goethe's Werke*, vol. 19, pp. 255–258 (bk. 5, chap. 16). Here the theater group is in the midst of rehearsing Lessing's tragedy *Emilia Galotti* (1772). Serlo, who will himself play the part of the nobleman Marinelli, talks about the importance of the role in the play.

15 **Der vornehme Anstand . . . diesem Anstande gelangen**] Translation from *Wilhelm Meister: Apprenticeship and Travels*, p. 304.

16 99 **Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele**] "Confessions of a Beautiful Soul." The title of bk. 6, which is constructed as the autobiography of an elderly pensioned spinster of noble birth in which she recounts her personal and religious development. Wilhelm reads the manuscript aloud for the dying Aurelia, who thereafter dies reconciled.

19 **Lehrjahre 7tes Buch. und 8tes**] These two books (7 and 8) are contained in *Goethe's Werke* (→ 97,1), vol. 20 (1828).

22 **Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre . . . 1stes Buch**] In his excerpts, Kierkegaard draws from the first three books of *Wilhelm Meister's Travels*, found in *Goethe's Werke* (→ 97,1) vol. 21 (1829), pp. 1–228. In consists of eleven chapters, of which Kierkegaard excerpts only from chap. 4 (pp. 47–68).

24 **On his travels . . . out of hand**] Wilhelm is out for a walk with his son Felix and his friend when they come across Wilhelm's old friend Jarno, also called Montan, who happens to be in the same mountains. After Jarno demonstrates his extensive knowledge of geology, Wilhelm asks whether he can teach him the basic principles so that he can teach his son. To this Jarno gives the answer excerpted by Kierkegaard.

28 **p. 49: Es ist . . . wissend sein.**] Translation from *Wilhelm Meister: Apprenticeship and Travels*, vol. 2, p. 34.

1 100 **Vielseitigkeit . . . beschäftigen**] Translation from *Wilhelm Meister: Apprenticeship and Travels*, vol. 2, pp. 35–36.

13 **p. 55 Jarno again speaks . . . in all directions**] In the conversation Jarno related a parable, and Wilhelm now asks what role is assigned to him in this parable.

14 **ich sehe . . . fassen**] Translation from *Wilhelm Meister: Apprenticeship and Travels*, vol. 2, p. 38.

18 100 **Goethe's Wilhelm Meister**] → 97,1.

19 **Fichtean moral world order**] Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) discovered in the practical or active character of reason the principle upon which

to build a philosophical system. He conceived the absolute as a fundamental and formative activity that produces, not first of all a world of things, but rather a world of activity. Fichte introduced this idea first in his *Wissenschaftlehre* [Science of Knowledge] (1794) and later developed it in his *System der Sittenlehre* [System of a Doctrine of Morals] (1798) and *Die Bestimmung des Menschen* [The Vocation of Man] (1800). Kierkegaard refers to *The Vocation of Man* in an earlier journal entry from March 1835, where he also mentions the Fichtean moral world order. See *Pap.* I C 50. See also AA:6 from July 1835 (*KJN* 1, 11).

101 *1* **Goethe aus näherm persönlichen . . . Leipzig 1832**] Like Goethe, Johannes Daniel Falk (1768–1826), German author, lived in Weimar. He was the director of a school for homeless children. His posthumously published work is titled *Goethe aus näherm persönlichen Umgange dargestellt. Ein nachgelassenes Werk von Johannes Falk* [Goethe: A Record from Personal Knowledge. A Posthumous Work, by Johannes Falk] (Leipzig, 1832). It consists of six chapters and two appendices. Kierkegaard excerpts from chap. 1 (→ 101,*3*), chap. 2, chap. 3 (→ 104,*26*), and chap. 4 (→ 105,*4*, → 108,*1*).

3 **I Goethes Mutter**] cf. Falk, *Goethe* (→ 101,*1*), chap. 1, "Goethe's Mutter. Einige Beiträge zu ihrer Charakteristik" [Contributions to a Description of Goethe's Mother], pp. 1–7.

3 **Schon . . . vorgebildet sind**] Falk, *Goethe*, p. 1.

10 **Allgemeiner Umriß von Goethes Character, als Mensch und Künstler**] See Falk, *Goethe*, chap. 2, pp. 8–25, "Allgemeiner Umriß von Goethes Character, als Mensch und Künstler" [General Sketch of Goethe's Character as Man and Artist].

14 **One can see this . . . Wieland and Voss**] See Falk, *Goethe*, pp. 10–11. — **Metamorphose der Pflanzen**: "Metamorphosis of Plants," i.e., Goethe's 1790 botanical treatise, *Versuch, die Metamorphose der Pflanzen zu erklären* [Attempt to Explain the Metamorphosis of Plants]. It appears in *Goethe's Werke* (→ 97,*1*), vol. 58 (1842), pp. 19–80. — **Farbenlehre**: "Theory of Color," i.e., Goethe's work *Zur Farbenlehre* [On the Theory of Colors] (1810 ff.) in *Goethe's Werke*, vols. 52–55 (1833). — **his biographies of Wieland and Voss**: This seems to refer to the eulogy "Zu brüderlichem Andenken Wielands. 1813" [In Fraternal Memory of Wieland: 1813], found in *Goethe's Werke*, vol. 32 (1830), pp. 233–268. Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813) was a well-known German author. The biography of Johann Heinrich Voß (1751–1826), German author and translator, mentioned here is probably Goethe's review "Lyrische Gedichte von Johann Heinrich Voß—eine Besprechung" [Lyrical Poems of Johann Heinrich Voss: A Review] from 1804, published in *Goethe's Werke*, vol. 33 (1830), pp. 146–166. It may also refer to the article "Voß und Stolberg" [Voss and Stolberg] from 1820, published in *Goethe's Werke,* vol. 60 (1842), pp. 288–292.

Lauheit . . . Gesinnungen] Falk, *Goethe*, p. 11. *18*

die angeborene . . . Zerstörung schafft] Falk, *Goethe*, pp. 12 [not p. 13], 20, 21, 22–24. *1* 102

Tasso] Goethe's play *Torquato Tasso* (1790), found in *Goethe's Werke* (→ 97,*1*), vol. 9, pp. 99–245. *16* 104

Ihm . . . Gebet u: s. w] Falk, *Goethe*, pp. 24–25. *22*

III Goethes Ansicht der Natur] See Falk, *Goethe*, chap. 3, "Goethe's Ansicht der Natur" [Goethe's View of Nature], pp. 26–49. *26*

Ein treuer . . . Vorwelt] Falk, *Goethe*. p. 48. *26*

IV Goethe's wissenschaftliche Ansichten] See Falk, ch. 4, "Goethe's wissenschaftliche Ansichten" [Goethe's Scientific Views], pp. 50–84. *4* 105

Wieland's death . . . (Monads)] Wieland (→ 101,*14*) died in Weimar on January 20, 1813. See Falk, *Goethe*, pp. 50–53, where Falk recounts his meeting with Goethe at Wieland's funeral. Falk asked Goethe about his views concerning the afterlife, and Goethe's reply is recorded, though without mention of the doctrine of monads, which appears subsequently, on pp. 54–60. *4*

Sie wissen . . . glauben will] Falk, *Goethe*, p. 53. *6*

Daß es . . . zugegen war] Falk, *Goethe*, p. 60. *12*

Damit ist aber keinesweges . . . ausgemittelt werden] Falk, *Goethe*, pp. 65–66. *23*

As concerns world history . . . clever architect's plan] See Falk, *Goethe*, pp. 77f. *6* 106

Die ersten . . . Eintöniges] Falk, *Goethe*, p. 78. *17*

Zweiter Anhang. Uber Goethes Faust . . . obigen Gartengespräches] "Second Part. On Goethe's Faust. A Fragment to Illuminate the Above Conversation in the Garden." See Falk, *Goethe*, pp. 207–318. *21*

Vom Universalleben der Natur . . . im Faust erscheint] "On the Universal Life of Nature as It Appears in Goethe's Conception, Especially in His Faust." See Falk, *Goethe*, pp. 209–218. *23*

24 **He begins with ... to describe them**] See Falk, *Goethe*, p. 209. Falk cites lines from Friedrich Schiller's (1759–1805) poem "Die Götter Griechenlands" [The Greek Gods] (1788–1800). See *Schillers sämmtliche Werke in zwölf Bänden* [Schiller's Collected Works in Twelve Volumes] (Stuttgart, 1838; ASKB 1804–1815), vol. 1, pp. 98–104; quotation on p. 103.

27 **Unbekannt ... entgötterte Natur**] Falk, *Goethe*, p. 209.

107 1 **Goethes Leben ... Weimar 1833**] Heinrich Döring (1789–1862), German author and biographer. His work *Goethe's Leben* [Goethe's Life] (Weimar, 1833 [1828]), was a standard biography of Goethe and a companion volume to *Goethe's Werke* (→ 97,1). The second edition of Döring's biography was accompanied by a small appendix titled *Anhang zu J. W. v. Goethe's Leben* [Appendix to J. W. v. Goethe's Life] (Weimar, 1833), to which Kierkegaard refers in a later entry (→ 110,15).

3 **Mehrere ... darzustellen**] Döring, *Goethe's Leben*, p. 161. — **Geschichte des ewigen Juden**: "Story of the Wandering Jew." The medieval saga of the Wandering Jew, or Ahasverus, was much adapted in folk literature. At the beginning of bk. 15 of his autobiography Goethe mentions his plan to write a poem showing how Ahasverus attempted, in vain, to convert Jesus. See *Goethe's Werke* (→ 97,1) vol. 26 (1829), pp. 309–312.

9 **Also here on p. 459 ... on Goethe**] See Döring, *Goethe's Leben* (→ 107,1), pp. 459–468.

108 1 **Addenda to my previous excerpts**] The following draw from chap. 4 of Falk, *Goethe*, (→ 101,1).

1 **Wie Goethe ... keinem Resultate**] Falk, *Goethe*, pp. 79–82). — **Wieland ... aristippischen Philosophie**: Probably an allusion to C. M. Wieland's (→ 101,14) dialogue *Aristipp und einige seiner Zeitgenossen* [Aristippus and Some of His Contemporaries] (1800–1802), which evaluates the Greek philosophy of life through letters to and from the Greek philosopher Aristippus of Cyrene (435–ca. 360 B.C.).

110 15 **Anhang zu J. W. Goethes Leben von H. Döring. Weimar 1833**] → 107,1.

16 **It says that he died on March 22, 1832**] See Döring's *Anhang*, p. 27, where a long account of Goethe's final hours of life conclude with a description of his passing away in an armchair on March 22, 1832. The passage cited by Kierkegaard follows immediately afterward.

Jenen Tag ... anzufangen] Döring, *Anhang*, p. 28. The theater in Weimar burned down the night of March 22, 1825. Goethe first met the German classicist and art connoisseur Heinrich Meyer (1760–October 14, 1832) in Rome in 1788, and during his subsequent travels met him many times. 17

Baggesen's Collected Works ... "The Ghost and Himself"] Quotation from the Danish author Jens Baggesen's (1764–1826) poem "Giengangeren og han selv, eller Baggesen over Baggesen" [The Ghost and Himself, or Baggesen on Baggesen] (1807), found in *Jens Baggesens danske Værker* [Jens Baggesen's Danish Works], edited by the author's son and C. J. Boye, 12 vols. (Copenhagen, 1827–1832; ASKB, 1509–1520), vol. 5 (1829), p. 472. Baggesen's poem is constructed as a dialogue between "I myself" and "my ghost." In the excerpt it is "I myself" who speaks. — **Cook**: James Cook (1728–1779), famous for his travels around the world by ship in the period 1767–1779. — **Tasso**: Torquato Tasso (1544–1595), Italian poet. The reference is to his epic poem *Gerusalemme liberata* [Liberated Jerusalem] (1581). Baggesen translated parts of the eighth song on the Danish knight Svend. See *Jens Baggesens danske Værker*, vol. 4 (1828), pp. 3–21. 1 111

It was called "the dance of the dead" ... noch nicht gahn] The verse Kierkegaard excerpts is from the 1400s. The dance is depicted in the Church of Mary in Lübeck. 17 111

A despairing sinner awakens ... The Devil replies: "Eternity"] Source not identified. In *Journal JJ*, Kierkegaard mentions the same story, where he indicates that the lines come from an Italian folk saga. See JJ:406 (*KJN* 2, 254). 29 111

Volkslieder der Serben ... Halle und Leipzig 1835] *Folk Songs of the Serbians, Poetically Translated with a Historical Introduction by Talvi*, ed. Wuk Stephanowitsch Karadschitsch (or Vuk Karadi), 2 vols., 2nd ed., (Halle, 1835 [1825–1826]). 1 112

Erzählungen und Märchen ... Prenzlau 1825 ... (Prenzlau 1826)] *Stories and Fairy Tales*, ed. Friederich Heinrich von der Hagen, vol. 1. This collection 1 113

of folk literature, *Erzählungen und Mährchen*, 2 vols. (Prenzlau, 1825–1826), was published by the German philologist Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen (1780–1856). Subsequent references to this tale are to this edition.

3 **In the 2nd volume of this collection . . . "Bärensohn"**] This Serbian tale of the Bear's son can be found in vol. 2, pp. 319–329.

5 **die serbischen Märchen . . . und Frauen-Erzählungen**] Quotation is from vol. 2, p. 319n.

7 **There is a story . . . a son with her**] See vol. 2, pp. 319–320.

11 **here in the Nordic countries about Thor**] Cf. N. F. S. Grundtvig's *Nordens Mythologi eller Sindbilled–Sprog* [Nordic Mythology or Symbolic Language], 2nd rev. ed. (Copenhagen, 1832 [1808]; ASKB 1949), pp. 396–461. Kierkegaard also had in mind the recently published dissertation by Martin Hammerich (→ 114*m*,*1*), which provides a historical and critical perspective on the material Grundtvig treats in a poetical way.

12 **the boy had to submit to a test of his strength**] See vol. 2, pp. 319–329.

114*m* 1 **cf. Mag. Hamerich on Ragnarok p. 93. note**] Martin Hammerich (1811–1881) submitted his dissertation, *Om Ragnaroksmythen og dens Betydning i den oldnordiske Religion* [On the Ragnarok Myth and Its Significance for Old Norse Religion] (Copenhagen, 1836; ASKB 1950), at the end of October 1835. He defended it on April 5, 1836. Kierkegaard's own copy contains a dedication on the title page: "With friendship to Student Kierkegaard, from the author."

115 2 **No. 2.**] See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 3*," p. 515 in the present volume.

116 1 **previous notebook**] See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 3*," p. 515 in the present volume.

2 **In the first of the volumes discussing Erzählungen**] i.e., the first volume of *Erzählungen und Mährchen* (→ 113,*1*).

4 **Der heilige Drei Königs Abend**] See vol. 1 of *Erzählungen und Mährchen* (→ 113,*1*), pp. 111–126. The story is set at midnight on Twelfth Night, when the citizens of a town are told ghost stories after a masquerade and then witness some ghostly events.

Erkenne Dich . . . die Andern] See vol. 1 of *Erzählungen und Mährchen* (→ 113,*1*), pp. 129–137. The story concerns an emperor named Damian who awakens in his bed one morning and asks himself whether there is any god other than himself. He does not think so. While out hunting he removes all his clothing in order to bathe in a river, but when he emerges, another man, who resembles him in every detail, takes his clothing and journeys on, accompanied by all the emperor's knights. When the emperor arrives at his castle, no one recognizes him. He then speaks with a hermit who explains to him what has happened, and he thus learns that only when he recognizes himself in relation to almighty God will others recognize him as emperor. Finally he is able to return to his castle, where everyone now recognizes him, including the false emperor, who proves to be an angel. 5

Virgilius der Zauberer] See vol. 1 of *Erzählungen und Mährchen* (→ 113,*1*), pp. 147–152. 6

In the second volume] i.e., the second volume of *Erzählungen und Mährchen* (→ 113,*1*). 9

a number of Arabic . . . already known] According to the table of contents of the book, all five Arabic stories are from *The Thousand and One Nights*. 9

Harun Arreschyd und . . . but later loses] See vol. 2 of *Erzählungen und Mährchen* (→ 113,*1*), pp. 87–89. The story deals with the caliph Harun al-Rashid who, from his window in the palace, sees two beggars standing in the square crying out. One says, "happy the one who does good deeds before God;" the other says, "happy the one upon whom the caliph shows mercy." Al-Rashid sends bread to both. The first receives a large loaf of rye bread, whereas the second receives a small loaf of white bread. When the second beggar sees the large loaf the first beggar received, he persuades him to exchange loaves, and both go home. It turns out, however, that the loaf of white bread contains one hundred pieces of gold, which causes the pious man to praise God. The next day the second beggar is back on the square but, having learned from experience, cries out for God to send him a large loaf of rye bread. This amazes the caliph; he has the beggar brought to him and hears the story. "At that, the caliph could not forbear to raise his eyes to heaven and praise divine providence" (p. 89). He then gives the poor beggar one hundred pieces of gold. 11

15 **Geschichte des Prinzen Kalaf und der Prinzessin Turandokt**] See vol. 2 of *Erzählungen und Mährchen* (→ 113,*1*), pp. 90–224.

20 **The horrible princess . . . lose his head**] See vol. 2 of *Erzählungen und Mährchen* (→ 113,*1*), pp. 124–125, where princess Turandokt from China threatens to take her own life if her father will not publicly announce that that no prince will be allowed to marry her if he does not first correctly solve a riddle she poses, and that if the answer is incorrect, he will be beheaded.

22 **A very young prince . . . see this beauty**] See vol. 2 of *Erzählungen und Mährchen* (→ 113,*1*), pp. 131–141, where one night Prince Kalaf, the hero of the story, finds himself in front of the palace where a crowd has gathered to witness the execution of another young prince who had been unable to guess the princess's riddle. When the crowd departs, Kalaf lingers in front of the palace and meets a sobbing man who turns out to be the servant of the executed prince. At Kalaf's insistence he tells how the carefree young prince had acquired a portrait of the princess and then became obsessed with her extraordinary beauty. The servant, who has the portrait, throws it away in despair and goes home. Kalaf picks up the portrait, gets lost in the dark, and all the while his mind is very divided about whether he dares to look at the portrait. Finally he opens the locket containing the portrait and loses his fear: he is captivated.

29 **my project**] See BB:51 (*KJN* 1, 135), where Kierkegaard also discusses his project.

116 32 **Viel Lärmen um Nichts . . . Berlin 1833**] "*Much Ado about Nothing, by Joseph Freiherren von Eichendorff; and The Various Wehmüller and Hungarian National Faces, by Clemens Brentano. Two Novellas.* Berlin 1833." This book was published in the fall of 1832. Kierkegaard draws on only the first of the two novellas, written by Joseph von Eichendorff (1788–1857), German baron and author. Citations are from Joseph von Eichendorff *Werke* [Works], 6 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher klassiker Verlag, 1985–1993), vol. 2 (1993), pp. 9–82.

36 **that movement, headed by the Schlegels . . . pressure of the times**] The brothers August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767–1845) and Friedrich Schlegel (→ 95,*14*) were at the forefront of the Romantic movement in Jena between the years 1798 and 1800. An important part of their interest was in medieval literature.

the sort of humor that Hoffman has developed] 12 117
German author, musician, composer, and jurist Ernst Theodor Amadäus Hoffmann (1776–1822) was famous for strange and humorous stories. See journal entry BB:3 (*KJN* 1, 68–69).

Prince Romano . . . honor of Aurora] See Eichendorff, *Werke* (→ 116,*32*) vol. 2, pp. 12–13. 16

Also where Faber . . . to thank them] See Eichendorff, *Werke* (→ 116,*32*), vol. 2, pp. 15–19. 27

the long beautiful story . . . his existence] See Eichendorff, *Werke* (→ 116,*32*), vol. 2, pp. 58–66. 30

And also the whole happening at Count Leontin's castle] See Eichendorff, *Werke* (→ 116,*32*), vol. 2, pp. 71–72. 37

like the chorus in Shakespeare] Presumably a reference to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, (ca. 1596), in which the chorus breaks into the play, which was very popular during the Romantic era. 42

Lectures on Contemporary Danish Poetry, by Molbech] Christian Molbech (1783–1857), was professor of the history of literature beginning in 1829 at the University of Copenhagen. His book *Forelæsninger over den nyere danske Poesie, særdeles efter Digterne Evalds, Baggesens og Oehlenschlägers Værker* [Lectures on Contemporary Danish Poetry, Especially in the Works of the Poets Evald, Baggesen and Oehlenschläger] (Copenhagen, 1832) consists of twenty-six lectures, divided into two volumes. Kierkegaard excerpts from vol. 2 in BB:1 (*KJN* 1, 53–56). The excerpts here are from lectures 1 (pp. 3–26), 9 (pp. 208–234), 10 (pp. 235–261), and 11 (pp. 262–283). 1 119

They begin with Evald] The principal figures in Molbech's lectures are the Danish poets Johannes Ewald (1743–1781), Jens Baggesen (→ 111,*1*), and Adam Oehlenschläger (1779–1850), who are treated "both from a historical and from an aesthetic-critical point of view" (p. 9). Molbech does not treat Ewald's work until the fifth lecture. 3

Works of art . . . Spanish or English] Apollo in Belvedere: the "Belvedere Apollo," which stands in the garden of the Belvedere palace in the Vatican, is a Roman copy of a Greek statue from the 5th century B.C. — **holy family by Raphael**: Rafael, or Raffaello Sanzio (1483–1520). — **a landscape by** 7

Claude Lorrain: Claude Lorrain (1600–1682), French painter of landscapes.

31 **where he comments on "the fishermen,"**] i.e., *Fiskerne. Et Syngespil i Tre Handlinger. En Priisdigt af Johannes Ewald* [The Fishermen: A Musical in Three Acts. A Prize Play by Johannes Evald] (Copenhagen, 1779). First published in *Johannes Evalds samtlige Skrifter*, 4 vols. (Copenhagen 1780–1791; ASKB, 1533–1536), vol. 3 (1787), pp. 125–258. The characters in the play are fishermen, and the plot takes place in the fishing district of Hornbæk on the coast of Øresund in North Zealand.

33 **For it was not just . . . merely idyllic and moving**] Cited, with minor changes, from Molbech, *Forelæsninger* (→ 119,*1*), p. 220.

120 11 **p. 228. "The Ballad of 'Little Gunver'"**] See *Johannes Evalds samtlige Skrifter*, vol. 3 (1787), pp. 233–234.

11 **a crystal-clear portrait . . . stamp of originality**] Cited from Molbech, *Forelæsninger* (→ 119,*1*), p. 228.

16 **A parallel is drawn . . . "der Fischer."**] Molbech makes reference to Goethe's ballad "Der Fischer" [The Fisherman], found in Goethe's *Werke* (→ 97,*1*), vol. 1 (1828), p. 186.

"**one has either adopted . . . mocking glance"**] 20 Cited, with minor changes, from Molbech, *Forelæsninger* (→ 119,*1*), p. 247.

the citizens in Goethe's Egmont . . . Kozebue's 23 **farce**] See Molbech, *Forelæsninger* (→ 119,*1*), pp. 247–248. — **Goethe's Egmont**: Goethe's tragedy *Egmont* (1788), in *Goethe's Werke* (→ 97,*1*), vol. 8 (1827), pp. 167–300. — **Kozebue's farce**: August (Friedrich) von Kotzebue (1761–1819), German playwright. His sentimental dramas were among the most performed at the beginning of the 19th century in Denmark.

or one "has tried to emphasize . . . plagued by 24 **worried and cares."**] Quoted, with minor changes, from Molbech, *Forelæsninger* (→ 119,*1*), p. 248.

p. 262. "In that year . . . woven into this] Quotation 30 is from the introduction to the lectures on Baggesen in Molbech, *Forelæsninger* (→ 119,*1*), p. 262. To Molbech's text Kierkegaard adds Baggesen's middle name, "Immanuel," which Baggesen assumed in honor of the German philosopher Immanuel Kant. — **Proteus**: The Greek demigod Proteus was known for his ability to change into different shapes.

Lectures by Molbech 2nd Part] → 119,*1*. 3 121

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NOTES FOR NOTEBOOK 4

Critical Account of the Text by
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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript

Notebook 4 is a book in quarto format, half-bound in brown leather and brownish, marbled paper, containing ninety-two leaves or 184 pages. The title "*Theologie* [Theology] / *2*" is printed in gilt lettering on the spine of the book. In addition, twelve loose sheets (twenty-four pages) of paper in octavo format were found placed in the notebook. Although in *B*-cat. Barfod does not specify where in the notebook these loose sheets had been placed, the editors of *Pap.* indicate that they had been found between pages 54 and 55 of the notebook (in the middle of entry Not4:42).[1] The materials constituting *Notebook 4* are in the Kierkegaard Archive (KA) at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

II. Dating and Chronology

Notebook 4 consists of forty-seven entries, of which twenty are dated. The first two entries, Not4:1–2, which are excerpted from volume 17 of G. F.H. Rheinwald's *Allgemeines Repertorium für die theologische Literatur und kirchliche Statistik* [General Review for Theological Literature and Church Statistics] (Berlin, 1833–1837; ASKB 36–66), are undated.

The next ten entries, Not4:3–12, are summaries of H. L. Martensen's introductory lectures on speculative dogmatics and are all dated consecutively from November 15 through December 23, 1837.

The next twenty-eight entries, Not4:13–40, are the entries written on the loose sheets of paper and consist of excerpts from J. E. Erdmann, *Vorlesungen über Glauben und Wissen* [Lectures on Faith and Knowledge] (Berlin, 1837; ASKB 479). Some of these entries are dated. A footnote to Not4:20 is dated November 7, 1837, and the footnote to Not4:25 is dated November 13, 1837. Entry Not4:28 is

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[1]) See *Pap.* II, p. 416. In the present edition, the entries on these loose sheets constitute Not4:13–40.

dated November 16, and Not4:40 concludes with the words "finished Dec. 12, 37."

The next five entries, Not4:41–45, consist of Kierkegaard's comments on Erdmann's book. Of these, Not4:41 is dated November 21, 1837, while Not4:41.b is dated November 23, 1837. Not4:43 has the heading "the 26th," which could refer to Erdmann's twenty-sixth lecture, but the context suggests that it ought to be interpreted as a date: November 26, 1837. Not4:44 is dated December 4, and Not4:45 is dated December 12, 1837.

The two final entries, Not4:46–47, concern an essay by C. H. Weiße that appeared in I. H. Fichte's journal *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und speculative Theologie* [Journal for Philosophy and Speculative Theology]. Not4:46 is dated December 18; the final entry, Not4:47, is undated, but it constitutes an immediate continuation of Not4:46.

Although, as noted above, many of the entries are dated, it is rather difficult to account for the many chronological inconsistencies within the notebook. What follows is an attempt to reconstruct the notebook's timeline.

The earliest dates, November 7 and 13, are written on the twelve loose sheets containing Not4:13–40, the excerpts from Erdmann. Thus Kierkegaard had begun making his excerpts from Erdmann before he began writing his notes on Martensen's lectures, Not4:3–12. Because the notes on Martensen's lectures have the appearance of being a fair copy, it is likely that in the period November 15 through December 23 Kierkegaard was continuously occupied with making fair copies of drafts (now lost) of notes on Martensen's private lectures.[1] Kierkegaard wrote these fair copies following the first two (undated) entries in the notebook, continuing up to the verso side of leaf 27 (labeled page 50 by Kierkegaard), on which he began, on November 21, to write his comments on his reading of Erdmann. The argument that Kierkegaard made fair copies of his notes on the Martensen lectures *continuously*, that is,

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1) According to the editors of *Pap.*, entry II C 21, which was found on a torn-off scrap of paper, most likely stems from one of Martensen's actual lectures, given December 13, 1837; see Pap. II, p. 333n. Therefore the editors placed it immediately after entry II C 20 (Not4:9) and added the editorial comment, "To 20." This scrap of paper is registered as 433e in *B-cat.*, where it is explained that it was found wrapped in a paper labeled "Theologica, older." The entry on this scrap will be published in *KJN* 11 together with eight other related fragments.

throughout the period he attended the lectures—and not all at once, at a later period—is supported by the fact that the material treated in Not4:5.d is closely related to that treated in Not4:41. In both entries Kierkegaard concerns himself with Erdmann's nineteenth lecture, and if he drew upon his reading of Erdmann in making the marginal comment to Not4:5, which consists of notes on Martensen's third lecture and is dated November 22, it is likely that the Martensen notes—at least those dated November 22 and after—were written in parallel with Kierkegaard's comments on his reading of Erdmann.

It also seems likely that when Kierkegaard finished his *comments* on Erdmann— with the comment constituting entry Not4:45, dated "12th Dec. 37"—he also signed the last of his *excerpts* from Erdmann, entry Not4:40, "finished Dec. 12, 37," thus marking the end of his involvement with Erdmann's book.

Therefore, despite apparent chronological inconsistencies, *Notebook 4* was in all likelihood written at the same time as the dates it contains, that is, in the months of November and December 1837.[1]

III. Contents

Notebook 4 begins with two entries from volume 17 of the reference work *Allgemeines Repertorium für die theologische Literatur und kirchliche Statistik*.[2] And in the notebook's two final entries, Not4:46–47, Kierkegaard makes excerpts from an essay by C. H. Weiße that appeared in I. H. Fichte's *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und speculative*

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1) *Journal DD* contains two entries that are connected with *Notebook 4*. These are entries DD:81, from November 9, 1837, which discusses Erdmann's treatment of religious irony in *Glauben und Wissen*, and entry DD:91, dated December 12, 1837, which contains a reference to I. H. Fichte's introductory article to his journal *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und speculative Theologie*, with which Kierkegaard also concerns himself in the present notebook, in entries Not4:46–47. The abovementioned entries from *Journal DD* can be found in *KJN* 2, 238–239, 241.

2) See the explanatory note to *Notebook 4*, 125,*1*, p. 533 in the present volume.

Theologie.[1] For the most part, however, the notebook testifies to Kierkegaard's preoccupation with J. E. Erdmann's *Vorlesungen über Glauben und Wissen*[2] and H. L. Martensen's introductory lectures on speculative dogmatics.

Not4:3–12 are summaries of the first ten of the lectures that Martensen presented in private—i.e., offered to those students who paid for the services of a *privatdocent*, or private lecturer—hourly sessions held twice a week during the winter semester of 1837–1838.[3] In his memoirs Martensen mentions successful repetitions of these lectures (after he had secured appointment to the university in April 1838) in the summer semester of 1838 and the winter semester of 1838–1839:[4]

> Even before my appointment to the university, in the winter of 1837–1838, I had held these lectures before a varied audience who had especially asked me to do so, and every time they were repeated they were attended by a most numerous audience from the various faculties, indeed, even by men who held civil service positions. It was a world of new ideas with which people here became acquainted.[5]

This world of new ideas served toward "the uniting of religion and thought, of faith and knowledge,"[6] and Kierkegaard was in the

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1) See the explanatory note to *Notebook 4*, 167,*1*, p. 548 in the present volume.

2) See the explanatory note to *Notebook 4*, 143,*1*, p. 539 in the present volume.

3) See *Forelæsninger ved Kjøbenhavns Universitet ... i Vintersemestret 1837/38* [Lectures at the University of Copenhagen ... in the Winter Semester, 1837–1838] (Copenhagen, 1837), p. 3. The winter semester ran from November 1 of one year to March 31 of the year following. The summer semester ran from May 1 to September 30.

4) See also *KJN* 2, 592–596.

5) H. L. Martensen, *Af mit Levnet* [From My Life], 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1882–1883), vol. 2 (1883), pp. 3–4.

6) Skat Arildsen, *Biskop Hans Lassen Martensen. Hans Liv, Udvikling og Arbejde* [Bishop Hans Lassen Martensen, His Life, Development, and Work] (Copenhagen, 1932), p. 162.

audience, even if he seems only to have attended the first ten lectures.

In introducing speculative dogmatics, it is stated in Not4:3 that the subject matter consists of:

> . . . Christian metaphysics—the actl core knowledge and vision of the depths of God . . . it is theology par excellence. it is the unity of speculation and tradition—it is faith's highest consciousness—it is the living concept of the theologian.

Martensen's first four lectures, Not4:3–6, then take the form of an account of the possibility of such a speculative dogmatics. In the second lecture, Not4:4, such a dogmatics is defined in opposition to a biblical-ecclesiastical point of view and to the standpoints of faith and rationalism. In the third and fourth lectures, Not4:5–6, a theological phenomenology is introduced in three stages: a Catholic stage, a Reformation stage, and a stage at which "Xnty is sought within self-consciousness." With respect to this third stage, one reads the following at the conclusion of the fourth lecture, Not4:6:

> *It is the third stage that will rlly be the object of these lectures; it is therefore necessary to go through all the facets of self-consciousness.*

Martensen's next six lectures, Not4:7–12, consist of a thorough account of Immanuel Kant's philosophy as well as an overview of the history of philosophy from Descartes to Kant. Kierkegaard ends his accounts of Martensen's lectures after the tenth lecture, Not4:12, where Martensen becomes more critical of Kant's point of view. It is only at a few points that Kierkegaard interrupts his accounts of Martensen's lectures with critical comments of his own, e.g., Not4:9, where Kierkegaard adds the following comment to Martensen's discussion of the great significance that the categories had for Kant: "an Ode by Marthensen, one of the worst he has delivered so far, a forced cleverness."

The other major focus of *Notebook 4* is Erdmann's introductory lectures to dogmatics and the philosophy of religion, *Vorlesungen über Glauben und Wissen*, from which Kierkegaard makes excerpts, Not4:13–40, and on which he comments, Not4:41–45. The excerpts he makes are not summaries but free translations of a selection of passages in the text. The excerpts are thus occasionally very brief and at other points are quite detailed, following Erdmann's defini-

tions of Hegelian concepts with respect to faith (Not4:13–27) and knowledge (Not4:28–40). Apart from two footnotes (Not4:20.1 and Not4:25.1), it is only after the transition to the second part of Erdmann's work that Kierkegaard makes his first comment on the text, namely, in Not4:28, where he writes:

> **2nd Part.—**
> *NB.* re p. 149 bottom and 150 top. It seems strange that Erdm[ann] here suddenly takes the word "to believe" in a certain vulgar sense, which was exactly what he had protested against in the earlier lectures because he only wanted to have it understood in a particular historical sense.—
>
> Nov. 16 Kierkegaard.

Then in Not4:41–45 Kierkegaard makes detailed comments on the book. He introduces the long comment, Not4:41, with the following evaluation:

> The first part of this book seems to me to be much more solid than the second (Wissen). At least right now, it seems to me that it [i.e., the latter part] begins by allowing the person (the I) to disappear completely, substituting instead a subject-object (reason—thinking), which is not justified by the development up to that point; for if it is indeed the case that the subject must stand in an essential relation to the object (the deeper basis of which would then have to be demonstrated in the eternal concentricity of both), then only by being consistent can one provisionally attain the rational I, which becomes aware of a relation of affinity with the object.

The length and detail of Kierkegaard's comments attest to his involvement with the subject, but despite the fact that the problem Erdmann takes up in the work—the relation between faith and knowledge, between religion and science—later became a central theme in Kierkegaard's own works, there is only a single instance in Kierkegaard's published writings that reveals his careful reading of Erdmann's book.[1]

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[1]) See *CI*, 289; *SKS* 1, 324.

Explanatory Notes

125 1 **Rheinwald Repertorium vol. 17**] *Allgemeines Repertorium für die theologische Literatur und kirchliche Statistik* [General Review for Theological Literature and Church Statistics], ed. G. F. H. Rheinwald et al., 19 vols. (Berlin, 1833–1860; ASKB 36–66), vol. 17 (1837). — **Rheinwald**: Georg Friedrich Heinrich Rheinwald (1802–ca. 1849), German theologian; 1826, privatdocent in theology at Berlin; 1830, extraordinary professor at Bonn; from 1833, ordinary professor of evangelical theology at Bonn.

2 **p. 113 "Quaestionum . . . examinavit**] "First Draft Concerning Scholastic Questions, in Which the Views of the Scholastics Concerning Grace and Merit Are Examined." Cited from *Allgemeines Repertorium* (→ 125,*1*), pp. 113, 118–119.

3 **F. G. Rettberg. Gottingae 36. 4to**] Review by F. G. Rettberg (Göttingen, 1836), in *Allgemeines Repertorium* (→ 125,*1*), pp. 113–115. — **F. G. Rettberg**: Latinization of Friedrich Wilhelm Rettberg (1805–1849), Evangelical church historian.

4 **The scholastics . . . also merit**] Cited from *Allgemeines Repertorium*, p. 114. — **semi-Pelagians**: A 5th-century Christian sect whose principal figure was John Cassian (ca. 360–435), who attempted to mediate between Pelagius (ca. 400), who denied original sin, and Augustine (353–430), who asserted its reality. Cassian asserted that saving grace is offered by God to all, but that human beings are free to accept or refuse it and may cooperate in doing the good and in their salvation.

11 **The task . . . grace**] Translated from *Allgemeines Repertorium* (→ 125,*1*), p. 114.

12 **Grace . . . condigno**] Translated from *Allgemeines Repertorium* (→ 125,*1*), p. 114.

125 17 **Alexandrians'**] The principal figure among the Alexandrian Church Fathers was Origen (185–251 or 254), whose fusion of Greek and Neoplatonic philosophy with Christianity formed the basis of Christian dogmatics.

17 **δικαιοσυνη σωτηριος**] Cited from *Allgemeines Repertorium* (→ 125,*1*), p. 105.

(same volume p. 105, line 13 from bottom)] Excerpt from *Allgemeines Repertorium* (→ 125,*1*), p. 105. 19

Benecke der Brief . . . Heidelberg 1831] Review in *Allgemeines Repertorium* (→ 125,*1*), pp. 100–105, of Wilhelm Benecke, *Der Brief Pauli an die Römer* [Paul's Epistle to the Romans] (Heidelberg, 1831). — **Benecke**: Levin Anton Wilhelm Benecke (1776–1837), an actuary and a writer on theological matters. 21

Marthensen] Hans Lassen Martensen (1808–1884) defended his licentiate dissertation, *De autonomia conscientiae sui humanae, in theologiam dogmaticam nostri temporis introducta* [On the Autonomy of Human Self-Consciousness in the Dogmatic Theology of Our Times: An Introduction] (Copenhagen, 1837; ASKB 648) in July 1837. The work was subsequently published in a Danish translation, *Den menneskelige Selvbevidstheds Autonomi i vor Tids dogmatiske Theologie*, trans. L. B. Petersen (Copenhagen, 1841; ASKB 651). In the autumn of 1837 Martensen applied to the University of Copenhagen for an appointment as a *lektor* (equivalent to an assistant professor) in theology, a position which at that time did not exist at the theological faculty. Martensen's application makes it clear that he wanted to lecture on the connection between Right Hegelian thought and Christian dogmatics, in keeping with the Right Hegelian speculative theology he had outlined in his licentiate dissertation. His application was denied, and Martensen instead had himself listed in the university's course catalogue for the winter semester of 1837–1838 as a *privatdocent*, i.e., a privately paid teacher, offering a series of lectures titled "Introduction to Speculative Dogmatics," with two hourly meetings a week. The lecture series began in mid-November 1837 and attracted a large audience. Martensen was very enthusiastically received by university students, who viewed his work as an assimilation of theology to scientific scholarship, an interpretative theology that would incorporate Christianity into worldly culture. Sub- 25 125

sequently this theology became a principal target of Kierkegaard's attacks, particularly in his journal *The Moment*. Martensen's speculative theology was inspired, on the one hand, by Philipp Konrad Marheineke (1780–1846), whose *Die Grundlehre der christelichen Dogmatik als Wissenschaft* [The Foundational Doctrines of Christian Dogmatics as a Science] in its Hegel-inspired second edition (Berlin, 1827; ASKB 644) is one of the chief works of Right Hegelian speculative theology, and by Carl Daub (1765–1836), whose work *Die dogmatische Theologie jetziger Zeit oder die Selbstsucht in der Wissenschaft des Glaubens und seiner Artikel* [Contemporary Dogmatic Theology or Egoism in the Science of the Faith and Its Articles] (Heidelberg, 1833) also attempted to unite Hegelianism with Christian dogma and orthodox Lutheran theology. The other major inspiration for Martensen's theology came from the Catholic theologian and Schellingian Franz von Baader (1768–1834) and, mediated by Baader, the theosophist Jacob Böhme (1575–1624). But the period's great opponent of speculative theology, Friedrich Ernst Daniel Schleiermacher (1768–1834), also played a role in shaping Martensen's theology. In his licentiate dissertation Martensen rejects "the autonomy of self-consciousness," i.e., the notion that knowledge of God and the world can be presented, in Hegelian fashion, as having proceeded from an immanent development in human consciousness on its way to self-consciousness. In taking this position Martensen was quite definitely influenced by Schleiermacher, who viewed human consciousness as conditioned by the divine, e.g., with respect to religious feeling in general, and especially with respect to conscience.

126 17 **Kritik der reinen Vernunft**] Immanuel Kant, *Critik der reinen Vernunft* [The Critique of Pure Reason], 4th ed. (Riga, 1794 [1781]; ASKB 595). In this, his principal epistemological work, the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) argues that we can only have certain knowledge of the world of phenomena, i.e., of the world as it appears to the knowing subject, not of the world as it is in itself.

25 **Marheinecke**] Philipp Konrad Marheineke (1780–1846), German theologian and professor at Erlangen, Heidelberg, and Berlin. → 125,*25*.

126 36 **the truth exists only . . . knowledge of it**] The German theologian Franz von Baader (→ 126,*40*) repeatedly speaks of "the truth that is known," defining it thus: "The truth opens itself entirely to the mind if the mind will but receive it and allow it—for it is the light that is illumined by, and that illumines, every person who comes into the world. Indeed, the truth enters into us to the degree that we enter into it." Franz von Baader, *Vorlesungen über speculative Dogmatik* [Lectures on Speculative Dogmatics], 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1828; ASKB 396), vol. 1, p. 38.

Baader] Franz Xavier von Baader (1765–1841), German Catholic philosopher and theologian, professor at Munich from 1826. Kierkegaard owned many books by Baader (see ASKB 391–418). → 125,*25*. 37

be born into the heart of every believer] If this is a quoted passage, it has not been identified; see, however, Eph 3:17: "that Christ may dwell in your hearts through love, as you are being rooted and grounded in love." 1 127

the union] Martensen is perhaps alluding to Socinianism, an antitrinitarian theological position named after its founder Fausto Sozzini (ca. 1537–1604), a radical critic of traditional Christian dogma. 13

Rosenkrants] Johann Karl Friedrich Rosenkranz (1805–1879), professor at Halle beginning in 1831, and at Königsberg in 1833; one of the most popular speculative theologians of the day. Rosenkranz discusses Daub's treatise (→ 125,*25*) in his *Erinnerungen an Karl Daub* [Memories of Karl Daub] (Berlin 1837; ASKB 743), p. 49. 20

Daub's . . . die Selbstsucht] → 125,*25*. 20

Protagoras . . . measure of all things] Protagoras (ca. 490–420 B.C.), Greek philosopher and the most prominent of the Sophists. According to Plato, his famous slogan was "man is the measure of all things." *Theaetetus* 152 A, cited from *Plato: The Collected Dialogues Including the Letters*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 856. 22

(Hegel. also Oedip.)] Oedipus was a legendary Greek king who was said to have unwittingly killed his father and thereafter married his mother. The Greek dramatist Sophocles (ca. 496–406 B.C.) told the story of Oedipus in his dramas *Oedipus Rex* and *Oedipus at Colonus*. In referring to Hegel, Martensen perhaps had in mind Hegel's treatment of Sophocles' depiction of Oedipus, in which Hegel states that the Greeks judged Oedipus on the basis 23

of his actions, i.e., on the basis of the objective situation and not on the basis of Oedipus' subjective consciousness of those actions. See G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik* [Lectures on Aesthetics], ed. H. G. Hotho, in *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe* [Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Works: Complete Edition], 18 vols. (Berlin, 1832–1845; hereafter abbreviated *Hegel's Werke*), vol. 10.3 (1838; ASKB 1386), pp. 551–553 (*Jub*. vol. 14, same page nos.). It is also possible that in mentioning Hegel and *Oedipus* in the context of Protagoras's definition of man (as "the measure of all things"), Martensen had in mind Hegel's definition of man as "thinking reason" (→ 143,*33*) and Oedipus's solution of the riddle of the Sphinx, who asked What walks on four legs in the morning, two at noon, and three in the evening? (The answer was "man.") — **Hegel**: Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), German philosopher; 1801–1805, privatdocent and (in 1806) extraordinary professor at Jena; 1816–1818, professor at Heidelberg; thereafter professor at Berlin until his death.

24 **the measure you give will be the measure you get**] Cited from Jesus' Sermon on the Mount, Mt 7:2.

128 *7* **Anselm**] Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109), English scholastic philosopher, theologian, and archbishop.

8 **Böhme**] Jacob Böhme (1575–1624), German shoemaker, philosopher, and Christian mystic. → 125,*25*.

24 **symbolics**] Exposition of the doctrines of the Christian Church on the basis of their confessional writings or "symbols."

27 **Quicquid ... cognoscentis**] Scholastic expression cited from Baader, *Vorlesungen über speculative Dogmatik*, vol. 2, p. 40.

31 **accommodation**] Here, the accommodation or adjustment of religious contents and expressions to the receptivity, opinions, customs, and habits of the recipients; also used in relation to the accommodation of OT passages to the interpretation placed on those passages in the NT and in relation to the accommodation of biblical circumstances and language to the circumstances and views of later times. The Enlightenment emphasis on reason compelled theology to attempt to accommodate the NT message to temporal, geographical, and other specific circumstances.

anthropomorphisms] Here, especially the understanding of the divine in human form or with human attributes. *31*

theomorphism] The deification of the human. *34*

Daub's last writing] → 125,*25*. *35*

supernaturalism] → 156,*1*. *35*

the apostolic Church]] The Christian congregations of the 1st century, which depended on the apostles' recollections of Christ's life and works. *39*

The attempt ... with the Apostoles' Creed] An allusion to Grundvig's interpretation of the church (→ 130,*15*). *29* 129

Erdmann] Johann Eduard Erdmann (→ 143,*1*). Kierkegaard is perhaps referring to Erdmann's *Vorlesungen über Glauben und Wissen als Einleitung in die Dogmatik und Religionsphilosophie gehalten und auf den Wunsch seiner Zuhörer herausgegeben* [Lectures on Faith and Knowledge, Given as an Introduction to Dogmatics and the Philosophy of Religion: Published in Accordance with the Wishes of His Auditors] (Berlin, 1837; ASKB 479; hereafter abbreviated *Glauben und Wissen*), where, on p. 178, Erdmann writes the following with respect to biblical exegesis: "Indeed, people even require that this exegesis should be disinterested, and that the exegete manifest this disinterest by bringing no dogmatic profile with him to his exegesis, but instead to read the Bible as any other book. (It must also be noted here that every disinterestedness is really not that at all. Let us suppose that the Bible was not an ordinary book like all others—in that case, to view it as such would be precisely to bring a presupposition. Thus, when one reads the Bible as an ordinary book, this is quite the opposite of disinterestedness.)" *9* 129*m*

Grundtvig] Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872), Danish theologian and poet. In the early 1820s Grundtvig came to the conviction that the Christian Church is a society of faith of which one becomes a member through baptism, and that from the very beginning, the Apostles' Creed has been the precondition for such baptism. Grundtvig presented this view for the first time in *Kirkens Gienmæle mod Professor Theologiae Dr. H. N. Clausen* [The Church's Reply to Professor H. N. Clausen, Doctor of Theology] (Copenhagen, 1825). *15* 130

22 **In the Middle Ages ... clergy**] An allusion to C. Daub (→ 125,25), *Die dogmatische Theologie jetziger Zeit oder die Selbstsucht in der Wissenschaft des Glaubens und seiner Artikel*, p. 428.

34 **two-faced Janus**] Janus was a Roman divinity who guarded the entrances and exits of houses and was therefore often depicted with faces on both sides of his head, so that he could watch both those entering a house and those leaving it.

131 4 **Cartesius †1650**] René Descartes (1596–1650), French philosopher, mathematician, and natural scientist. In his *Discours de la méthode* [Discourse on Method] (1637) and subsequently in his *Meditationes de prima philosophia* [Meditations on First Philosophy] (1641), Descartes sought an irrefutable basis for human knowledge by dispensing with all judgments and all opinions, i.e., by doubting everything; thereafter he asserted that doubting was thinking and that the thinker must exist. The first certainty was thus: "I think, therefore I am."

4 **cogito ergo sum**] Cited from Descartes, *Principia philosophiae* [Principles of Philosophy] (Amsterdam, 1650), pt. 1, §7.

4 **de omnibus dubitandum est**] Cited with some alteration from Descartes, *Principia philosophiae* (→ 131,4), pt. 1, §1.

16 **major premise**] In classical logic a categorical syllogism is an argument consisting of two premises and a conclusion. The one premise, which contains the subject of the conclusion is called the minor premise, whereas the other premise, which contains the predicate of the conclusion, is called the major premise.

20 **copulative**] That which functions as a conjunction. The objections to Descartes's "cogito," on the grounds that it was a conclusion and that it was an empirical statement, were raised by the French philosopher Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655). Descartes's reply to the first objection—to the effect that "ergo" is copulative rather than conclusive—was that same as that cited here by Kierkegaard.

25 **"I feel," "I am walking," etc**.] Gassendi raised the objection against Descartes that by analogy with "I think, therefore I am," one could just as well say, "I walk, therefore I am."

35 **man is the measure of all things**] Presumably a reference to Protagoras (→ 127,22).

41 **spiritualism**] Here used in the sense of "subjective idealism," i.e., Kant's (→ 126,17) and Fichte's (→ 143,30) idealism as opposed to Hegel's (→ 127,23) objective idealism.

42 **Fichte**] → 143,30.

1 132 **Faustian haughtiness**] In Martensen's view, subjective idealism claimed that the "I" alone was the only reality and that it experienced actuality as having been produced by itself. In his essay "Betragtninger over Ideen af Faust. Med Hensyn til Lenaus Faust" [Observations on the Idea of Faust, with Reference to Lenau's *Faust*], in the first issue of *Perseus, Journal for den speculative Idee* [Perseus: Journal for the Speculative Idea], ed. J. L. Heiberg (Copenhagen, 1837; ASKB 569), Martensen in fact compared subjective idealism ("spiritualism") with Faust's attempt to attain the absolute.

2 **God's children**] i.e., Christians. The expression is from the NT; see e.g., Gal 3:26.

4 **Baco Werulam**] Francis Bacon, lord of Verulam (1561–1626), English philosopher and statesman, was a proponent of the empirical, inductive, scientific method. His principal work was *Novum Organum* [New Instrument], published in 1620.

12 **Locke**] John Locke (1632–1704), English empirical philosopher; his principal work, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, was published in 1690.

1 132*m* **The soul ... experience**] Though not quoted directly from Locke, this sums up his main point of view. — **tabula rasa**: The expression was used for the first time by the German bishop and philosopher Albertus Magnus (ca. 1200–1280). Locke does not use the expression but speaks of the I (consciousness, the soul) as "white paper." The comparison between the soul and a wax tablet goes back to antiquity.

34 132 **Hume**] David Hume (1711–1776), Scottish empirical philosopher and historian. In his principal work, *A Treatise of Human Nature: Being an Attempt to Introduce the Experimental Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects*, 3 vols. (London, 1739–1740), Hume put forth an argument, summarized here in Kierkegaard's notes, in which he dismissed the possibility of certain knowledge of causality.

8 133 **It is to this Humean ... judgments a priori**] See Kant, *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,17), p. 19.

17 **discovery similar to that of Copernicus**] In the preface to the second edition of the *Critik der Reinen*

Vernunft (1787), Kant says that whereas previous epistemology and metaphysics has claimed that human cognition must take its direction from things, he maintains that things must take their direction from human cognition, i.e., that an ordered world of experience is conditional on an internal human cognitive framework. Kant compares this change in epistemological perspective with the assertion by the Polish astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543) that the sun and not the earth was at the center of the universe. Kant's changed perspective is often termed "the Copernican turn."

18 **He distinguished . . . a priori**] An allusion to *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,17), p. 10, where the chapter heading reads "On the Difference between Analytic and Synthetic Judgments."

21 **all bodies have extension**] Cited from *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,17), p. 11.

23 **all bodies have weight**] Cited from *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,17), p. 11.

24 **all bodies have a cause**] Cited with alterations from *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,17), p. 13.

31 **the question . . . a metaphysics**] Kant poses these three questions in *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,17), pp. 20–22.

134 8 **a medium . . . pure space and pure time**] A reference to Kant's doctrine of "the transcendental aesthetic" in *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,17), pp. 33ff.

11 **These a priori intuitions . . . through space and time**] See *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,17), p. 39.

21 **His standpoint . . . I do not know**] See *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,17), p. 45.

23 **transcendental**] Kant (→ 126,17) calls his epistemology transcendental philosophy. One consequence of Kant's transcendental philosophy is that what is not accessible to the senses—i.e., the transcendent, which lies outside the world of experience—cannot be the object of sure knowledge. The thing in itself ("das Ding an sich")—the thing as it is independent of human experience of it—is thus not accessible to human cognition.

134 37 **"rational aesthetic," . . . doctrine of the beautiful**] Kant called his doctrine concerning sensory capacity the transcendental aesthetic; see *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,17), pp. 35–36n.

39 **He also called . . . "an sich."**] Martensen is referring to *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,17), p. xxxv.

how is a science of experience possible?] A variation on Kant's famous question "How is metaphysics as a science possible?" in *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,17), p. 22. 4 135

By experience . . . validity and necessity] Refers to *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,17), pp. 3–4. 5

a percept . . . without a percept is empty] Adapted from *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,17), p. 75. 10

However, although . . . subjective necessity] Refers to Kant's assertion that the categories can only be applied to the objects of experience and not to transcendent objects or to things in themselves; see *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,17), pp. 147–148. 14

Quality . . . Modality] The four Kantian groups of categories: quantity, quality, relation, and modality; see *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,17), p. 106. Note that Kierkegaard has grouped "Unity," "Plurality," and "Totality" under "Quality," and not under "Quantity," which is where they belong according to Kant. 18

Unity . . . Totality] Kant's three categories of quantity. Note that Kierkegaard's table incorrectly groups them under the heading of "Quality." 19

Substance . . . Reciprocity] Kant's three categories of relation. 19

the corresponding forms of judgment] Kant's judgments, like his categories, are divided into four groups, each with three subgroups: quantity (universal, particular, singular); quality (affirmative, negative, infinite); relation (categorical, hypothetical, disjunctive); and modality (problematic, assertoric, apodeictic). See *Critik der reinen Vernunft*, (→ 126,17), p. 95. 21

in him we live and move and have our being] Acts 17:28. 30

His view of the categories . . . not the Hegelian] Martensen compares Kant's doctrine of the categories as presented in *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,17), pp. 102ff., with Aristotle's doctrine as presented in his *Categories* and his *Metaphysics*. Both doctrines are understood in opposition to Hegel's understanding of the categories, which he presents in his *Wissenschaft der Logik* [Science of Logic] (1812–1816) (hereafter *Hegel's Science of Logic*, trans. A. V. Miller [Amherst, NY: Humanities Press, 1999]) and in the first book of his *Encyclopäedie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse* [Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences in Outline] (1817). 33

136 1 **A difficulty ... (Fichte)**] One possible answer to the question posed is the Hegelian, in which the opposition between the subjective and the objective is united in a higher unity, namely the Absolute; the other possible answer, the denial of the objective—i.e., the assertion of a subjective idealism (→ 131,*41* and → 132,*1*)—is here attributed to Fichte (→ 143,*30*), who, however, repeatedly repudiated this common interpretation of his thought.

6 **how is metaphysics possible**?] → 135,*4*.

7 **the doctrine of ideas ... existence as such**] Refers to Kant's "System of the Transcendental Idea"; see *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,*17*), pp. 390–396.

15 **the older one**] The traditional division of philosophy according the principles of Leibniz and Wolff (→ 138,*30*).

16 **a) ontology ... God**] See *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,*17*), pp. 391–392.

136 27 **1) The soul ... organs for another world**] Corresponds to Kant's section "On the Paralogisms of Pure Reason" in *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,*17*), pp. 399ff. — **the older ... soul is an indivisible substance**: The Church Fathers Tertullian (ca. 145–220) and Augustine (354–430) taught that the soul was an indivisible substance or a unity, and hence immortal. — **regulative**: That is, it does not serve to define objects, as the categories do, but encourages human beings to continually seek to broaden their knowledge. — **γνωθι σεαυτον**μ: Inscription on the temple of Apollo at Delphi.

137 17 **2) The world ... the unreasonableness of the other**] Corresponds to Kant's section "The Antinomies of Pure Reason" in *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,*17*), pp. 432ff. — **apagogically**: A statement is proven apagogically, or indirectly, if the denial of it leads to a self-contradiction.

24 **1) The world did not ... and the opposite**] Kant's first antinomy; see *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,*17*), pp. 454–461.

27 **2) Matter consists ... infinitely divisible**] Kant's second antinomy; see *Critik der reinen Vernunft*, (→ 126,*17*), pp. 462–471.

30 **3) 4) there is ... i.e., freedom and the opposite**] Kant's third antinomy, which Kierkegaard here calls his fourth; see *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,*17*), pp. 472–479.

3.) God ... elevated itself to God] The section in *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,*17*) where Kant rebuts the traditional proofs of God's existence is called "The Ideal of Pure Reason," pp. 595ff. 1 138

a) the cosmological ... conviction of the infinite] Corresponds to Kant's section "On the Impossibility of a Cosmological Proof of God's Existence"; see *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,*17*), pp. 631–648. — **e contingentia mundi**: The cosmological proof of God's existence draws the conclusion that because something exists contingently there must also be something necessarily existent that is the cause of the contingently existent, i.e., that God must necessarily exist. — **Spinoza**: Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) Dutch Jewish philosopher. The notion that Spinoza took pleasure in the cosmological proof of God's existence is a misunderstanding. In his principal work, *Ethics*, from 1677, Spinoza advances three proofs of God's existence, but none of them is an argument "e contingentia mundi." 6

b.) the physico-theological ... means and purpose] Corresponds to Kant's section "On the Impossibility of the Physico-Theological Proof"; see *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,*17*), pp. 648–658. 14

c) the ontological ... ens, cujus essentia existentia] Corresponds to Kant's section "On the Impossibility of a Cosmological Proof of God's Existence"; see *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,*17*), pp. 631–648. — **the ancient world**: The cosmological proof of God's existence is found, e.g., in Aristotle, whereas the teleological proof is found in the pre-Socratics, Plato, and Aristotle. — **Anselm**: (→ 128,*7*) was the first to advance the ontological proof of God's existence. — **Leibnitz**: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), German philosopher and polymath. Leibniz did not repeat the ontological proof of God's existence but extended it by asserting that if the concept of God as the most perfect being does contain a self-contradiction, then God must necessarily exist. — **Wolff**: Christian Wolff (1679–1754), German philosopher and mathematician whose philosophy, inspired by Leibniz, is often termed Leibnizian-Wolffian philosophy. Wolff proved the existence of God with the help of a variant of the cosmological proof. — **blessedness**: The Danish word here translated as "blessedness" is *Salighed* (a cognate of the German *Seligkeit*), which has been translated variously as "happi- 30

ness," "blessedness," and even "salvation," though this latter sense is inapplicable here.

139 3 **to mediate itself**] To draw a conclusion from two or more premises. The word stems from the term for "medium" or "intermediate concept," which designates the concept in a syllogism that connects the subject of the conclusion with its predicate.

12 **this last proof**] The ontological proof.

26 **the well-known example of the 100 thalers**] In the *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,17), p. 627, Kant rejects the ontological proof of God's existence, pointing out that existence is not an attribute. The concept of one hundred actual thalers, for example, has the same contents as the concept of one hundred possible thalers.

30 **"regulatively,"**] According to Kant, the idea of God does not help in attaining knowledge of God because God is transcendent and is therefore outside the boundaries of cognition, but the idea does guide us in our efforts to gain knowledge by leading us to understand the world as if it were created by an omniscient creator. The idea of God is thus a guiding or regulative idea.

38 **What can I know . . . For what may I hope**] See *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 126,17), pp. 833–834.

140 18 **the beautiful**] Kant's doctrine of the beautiful and of the teleology of nature is found in the *Critik der Urtheilskraft* [Critique of Judgment], 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1793 [1790]; ASKB 594).

22 **internal teleological . . . teleology**] See Not4:9.

140 34 **the practical**] i.e., having to do with moral philosophy. Kant's principal work on moral philosophy is his *Critik der praktischen Vernunft* [Critique of Practical Reason] (Riga, 1788).

35 **Religion innerhalb etc**.] Immanuel Kant, *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft* [Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone] (Königsberg, 1793).

141 7 **blessedness and happiness**] Kierkegaard's Danish is *Salighed* [and] *Lyksalighed*. → 138,30.

19 **Jacobi**] Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1743–1819), German philosopher. For Jacobi, faith, including the existence of supersensible being (e.g., God's existence), was an apprehension of being that was independent of reason.

older metaphysics] In particular, the rationalistic tradition from Descartes to Spinoza, Leibniz, and Wolff. 20

breathe in a vacuum . . . own breath] An extended wordplay is being employed here. The Danish word for "breath" is *Aande*, which also means "spirit," and the Danish words for "inhale" (*indaande*) and "exhale" (*udaande*) are similarly related to the root word for "spirit." 3 142

Erdmann] Johann Eduard Erdmann (1805–1892), German theologian and Right Hegelian philosopher; pastor, 1829–1832; extraordinary professor at Halle, 1834–1839; thereafter ordinary professor at Halle. After completing his theological studies in Berlin, Erdmann studied philosophy with Hegel, whose dialectical method and view of history left a decisive mark on him. Erdmann's principal work was the monumental *Versuch einer wissenschaftlichen Darstellung der Geschichte der neueren Philosophie* [Attempt at a Scholarly Presentation of the History of Modern Philosophy], 6 vols. (Riga, 1834–1853), which is one of the most comprehensive accounts of the history of philosophy from Descartes to Leibniz, written from a Right Hegelian point of view. Erdmann, with Hegel, made the history of philosophy itself into a philosophical theme. Every philosophical system, Erdmann maintained, is conditioned by two circumstances: first, by the general stage development of the life of the mind at the time when the system is formulated, because changes in the spirit of an age condition the philosophical thought of that age; second, by the philosophical systems that have preceded it. In addition to this work, Erdmann produced a fine edition of Leibniz: *Opera philosophica quae extant latina, gallica, germanica omnia* [All Extant Philosophical Works in Latin, French, and German] (Berlin, 1839–1840; ASKB 620), and a long series of writings that served as introductions to Erdmann's areas of interest, of which *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129m,9), from which Kierkegaard made excerpts in the present notebook, was the first. Portions of Erdmann's lectures were printed in larger type than the rest; these passages typically contained introductory passages that provided accounts of the dialectical movement that governs the work's approach to its subject matter. In making excerpts, Kierkegaard often restricted himself to these introductory accounts. To 1 143

better facilitate the localization of passages, in the references to *Glauben und Wissen* below, the page number will be followed by line numbers.

2 **1st Lecture**] "The Significance of the Subject Matter," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 1–10.

3 **The importance of the question . . . all ages**] Excerpt from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 1, lines 6–10. — **the question**: The question of the relation between faith and knowledge or between religion and science.

4 **articuli puri and mixti**] Articles of faith that are based exclusively on revelation are "articuli puri"; those that are based on a mixture of revelation and natural cognition are "articuli mixti"; see *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 2, line 29.

4 **antiquity did not know of it**] Summary of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 1, lines 10–12.

4 **nor did the first Christian era**] Summary of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 1, lines 12–14.

6 **Where in fact . . . theology or philosophy**] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 4, lines 15–17.

7 **in neither place**] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 5, line 7.

7 **in the introduction**] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 5, line 20.

8 **exoteric**] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 5, line 3.

10 **Philosophy . . . philosophize about philosophizing**] Excerpt from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 6, line 29 to p. 7, line 1.

12 **(Form) . . . philosophy of religion**] Excerpt from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 7, lines 3–7.

13 **this exoteric question of its relation to dogmatics**] i.e., the relation of philosophy to dogmatics; summary of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 7, lines 9–18.

14 **it has thereby lost in independence**] Summary of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 8, lines 3–4.

15 **Religion suffered**] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 9, lines 2–3.

16 **Hence the reflection about being pious rather than being pious**] Summary of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 9, lines 7–9.

17 **Theology suffered . . . in science**] Excerpt from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 9, line 28 to p. 10, line 8.

143 21 **2nd Lecture**] "On the Beginning and the Method of the Investigation," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 10–21.

Dilemma] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 11, line 24. 22

that which, especially . . . the first] Excerpt from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 11, lines 2–11. 22

for to demonstrate . . . back to the first] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 11, lines 13–14. 24

philosophy must not begin with a single proposition] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 11, lines 21–22. 26

αιτημα] Alludes to Euclid's *Elements*, where the so-called postulates are introduced by the phrase "it is postulated." This sense of the word underlies Erdmann's understanding of postulates as imperatives. Aristotle uses the word in the indicative sense of "presupposition." Erdmann makes use of this double sense of imperative and indicative; see, e.g., *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 12, line 21. 27

The postulate . . . proof] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 12, lines 28–30. 27

Fichte] Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), German idealist philosopher; professor at Jena, 1794–1799. 30

Wissenschaftslehre] J. G. Fichte's principal work, *Grundlagen der gesamten Wissenschaftlehre als Handschrift für seine Zuhörer* [The Foundations of the Total Science of Knowledge, a Manuscript for His Audience] (Leipzig, 1794), in which three fundamental principles are advanced: (1) the I posits its own being; (2) the I posits the not-I; (3) the I posits a limited I in opposition to a limited not-I. Thus, according to Fichte, it is the nature of the I to be active. 31

thereby a certain similarity with mathematical construal] Summary of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 14, lines 10–15. 31

"thought"] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 15, line 6. See Hegel's statement in *Wissenschaft der Logik* (→ 135,*33*); in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 127,*23*), vol. 3, p. 130 (*Jub.* vol. 4, p. 140): "The *determination* of man is thinking reason; thought in general, thought as such, is his simple *determinateness*" (*Hegel's Science of Logic* [→ 135,*33*], p. 123). 33

relate yourself thinking] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 15, line 7. 33

this, in addition, as the essential determination of the hum. being] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 15, lines 27–28. 34

35 **producing—reproducing ... conceiving**] Excerpt from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 16, lines 1–6.

36 **in the genetic ... in its necessity**] Excerpt from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 16, lines 10–19.

145 1 **A description of this method ... the content's own dialectic**] Excerpt from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 18, line 27 to p. 19, line 1.

145 3 **3rd Lecture**] "The Concept of Religion as the Point of Departure for the Investigation. A: Religion in the Subjective Sense (Faith)," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 22–35. Kierkegaard made no excerpts from the introductory portion of the lecture, where Erdmann defines "religion," "unity," and "reconciliation," defining the latter of these as the union of heterogeneous elements, namely, God and the sinful human being. Kierkegaard does not give an account of Erdmann's statement that the faith of the child is heathen because the child has no consciousness of sin. Thus it is only the definition of faith in the subjective or immediate sense (i.e., as what Erdmann will call a state of mind in lecture 5), and not the dialectical account of the concept of faith that has Kierkegaard's interest here. Nor was Kierkegaard interested in the last portion of the lecture, where Erdmann introduces the concept of "church" in his discussion of the reality of subjective or immediate faith.

4 **We call the immediate consciousness ... faith**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 29, lines 3–4.

4 **Thus faith ... degree of certainty**] Summary of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 29, lines 24–30.

5 **nor is it merely ... external relation to each other**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 30, lines 22–25.

8 **Faith therefore actually belongs ... in the Chr. religion**] Excerpt from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 31, lines 1–4.

9 **The Church also teaches this: "Faith is blessedness."**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 31, lines 31–32. An allusion to the sixth article of the Augsburg Confession.

10 **But one who has experienced ... peace with God**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 32, lines 10–16.

12 **But does this ... exist in the world**] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 32, lines 23–24. Following this Erdmann speaks of the fellowship of those believe immediately, or the Church.

4th Lecture] "Religion in the Objective Sense (Faith)," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 36–45. 14 145

The truth must reveal itself ... become conscious] Summary of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 37, lines 12–14. 15

It must reveal itself ... one another] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 38, lines 22–23. 16

The identity of God ... is dogma] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 42, lines 7–9. 17

Faith and its object ... verbum neutrum] Excerpt from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 43, lines 6–9. 19

Faith is thus ... preceded by a misery] Excerpt from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 43, line 30 to p. 44, line 7. 21

On the other hand ... previous unhappiness] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 44, lines 10–13. 23

If moments ... is also posited] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 44, lines 16–18. 25

Thus both aspects ... relation to one another] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 44, lines 21–22. 27

a comparing consciousness] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 44, line 26. 29

a reflecting consciousness] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 45, line 10. 29

5th Lecture] "Faith and the Object of Faith," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 45–49. 31 145

fides, qua creditur] From *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 46, line 18. 4 146

fides, quæ creditur] Properly, "fides, quae creditur." See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 46, line 19. 5

6th Lecture. Dogmatism] "Dogmatism," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 50–58. 6 146

7th Lecture. superstitious Dogmatism] "Dogmatic Superstition," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 59–70. Erdmann defines superstition as a person's acceptance of an obscure power that is inaccessible to reason. 8 146

10 **Tertullian**] Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullian(us) (ca. 155–ca. 240), born in Carthage in North Africa, one of the Latin Church Fathers; see *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 64, line 30.

10 **Credibile . . . impossibile est**] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 64, line 30. The statement is inspired by Tertullian, who often expressed himself in paradoxes, e.g., in *De carne Christi* [On the Flesh of Christ], chap. 5.4: "God's son was crucified; this is no shame because one must be ashamed of it; and God's son died, which is entirely believable because it is unreasonable. And he was buried, and he is risen; it is certain because it is impossible."

10 **F. H. Jacobi**] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 65, line 11; → 141,*19*.

11 **Ein gewußter . . . kein Gott**] Cited, with minor orthographic variants, from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 65, line 11.

11 **Harms**] Claus Harms (1778–1855), German Lutheran theologian who used quite violent rhetoric in attacking theological rationalism; see *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 66, line 5.

11 **allusion to Nebuchadnezzar**] Kierkegaard's translation of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 66, line 6. The allusion is to the fate of Nebuchadnezzar, as it is described in Dan 4. — **Nebuchadnezzar**: Nebuchadnezzar (or Nebuchadrezzar) II, Babylonian king (605–562 B.C.)

12 **out to pasture**] *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 66, line 7. See Dan 4:25–31.

13 **Hence nothing is spoken of so much . . . the knowing-willing subject**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 66, lines 8–14.

17 **a practical error is thus united . . . wills nothing at all**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 66, lines 24–29. Erdmann emphasizes that superstitious dogmatism leads to unconditional submission to the will of the divine and thus to passivity.

20 **In philosophy . . . conduct**] Kierkegaard's rendering, almost word for word, of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 68, lines 9–13, although at this point Erdmann is discussing a theological and not a philosophical tendency. — **Sengler**: Jakob Sengler (1799–1878), German, Hegelian, Catholic theologian; see *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 68, line 11.

22 **Philosophy begins . . . and so does truth**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 68, lines 16–18.

24 **In addition to Fichte . . . Malebranche . . . the hum. race**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 70, lines 9–13. — **Fichte**: Johann Gottlieb Fichte (→ 143,*30*). — **Malebranche**: Nicolas Malebranche (1638–1715), French theologian and Cartesian philosopher.

27 146 **8th Lecture**] "Transition to the Second Section," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 70–73.

28 **We have now come to the point . . . it reverts into the opposite**] Kierkegaard's translation of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 70, line 15 to p. 71, line 3.

3 147 **the coinciding . . . empirically demonstrated**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 73, lines 3–5.

5 **Here there appears . . . (fetishism)**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 73, lines 11–15.

10 **the phenomenological analogies that Erdmann cites**] As, e.g., in the proverb, "When the need is greatest, God's help is closest at hand," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 71. Erdmann also mentions analogies from the world of nature (the instant of fertilization is also the instant of death, p. 72) and from social and familiar relationships (the dominance of the favorite slave or child, p. 72).

16 147 **9th Lecture**] "Religious Doubt," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 74–80.

17 **Up until now . . . the opposite of "the I."**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 74, lines 3–13.

25 **But if the relation . . . is in agreement with it**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 74, lines 14–22.

31 **Consequently . . . no importance was ascribed to it**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 74, line 25 to p. 75, line 7.

39 **Hence . . . whether it is certain**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 75, lines 10–11.

1 148 **10th Lecture**] "Nihilism and Religious Irony," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 80–88.

2 **Religious nihilism**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 82, line 5.

2 **the counterpart of dogmatism . . . independent of every authority**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 83, lines 8–23.

15 **Religious irony . . . the faith itself decreed**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 88, lines 15–22.

148 19 **11 Lecture**] "Unbelief," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 88–94. Kierkegaard's excerpt consists for the most part of his translation of the introductory portion of the lecture, in which the main lines of the argument to be advanced in the lecture are set forth; see *Glauben und Wissen*, p. 90, lines 5–12.

20 **Consciousness . . . we call that unbelief**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 90, lines 7–12.

25 **Superstition**] From *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 90, line 19.

148 26 **12 Lecture**] "Transition to the Third Section," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 94–102.

27 **Unbelief must . . . ad infinitum**] Kierkegaard's translation of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 96, line 30 to p. 97, line 11.

34 **the infinite process . . . and then the other**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 97, lines 27–31.

149 3 **The tendency . . . oppositions disappear**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 101, lines 16–20.

149 8 **13 Lecture**] "Mysticism." *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 102–118.

9 **The fact that the one factor . . . both sides of the opposition**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 102, line 7 to p. 103, line 12. — **that both of the things connected are not modified**: Kierkegaard has made a fundamental error in his translation of Erdmann at this point. Where Kierkegaard's text reads "that both of the things connected are not modified," *Glauben und Wissen* (p. 103, lines 4–5) reads "that both of the things connected are modified." Kierkegaard's addition of an extra negative destroys the meaning of the text.

27 **Unio mystica . . . and not νωτης**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 109, lines 20–22.

They . . . relate to one another as . . . physician] 28
Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 109, lines 25–28.

p. 104. "The object must remain . . . the particular I relating itself to itself."] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 104, lines 20–24. 34

The scholastics . . . could be true in theology] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 114, lines 5–12. — **something that was false in the teachings of reason could be true in theology**: The doctrine of the two truths, which is improperly to ascribed to medieval Aristotelian thinkers such as Siger de Brabant (ca. 1240–ca. 1284). It is often attributed to the medieval Aristotelians who were inspired by the Arabic philosopher Averroës (Ibn-Rushd) (1126–1198). 1 150

14th Lecture] "Mystical Separatism," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 118–127. 9 150

We have . . . (religious fanaticism)] Kierkegaard's excerpt and partial translation of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 118, line 17 to p. 120, line 15. — **contradictorily opposed**: Two propositions are contradictory if the truth of the one implies the falsity of the other and vice versa. 10

Signs] According to Erdmann, mystic separatists gather into groups, and in *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 122–125, he mentions the three signs of such groups, which Kierkegaard cites in his notes. Kierkegaard's version of the second of these signs is incomplete; in Erdmann it is described as follows: "Some [i.e., those who were mentioned in the first sign] are totally in the truth, others are totally in untruth. If we now look at these phenomena [i.e., these groups of mystics], the elect ascribe absolute value to individual particularities and chance events that they encounter" (*Glauben und Wissen*, p. 123, lines 14–18). 30

a) Some are in the truth, others not] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 122, line 13. 31

b.) the individuals . . . in the truth]] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 123, line 14. Incompletely translated by Kierkegaard (→ 150,*30*). 32

c) the shared feeling is the criterion of the truth] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 125, line 3. 33

34 **Because I feel ... but totally immed.**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 126, lines 1–4.

37 **the emphasis ... on particularities**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 123, lines 24–27.

151 1 **15th Lecture**] "Transition to Part Two," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 127–138.

2 **If it is the case ... there is no truth**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 127, line 21 to p. 128, line 5.

5 **for because, as noted, ... mystical separatism thus contradicts itself**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 128, lines 5–14.

16 **But just as mysticism ... the result of the particulars**] Kierkegaard's excerpt from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 130, lines 1–20.

23 **Universality of Reflection. Collective-Univrsl Totality.—Universality of the Concept**] Erdmann differentiates between the "collective-universal totality" (*Glauben und Wissen* [→ 129*m,9*], p. 131), as the sum of many individuals, in which the concept of "the universal" is seen in opposition to "the individual"; the "universality of reflection," which is a reflected group, e.g., a dozen or a regiment; and lastly the "universality of the concept" (*Glauben und Wissen*, p. 132), which is the expression of a universality that is not constituted of "individuals," but is rather the basis on which "the individual" is constituted, e.g., the human race.

25 **Yet the I ... but reason or thought**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 136, lines 3–6.

28 **aufgehoben ... elevare**] *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 137, line 30. Erdmann points out that the technical Hegelian term *aufheben* ("sublate") means three different things: to annul, to conserve, and to elevate.

29 **The I must elevate itself to a standpoint ... is all the more sublated into it**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 135, line 6 to p.136, line 2.

152 1 **2nd Part**] "Knowledge," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp 139–276.

2 **NB. re p. 149 bottom and 150 top**] A reference to *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 149, line 32 to p. 150, line 4: "In this case knowledge thus consists of this: that one has become oneself in the process of [knowing] it. One can also believe in something that has absolutely no significance for us, if, however, when one *thereby* has become *oneself* and has come to self-realization, one has merely found oneself (even before it was pointed out by reason) in the known."

16th Lecture] "Preliminary Remarks," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 139–151. 8 152

(Psychology.)] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 139–141. 9

1) is reason univrsl self-consciousness ... innermost essence] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 141, lines 20–29. 10

NB. p. 141 ... unterscheide] Cited, with minor omissions, from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 141, lines 29–32. 19

"an sich"] Cited from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 145, line 16. 24

daß es ... worden ist] Cited from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 145, line 20. 24

δυναμει — ενεργεια] Cited from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 145, line 6. 26

potentia—actus] Cited from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 145, lines 7–8. 27

Knowledge] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 149, line 13. 29

empirical; historical; speculative] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 149, line 20; these refer to different forms of knowledge. 30

In part one ... various theological views] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 150, lines 24–27. 31

17th Lecture] "Knowledge through Experience: Theology of Practical Christianity," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 151–159. 1 153

Reason ... experience] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 151, line 26 to p. 152, line 2. 2

18th Lecture] "Knowledge through Observation: The Proof by Miracles, the Fundamental and Nonfundamental Articles, and the Rule of Faith," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 160–171. 5 153

In experiencing ... or makes a hypothesis] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 160, line 2 to p. 161, line 18. — **some-** 6

thing external to the case at hand: See *Glauben und Wissen*, p. 160, lines 13–14.

28 **Theory**] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 162, line 4.

30 **reason . . . observing knowledge**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 162, lines 5–8.

32 **Hence, if it is . . . explained by the theory**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 166, lines 18–20.

34 **1) The miracle-based proof . . . summa fidei**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 167, lines 13–19. The Latinization is Kierkegaard's.

154 1 **19th Lecture**] "Knowledge through Witness: Theology of History," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 171–181.

2 **The dogmatic interest . . . something experienced**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 181, lines 26–30: "The dogmatic interest therefore raises these questions: What is true? Dogmatically, this question means What has happened? whereas historically, it is asked: What has always counted as the truth? or, according to our formula: What do we have that has been handed down by someone who had the experience?"

8 **Thus theology differs . . . the doubting I**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 175, lines 17–22.

154 12 **20th Lecture**] "Transition to the Second Section," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 182–186.

13 **We have seen . . . truth of the biblical witness**] Kierkegaard's summary of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 182, line 2 to p. 183, line 12. — **external grounds**: i.e., grounds taken from profane history.

27 **If one is to avoid this . . . the object according to its own laws**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 184, lines 14–29. — **internal proofs**: i.e., proofs dependent on the trustworthiness of the authors (the evangelists).

154 33 **Part Two**] "Critical Knowledge," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), part 2, section 2, pp. 187–234.

34 **21 Lecture**] "Natural Theology and Naturalism," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 187–197.

Reason may indeed . . . gives offense to every other thing] Kierkegaard's summary of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 187, line 3 to p. 190, line 7. 35

22nd Lecture] "The Theology of the Healthy Human Understanding," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 197–209. 12 155

Thus we will be saying . . . what is true] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 200, lines 3–6. 13

the theology of the healthy human understanding] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 200, line 8. 17

Reason—to the extent . . . what we call understanding] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 199, lines 5–17. 18

23rd Lecture] "Transcendental Critique: The System of Non-knowing. Supernaturalism and Rationalism," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 209–228. 23 155

The understanding can think nothing without objects . . . altered them] Kierkegaard's partial rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 210, lines 22–27. 24

Naturally, what applies to every object . . . the theology of non-knowing] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 211, lines 10–17. 29

categories] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 212, lines 8–15. 35

But those who support the supernaturalist point of view . . . possession of the truth] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 223, lines 13–26. — **supernaturalist**: Supernaturalismen maintains that religious truth is communicated in revelations. Erdmann defines supernaturalism as "dogmatism (or practical Christianity, mysticism, traditional theology) grafted onto the standpoint of non-knowing" (*Glauben und Wissen*, p. 216). 1 156

But is not the standpoint . . . Church dogmatics] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 224, lines 10–11. 10

24th Lecture] "Transition to the Third Section," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 228–234. 12 156

Reason . . . relates itself as subject] Excerpt from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 228, line 7 to p. 229, line 12. 13

156 28 **25th Lecture**] "Practical Idealism: Atheism," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 234–243.

29 **Through the previously shown . . . the actual subject-object**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 235, lines 15–29.

157 1 **26th Lecture**] "The View of the Absolute: The Theology of the Feeling of Absolute Dependency. Pantheism," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 243–254.

2 **Now if the difference . . . in relation to that substance**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 246, lines 9–20.

12 **intuition of the absolute . . . absolute dependence**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 246, line 25 to p. 247, line 2.

14 **is that which . . . anything standing over against it**.] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 248, lines 29–32.

157 17 **27th Lecture**] "The Conceiving of the Truth: Speculative Theology. Speculative Dogmatics and Philosophy of Religion," *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 254–272.

18 **The truth is here . . . previously mentioned forms of knowledge**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 254, line 24 to p. 256, line 8.

158 12 **Speculative Theology or the Science of Religion**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 256, lines 11–12.

14 **What does becoming . . . history—**?] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 257, line 22 to p. 258, line 10.

16 **Is the concept . . . for development**?] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 258, lines 11–14.

18 **Therefore we could . . . toward which God destines them**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 259, lines 4–6.

21 **to know the concept = to conceive; both moments inhere in this**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 259, lines 16–18.

22 **according to norm. linguistic usage . . . of our activity**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 259, lines 24–30.

25 **on the other hand . . . beyond our production**] Kierkegaard's partial translation of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 259, line 31 to p. 260, line 3.

29 **The conceiving perspective . . . "dialectic."**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 260, line 30 to p. 261, line 3. — **conceiving consideration**: Kierkegaard's Danish, *begribende Betragtning*, is a literal translation of Erdmann's German, *begreifende Betrachtung* (*Glauben und Wissen*, p. 260, line 30). Both terms mean a viewing or consideration that formulates a concept of what is viewed or considered.

34 **In this contradiction . . . that is called dialectic**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 261, lines 13–15.

37 **Consequently, our acting is thinking . . . it is speculative knowing**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 261, line 32 to p. 262, line 1.

1 159 **Speculative Dogmatics**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 264, line 27.

2 **Philosophy of Religion**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 265, line 3.

3 **Difference**] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 265, line 6.

4 **extent**] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 267, line 21.

5 **form**] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 268, line 20.

1 160 **Erdmann: Vorlesungen . . . Berlin 1837**] → 129*m,9*.

13 **concentricity**] Here in the sense of coinciding.

23 **(see p. 141)**] See Not4:29, p. 152 in the present volume.

28 **subreption**] A deliberate misrepresentation or an inference drawn from such misrepresentation.

34 161 **cur deus homo**?] The title of the principal work by Anselm (→ 128,*7*).

35 **19th lecture**] → 154,*1*.

37 **When it is thus said on p. 171 . . . if it is to be true**] Kierkegaard's rendering of *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 171, lines 7–13.

40 **"Beglaubigende . . . das Wesentlichere ist"**] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 171, lines 17–21.

9 161*m* **lecture 19**] → 154,*1*.

3 162 **(as he also discussed earlier)**] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 164–166.

10 **(see 166 . . . erklärte Fall)**] Cited from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 166, lines 18–20.

19 **lecture 20**] The material cited is from the twenty-first lecture; see Not4:34, p. 154 in the present volume.

19 **p. 187**] Cited from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 187, lines 21–23.

24 **Wie liesest . . . p. 178**] Cited from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 178, lines 20–21.

162*m* 12 **Adam . . . animals . . . names**] According to Gen 2:19–20, after God created the animals, he led them to Adam, who gave them names.

162 38 **Lecture No. 21**] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 187–197.

163 3 **to undertake experience**] Kierkegaard's Danish is "at *gjøre* Erfaring" (literally, "to do experience"), and he emphasizes the verb *gjøre*, here translated as "undertake." See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 187, line 9, where it reads "*macht* Erfahrungen" (literally, "*makes* experiences," with Erdmann's emphasis).

13 **so wird . . . zeigt**] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 189, where, however, Erdmann has the word "nicht" (not) between "sich" and "damit." In omitting the "nicht," Kierkegaard misses the negative sense of sentence, i.e., that reason can*not* console itself that religious content shows itself as true through inner experience.

20 **Machen wir . . . zu thun haben**] Cited from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 189, lines 16–17.

26 **p. 196**] In the first section ("Empirical Knowledge") of the second part, "Knowledge"), Erdmann treated reason in its function as the source of experiential knowledge. In the second section ("Critical Knowledge"), reason has a different function, namely, that of critical reason. In the first section, theology had culminated in historical theology in which the miracle was the criterion of the truth of Christianity. In the second section, theology culminates in naturalism, i.e., in the view that the only theology is that which can be advanced by reason itself, without making specific reference to, or taking specific notice of, Christianity. On p. 196 (lecture 21) Erdmann argues that it is one and the same reason in both cases.

31 **naturalism**] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 197.

32 **eccentric**] Here in the sense of "not coinciding."

164 3 **the later standpoint**] Reason understood as critical reason.

164 13 **supernaturalism**] → 156,*1*.

14 **Kant has shown . . . no theoretical knowledge**] Erdmann writes in *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 217, lines 17–20: "We have already pointed out that the sense of Kant's result is as follows: One has no theoretical knowledge whatever (whether it be knowledge or belief) from that which is supersensible. . ."

18 **Göschel . . . nonbelieving**] Erdmann writes in *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 218, lines 11–13: "Thus in his aphorisms Göschel could show in quite irrefutable fashion that non-knowing logically ends in nonbelieving"; see *Aphorismen über Nichtwissen und absolutes Wissen im Verhältnisse zur christlichen Glaubenserkenntniß* [Aphorisms on Nonknowing and Absolute Knowledge in Relation to Christian Knowledge of Faith] (Berlin, 1829). — **Göschel**: Carl Friedrich Göschel (1781–1861), German jurist and civil servant; author of works on history, philosophy, theology, and law. Attempted to unite Hegelian philosophy with the Christian faith.

33 164 **On the Relation . . . Fichte**] The subject is treated in the twenty-fifth lecture; see *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), pp. 234–243. See Not4:38, p. 156 in the present volume. — **Fichte**: → 143,*30*.

3 165 **(see p. 235 bottom of page)**] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 235, lines 22–29. Kierkegaard includes a translation of this same passage in the second paragraph of his notes on Erdmann's twenty-fifth lecture; see Not4:38, p. 156 in the present volume.

7 **in his remarks**] See *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 238.

9 **"postulate"**] See Not4:14, p. 143 in the present volume.

14 **what K. said . . . once and for all, to all objects**] That is, that objects cannot be known in themselves.

20 **"regulative principle."**] Kant calls "regulative" those principles and concepts that do not contribute to the knowledge of the world of experience but that continually prompt us to broaden our knowledge of experience.

26 **see. pp. 244 (at the bottom) and 245 (at the top)**] "Now we know that unending progress always points toward its truth, toward the actual identity, of these two opposed determinations, emphasizing first one, then the other (Lect. 12). Both factors, in the infinite progress of ought, which we observe

here, are opposed to one another—we know the two of them as Subject and Object. They are still opposed to one another, because their identity *is* indeed not, but rather *ought to be*. They become further emphasized alternately because the truth is always first established as something merely subjective (as a goal to be realized) which ought to become objective; but if it has become objective (its goal realized), then what has been attained will still need some objectivity (the goal ought not to be entirely realized): thus to be subjective, thus to become objective, and so on ad infinitum" (*Glauben und Wissen* [→ 129*m,9*], p. 244, line 19 to p. 245, line 5).

34 **pp. 245 and . . . mit ihm identisch**] Cited by Kierkegaard, with minor variants, from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 245, line 28 to p. 246, line 3. — **moralische Weltordnung**: See *Glauben und Wissen*, p. 246, line 1.

166 1 **Schleiermacher**]] Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768–1834), German theologian, philosopher, and classical philologist; professor at Halle and Berlin.

1 **p. 251 . . . überhaupt treffen, nicht**] Cited by Kierkegaard, with minor variants, from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 251, lines 25–30. The emphasis is by Erdmann, who also emphasizes "dies" ("this") and "nicht" ("not").

9 **p. 253 . . . hervorgehoben zu werden**] Cited by Kierkegaard, with minor variants, from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 252, line 33 to p. 253, line 5.

16 **pp. 266, bottom of page and 267, top of page . . . der Religion überhaupt**] Cited by Kierkegaard, with minor variants, from *Glauben und Wissen* (→ 129*m,9*), p. 266, line 31 to p. 267, line 5. Erdmann places a comma at the end of the cited passage, and he continues (lines 5–10) as follows: "and because at the final stage the truth itself is present as the endpoint of the development, one can say that the philosophy of religion consists of attempts to discern the true religion in all religions, which one could erroneously designate as such because they—which ought to be mere transitional points—have tried to assert their validity as the highest point."

167 1 **Zeitschrift . . . J. H. Fichte . . . Heft**] *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie* [Journal for Philosophy and Speculative Theology] ed. I. H. Fichte, 20 vols. (Bonn, 1837–1848; ASKB 877–911, vol. 1, 1837, no. 1. — **J. H. Fichte**: Immanuel Hermann Fichte (1796–1879), German philosopher; son of German philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte (→ 143,*30*) and often referred to as "the younger Fichte."

In his essay "die drei Grundfragen . . . Weize] Excerpts made by Kierkegaard from an essay by C. H. Weiße, "Die drei Grundfragen der gegenwärtigen Philosophie. Mit Bezug auf die Schrift: Die Philosophie unserer Zeit. Zur Apologie und Erläuterung des Hegelschen Systemes. Von Dr. Julius Schaller. Leipzig. Hinrichs. 1837" [The Three Fundamental Problems of Contemporary Philosophy, with Reference to the Work *The Philosophy of Our Times: Toward a Defense and Elucidation of the Hegelian System. By Dr. Julius Schaller*] (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1837 [Kierkegaard's "1837–1838" is an error]), published in *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie* (→ 167,*1*); Weiße's essay (abbreviated hereafter as "Die drei Grundfragen"), appeared in vol. 1, 1837, no. 1, pp. 67–114 and no. 2, pp. 161–201 of the journal. — **Julius Schaller**: German philosopher (1807–1868). Schaller's book is a defense of Hegel. In his article, Weiße considers, in particular, Hegel's view of philosophical method, criticizing Hegel, and, unlike Schaller, Weiße is far from being an uncritical adherent of Hegel. — **Weize**: Christian Hermann Weiße (1801–1866), German Right Hegelian philosopher.

Kant's idea . . . Schelling's immed. intuition] Kierkegaard's rendering of "Die drei Grundfragen" (→ 167,*5*), p. 76, lines 11–14: "The first of these moments is the Kantian idea of a *critique of reason*, the second [is] the Schellingian [idea] of *an intellectual intuition of the Absolute*."

a standpoint] i.e., the critique of knowledge.

it is necessary . . . honest path of Kant] Weiße, who has pointed out that Hegel lacks a critique of knowledge and thus a justification of philosophical method, writes in "Die drei Grundfragen" (→ 167,*5*), p. 86, lines 17–19: "Remember, it is indeed in accordance with our philosophical convictions that Hegel's point of view must be overcome methodically by a return, once again 'to the honest path of Kant.' " The expression "the honest path of Kant" occurs for the first time in Weiße's article on p. 83, line 25.

15 **His phenomenology . . . Encyclopedia . . . different places**] Kierkegaard's summary of "Die drei Grundfragen" (→ 167,5), p. 82, line 31 to p. 83, line 11. — **His phenomenology**: Hegel's (→ 127,23) *Phänomenologie des Geistes* [Phenomenology of the Spirit], ed. J. Schulze (Berlin, 1832; ASKB 550); vol. 2 in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 127,23) (*Jub*. vol. 2).

20 **on the other hand because . . . the determinations of this**] Kierkegaard's summary of "Die drei Grundfragen" (→ 167,5), p. 83, line 20 to p. 85, line 23.

30 **The philosophy that, like Hegel . . . identical with its object**] Kierkegaard's summary of "Die drei Grundfragen" (→ 167,5), p. 85, line 24 to p. 86, line 7.

34 **After this . . . merely a relative necessity**] Kierkegaard's summary of "Die drei Grundfragen" (→ 167,5), p. 95, lines 13–19.

On the relation betw. logic and natural science] 2 167*m*
Weiße discusses Hegel's transition from logic to natural philosophy, "which really must be called the weak spot of the Hegelian system." "Die drei Grundfragen" (→ 167,5), p. 97, line 5.

"speculative logic" according to Weize] Kierkegaard cites this from "Die drei Grundfragen" (→ 167,5), p. 87, lines 22–23. 4

The methodology . . . Weize] Kierkegaard's rendering of "Die drei Grundfragen" (→ 167,5), p. 86, lines 24–28. 6

understood in its truth . . . this requirement] Kierkegaard's translation of "Die drei Grundfragen" (→ 167,5), p. 95, lines 7–21. 2 168

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NOTEBOOK 5

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NOTES FOR NOTEBOOK 5

Critical Account of the Text by
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Explanatory Notes by
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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript

Notebook 5 is a small pocketbook in octavo. Originally it consisted of fifty-four leaves (108 pages), nine of which have been removed. Fragmentary words and letters from eight of the nine torn-out leaves indicate that the latter contained writing, but the text has not been preserved. Two additional leaves have been lost, but in their case the wording of the entries has been transmitted indirectly in H. P. Barfod's catalogue (*B-cat.*) and his edition *Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer (EP)*.[1] The notebook is in the Kierkegaard Archive (KA) at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

II. Dating and Chronology

Notebook 5 contains no dates, but it is possible with the help of other criteria to define approximately the period of its origin. It appears from Not5:19 that this entry was written after June 3, 1840, when Kierkegaard passed the examination for his theological degree.

> I am always accused of using long parentheses. Reading for my examination is the longest parenthesis I have experienced.

Exactly when Kierkegaard began the notebook cannot be determined with any certainty, but it is reasonable to assume that he returned to his journals and notebooks after he had successfully completed the examination. Except for a few entries related to the examination there are no journal entries from the period from

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[1]) Not5:27 is the fragmentary entry preserved in *B-cat.*, and entries Not5:19 and Not5:28 are preserved only in *EP*, where they are printed in *EP* I–II, 265 and 266.

October 1839 to July 1840, when Kierkegaard was occupied with reading for his examination.[1]

The editors of *Pap.*, P. A. Heiberg and V. Kuhr, suppose that the first entries in the notebook can be assigned to Kierkegaard's journey to Jutland, which began on July 18, 1840, when he took the mail coach to the ferry station in Kalundborg.[2] However, there seems to be no evidence for this, and in further disconfirmation is the fact that in *Notebook 7* Kierkegaard mentions only one book in connection with the Jutland tour: "my diary from my journey."[3]

Themes struck in a series of short entries, Not5:11–17, were developed later in *Journal HH* and *Journal EE*, when Kierkegaard worked up drafts of sermons while participating in exercises at the Pastoral Seminary from November 1840 to September 1841.[4]

Not5:32 appears to presuppose a discussion of the question of philosophy's beginning, a debate that started in Denmark in 1837 with J. L. Heiberg's defense of the Hegelian account, continued with Sibbern's criticism of it in 1838, and was followed in 1840 by A. P. Adler's defense of Heiberg and the Hegelian view (in *Tidsskrift for Litteratur og Kritik* [Journal for Literature and Criticism] (Copenhagen), vol. 3, 1840, pp. 474–482).[5] Given that Adler's review appeared in the third volume of this quarterly, it is reasonable to suppose that Not5:32 was written at some time in the late autumn of

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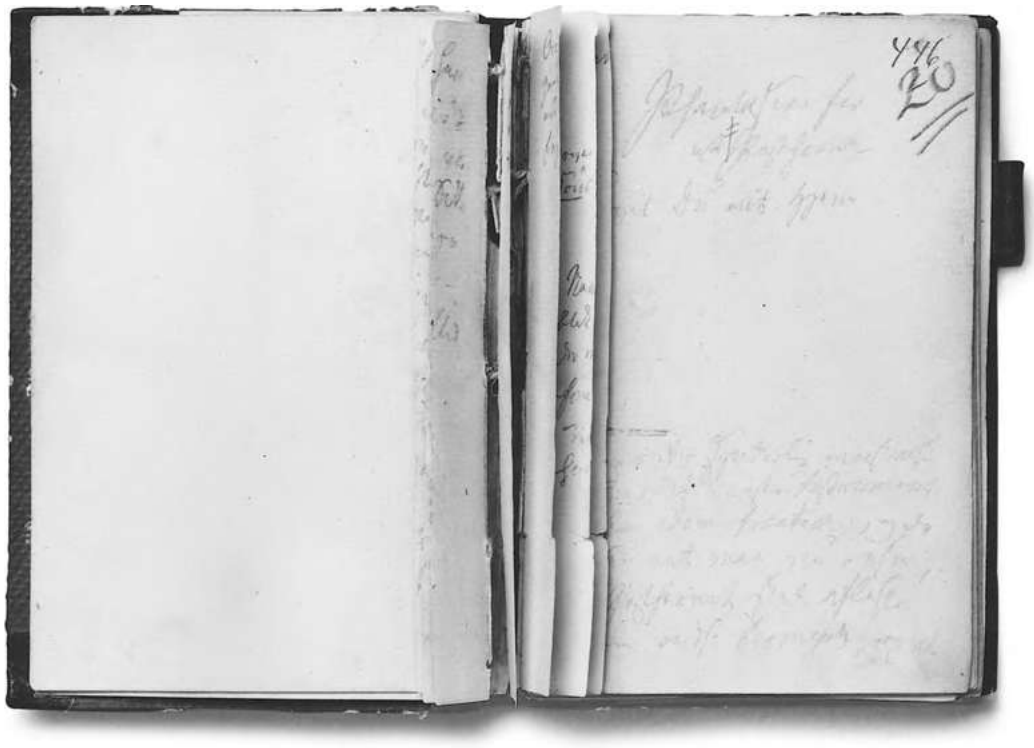
1) See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal EE*," *KJN* 2, 455–464.

2) See the explanatory notes for entry Not6:1, pp. 575–576 in this volume. The editors of *Pap.* claim that the circumstance that the first entries of *Notebook 5* had their "origin in the post coach is betrayed not only by the content but also by the writing, which in several places bears the mark of the jolting of the coach; perhaps the occasion of S. K.'s switching from Danish to Latin in one point in his entries [Not5:7 and 8] is to be sought in a fellow traveler's inquisitive gaze. It is reasonable to assume that these Post Horn entries are from the beginning of the journey through Zealand to Kalundborg" (*Pap.* III, p. ix).

3) See Not7:2, and the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 7*," pp. 587–592 in the present volume.

4) See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal EE*," *KJN* 2, 356–359, and the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal HH*," *KJN* 2, 439–442.

5) See the explanatory note for Not5:32, p. 562 in the present volume.



Notebook 5, p. 20.

1840, and that the whole notebook was concluded before Kierkegaard began at the Pastoral Seminary in November 1840.

Notebook 5 must therefore have been written in the period from July to November 1840, interrupted by Kierkegaard's journey to Jutland from July 18 to August 7 or 8, 1840.[1]

III. Contents

The notebook consists of thirty-four entries.

Leaves 3 to 10 were clipped out of the manuscript (*see illustration*), but as mentioned above, it can be seen from the torn-off stubs that all these leaves had been written on. Vestiges of three words are all that can give us an idea of the content. On the verso side of leaf 8 we read: "Djæv-"and "Ly-", on the right-hand side of 9: "*Søns*."[2]

The opening entries, Not5:1–5, strike a romantic mood of travel with motifs such as leave-taking ("farewell"), post horns, postilions, and travel. Not5:1, which consists mainly of a long, freely imagined footnote, bears the title "Fantasies for a Post Horn." This is a heading used earlier by Kierkegaard in FF:160, which runs: "I would like to write a short story accompanied by mottoes composed by myself. Motto: Fantasy for a post horn" (in *KJN* 2, 97). The next entry, Not5:2, hails nature: "Greetings to you, mighty nature, with your fugitive beauty, it is not you I want, it is the memory of you, in vain do you check me in my progress."[3]

As mentioned, Not5:11–17 consists of a series of themes or notions. Each of these short entries is written on a new page. It was presumably Kierkegaard's intention to return to these pages, but instead, on beginning at the Pastoral Seminary he developed the thoughts in *Journal EE* and *Journal HH*. The themes raised in Not5:11, 12 and 14 were resumed and developed in the sermon drafts in

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1) See the explanatory note for Not6:35, p. 584 in the present volume.

2) In the 19th-century Danish nouns began with capital letters, so it is reasonable to assume that *Djæv-* could be the beginning of the word *Djævel* ("devil"), while *Ly-* could be the beginning of a great many words, including those for happiness (*Lykke*), light (*Lys*), etc. *Søns* presumably means "son's."

3) The same themes are developed in *Repetition*; see *R*, 175–176; *SKS* 4, 48–49.

HH:12, 25, and 26,[1] while "God's fatherly love," in Not5:13, and "those who were called at the 11th hour," in Not5:15, were used as headings for drafts of sermons in, respectively, HH:17 and EE:194.[2] Three of the entries provided material for *Either/Or* and *Stages on Life's Way*. In edited form, Not5:6 comprises the diapsalm about bustling businessmen in *Either/Or*,[3] while the expression "habeant, valeant vivant cum illa" in Not5:7.1 is found in altered form in "Some Reflections on Marriage in Response to Objections" in *Stages on Life's Way*.[4] Not5:24 reads:

> Somewhere in Engeland [*sic*] there is a gravestone with only these words on it: The Unhappiest Man. I could imagine someone reading it and thinking there was no one buried there but that it was intended for him.

In a slightly extended version, the entry forms the introduction to "The Unhappiest Man" in the first part of *Either/Or*.[5]

On the last page of the notebook Kierkegaard noted (in Not5:34) the address "Nyhavn 282 the Charlottenborg side—." The ship-owner who had the franchise for the ferry crossing used by Kierkegaard lived there. It is not known why he noted the address.[6]

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1) See *KJN* 2, 123–124, 129–130.

2) See *KJN* 2, 125 and 63.

3) See *EO* 1, 25; *SKS* 2, 33.

4) See *SLW*, 169; *SKS* 6, 157; see also the explanatory note to Not5:7, p. 559 in this volume.

5) See *EO* 1, 219; *SKS* 2, 213.

6) See the explanatory note for Not5:34, p. 563 in this volume. On the outside of the notebook Barfod wrote on a label that the notebook was "without date—from the time when S. K. lived out at Nyhavn 282." Barfod later retracted this and added the word "misunderstanding."

Explanatory Notes

171 1 **Fantasies for a Post Horn**] See entry FF:160 in *KJN* 2, 97. — **Post Horn**: A horn used by the postilion (→ 171,*5*) to signal the arrival and departure of a mail and stage coach but also to warn other coaches and wagons that did not have the right-of-way.

4 **people now want to replace the post horn with a regular trumpet**] This report remains unverified.

5 **that postilions are to be subjected to an examination in performance**] This report remains unverified. — **postilions**: those who rode the near horse of the leader in a carriage and four, or the near horse in a pair.

7 **transportation authorities**] An institution governed by the General Post Office, which according to an edict of January 27, 1804, issued coach masters and ship owners contracts to operate land routes and some ferry crossings.

9 **and cockiness**] Variant: *added*.

13 **as Echoes . . . Pardon?**] Variant: *added*. — **Echo**: According to Greek mythology the nymph Echo fell in love with the beautiful youth Narcissus, but when he failed to return her love, she was so consumed by grief that only her voice remained, echoing from rock faces and woods.

171 26 **Farewell, accept my greetings**] Variant: *added*.

29 **with every turn of the wheel . . . resist**] Variant: *added*.

32 **Greetings, you . . . such difficulty**] Variant: *added*.

172 2 **postilion**] → 171,*5*.

2 **blowing the fat off the soup**] It has been impossible to identify this saying.

172 4 **Melodrama for the Post Horn . . . tooting**] Variant: *added*. — **Post Horn**: → 171,*1*.

172 10 **Knippelbro**] Properly Knippelsbro, the drawbridge that spanned the harbor fairway from the end of Nybørs to Christianshavn, for which reason it is also commonly referred to as Christianshavns Bro [Bridge] (*see map 2, C3*).

15 172 **Semi-Pelagianism**] A religious doctrine maintaining that God offers his grace to all human beings, but that freedom of the will makes people capable of refusing it. The doctrine is attributed particularly to the monk Johannes Cassianus, or John Cassian (d. ca. 435). It won the day in Southern Gaul, where a synod in the 470s condemned Augustine's doctrine of predestination according to which God decides every human being's salvation or damnation. Followers of the Augustinian doctrine were so strongly provoked that, in a reaction led especially by Bishop Caesarius of Arles (ca. 470–542), the Synod of Orange in 529 condemned semi-Pelagianism and adopted a modified Augustinian doctrine. Here it was established, on the one hand, that on account of man's absolute sinfulness salvation depended solely on God's grace, and on the other hand, it was denied that God had predetermined human beings to do evil. And because it was at the same time stressed that freedom of the will is owing to God's grace, so that it is with the help of God that deeds rewarded with eternal life can be carried out, it was possible to think of human beings as responsibly involved in their own salvation. The interpretation agreed on at the Synod of Orange was ratified in the following year by Pope Boniface II and thus won acceptance as the Western Church's official doctrine of grace.

16 **semper numularii instar deum . . . semper anxie**] The source has not been identified. — **semper anxie**: Variant: *added*.

25 **semper indagans . . . valeant vivant cum illa**] The source has not been identified.

27 172 **Si philosophi hujus ævi . . . pugnandum est**] The source has not been identified.

4 173 **with Chrstnty an entirely new life arises in humankind**] Presumably a reference to 2 Cor 5:17, where Paul writes: "So if anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation; everything old has passed away; see, everything has become new!" See entries HH:2–3 in *KJN* 2, 117–120. See also Rom 6:4 and Eph 4:23–24.

12 **spiritual birth**] Presumably a reference to the meeting at night between Jesus and the Pharisee Nicodemus in Jn 3:1–16, where Jesus says: "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God" (v. 3); and: "Ye must be born again" (v. 7) (King James version; NRSV has "born from above" for "born again").

174 1 **It is impossible—you say, etc**] See entry HH:25 in *KJN* 2, 129–130.

175 1 **on good deeds**] See entry HH:26 in *KJN* 2, 130.
2 **the right hand doesn't know what the left hand is doing**] See Mt 6:3, where Jesus says: "But when you give alms, do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing."

176 1 **God's fatherly love**] See entry HH:17 in *KJN* 2, 125–126.

177 1 **or did you never see him . . . fellowship of love**] See entry HH:12 in *KJN* 2, 123–124. — **bringing up**: See Heb 12:5–6: "My child, do not regard lightly the discipline of the Lord, or lose heart when you are punished by him; for the Lord disciplines those whom he loves, and chastises every child whom he accepts." See also Prov 3:11–12.

178 1 **those who were called at the 11th hour**] Refers to the parable of the workers in the vineyard, Mt 20:1–16, where the workers hired "about the eleventh hour" (King James version) were paid the same as those hired early in the morning. On being asked why they were standing idle, they said "because no one has hired us," and the vineyard owner told them: "You also go into the vineyard" (vv. 6–7). See entry EE:194 in *KJN* 2, 63.

181 1 **Hegel is a parenthesis in Schelling . . . for it to be closed**] Schelling had already in the 1820s announced his "positive" philosophy as an advance on Hegel's "negative" philosophy. After Hegel's death Schelling was mentioned as a possible successor in Berlin, which metaphorically would make Hegel's philosophy a "parenthesis" in Schelling's positive philosophy, not merely historically but also in substance. — **Hegel**: Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), German philosopher, studied philosophy and theology together with Schelling at Tübingen, privatdocent at Jena from 1805 to 1806, professor at Heidelberg from 1816 to 1818, and professor at Berlin from 1818 until his death. — **Schelling**: Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling (1775–1854), German philosopher, studied philosophy and theology together with Hegel in Tübingen from 1790 to 1795, professor extraordinarius at Jena in 1798, professor at Würzburg in 1803, appointed general secretary of the Academy of Visual Arts in Munich in 1806, taught at the University in Erlangen from 1820 to 1827, and then became professor at Munich. From there he was called to Berlin in 1841 in order to combat left Hegelianism (see *Notebook 11* in the present volume); he retired in 1846.

Reading for my examination is the longest parenthesis I have experienced] Kierkegaard began studying for his examination in the autumn of 1838 and passed his examination for the degree in theology on July 3, 1840. 4 181

the assurance of victory Rom 8] See in particular Rom 8:37–39. 9 181

Hegel] → 181,*1*. 11 181

the philosophy of the most recent past] That is, Kant's philosophy (→ 181,*14*). 11

language existed to conceal thoughts] Allusion to what the French bishop and statesman Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand (-Périgord) is said to have propounded to the Spanish envoy Isquierdo: "La parole a été donnée à l'homme pour déguiser sa pensée." ("Words have been given to man in order to disguise his thoughts.") 12

das Ding an sich] Alludes to Immanuel Kant's theory of knowledge presented in *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* [Critique of Pure Reason] (1781; see ASKB 595, 4th ed. [Riga, 1794]). According to Kant, knowledge is possible only within the limits of experience; we can only attain knowledge of our representations as they are determined by the categories of the understanding and the forms of sensory intuition, but we can never have knowledge of "the thing as it is in itself" (*das Ding an sich*) independently of these forms. 14

Hegel shows that thought . . . fumbling with the Thing] Perhaps an allusion to Hegel's remarks on the advantage of language and the relation of lan- 14

guage to thought in the preface to the second edition of *Wissenschaft der Logik* [Science of Logic]: "The forms of thought are, in the first instance, displayed and stored in human *language*. Nowadays we cannot be too often reminded that it is *thinking* which distinguishes man from the beasts. Into all that becomes something inward for men, an image or conception as such, in all that he makes his own, language has penetrated, and everything that he has transformed into language and expresses in it contains a category—concealed, mixed with other forms or clearly determined as such, so much is logic his natural element, indeed his own peculiar *nature*." *Wissenschaft der Logik*, ed. L. v. Henning, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1833–1834 [1812–1816]; ASKB 552–554), vol. 1.2, in *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe*, 18 vols. (Berlin, 1832–1845; abbreviated hereafter as *Hegel's Werke*), vol. 3, p. 11. English translation from *Hegel's Science of Logic*, trans. A. V. Miller (Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 1960; hereafter referred to as *Hegel's Science of Logic*), p. 31. In the Danish context, J. L. Heiberg expressed the same view, that logic, i.e., theory of the categories, forms the basic structure underlying all actuality and also appears in language. See his *Indlednings-Foredrag til det i November 1834 begyndte logiske Cursus paa den kongelige militaire Høiskole* [Introductory Lecture to the Logic Course Begun in November 1834 at the Royal Military College] (Copenhagen, 1835), pp. 36–41; an English translation of this passage is available in *Heiberg's Introductory Lecture to the Logic Course and Other Texts*, ed. and trans. Jon Stewart (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 2007), pp. 67–71.

181 22 **pantheism**] The belief or doctrine that—as against theism—maintains the unity of what exists (the world) and God.

23 **theism**] The belief or doctrine that maintains that God is personal and separate from or different from the world, and that he has not only created the world but sustains and governs it.

181 27 **faith is a more concrete qualification than immed**.] Alludes to the threefold movement in Hegel's dialectic, characterized as (1) *Unmittelbarkeit* ("immediacy"), (2) *Vermittlung* ("mediation"), and (3) *vermittelte Unmittelbarkeit*" ("mediated immediacy") or an initial position, followed by the transition to its opposite, and then its return to itself. Cf. Heiberg's description in "Recension over Hr. Dr. Rothes *Treenigheds- og Forsoningslære*" [Review of Dr. Rothe's Doctrine of Trinity and of Atonement] in *Perseus, Journal for den speculative Idee* [Perseus: Journal for the Speculative Idea], ed. J. L. Heiberg (Copenhagen, 1837; see ASKB 569), no. 1, June 1837, pp. 35–36: "As is well known, the Hegelian system moved by means of nothing but trilogies. In each such case, the first stage is immediacy (relatively, i.e., with respect to one or another trinity); the second [stage] is the mediation or development of the first; and finally, no longer immediate, the third [stage] is the new and synthetic unity, produced by the mediation."

knowledge arises . . . out of doubt] Alludes to Hegel's method, which, especially in Martensen's account of it (in his lectures on "Philosophiens Historie fra Kant til Hegel" [The History of Philosophy from Kant to Hegel], *Pap*. II C 25, in vol. XII, p. 321), begins with a systematic, Cartesian doubt about everything, and then moves forward on the strength of the need for inner consistency finally to address true knowledge. Hans Lassen Martensen (1808–1884) was cand. theol. in 1832, privatdocent and tutor from 1834 to 1836 (also Kierkegaard's tutor), lic. theol. in 1837; appointed lecturer in theology at the University of Copenhagen in 1838; appointed professor extraordinarius in theology in 1840; appointed court chaplain of the Royal Chapel in 1845; subsequently primate of the Danish Church (1854–1884). Kierkegaard owned a set of notes summarizing Martensen's lectures on the history of philosophy from Kant to Hegel, in which Martensen is recorded as saying that: "the method by which the process comes into being is *negative*. Every thought contains its own *negation*, its own opposite, difference. But this negation must be sublated and harmony established. This is H.'s principal idea, thus, 1) the *immediate*, 2) the *separate* (*reflection*'s), [3)] the *individual* (the standpoint of the Idea) . . . The 3rd standpoint is thus that a pers. once again regains satisfaction after having gone through all doubt" (*Pap*. II C 25 in vol. XII, p. 321). 2 182

in Engeland there is a gravestone . . . The Unhappiest Man] Refers to an inscription, *Miserrimus* (Latin, "the most wretched man," "the most un- 13 182

happy man") on a grave in Worcester Cathedral in England.

182 17 **under the image of the prodigal son**] Refers to the parable of the prodigal son, Lk 15:11–32.

18 **as the son . . . let us receive the inheritance owing to us**] See preceding note.

182 21 **Troels Lund**] (1802–1876), Danish pictorial artist. From 1835 a member of the Academy of Arts and from 1842 architectural painter or stage designer at the Royal Danish Theater, brother of the second wife of Kierkegaard's brother-in-law Henrik Lund.

183 4 **the two mysteries**] Presumably a reference to the divine mystery and the diabolic mystery; see entry FF:197 in *KJN* 2, 104; see also entry DD:6 in *KJN* 1, 209–210.

183 7 **the realm**] God's (eternal) kingdom.

8 **the sun never sets**] Plays on the expression "The sun never sets on my country," commonly attributed to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, but which in his *Don Carlos* Friedrich Schiller puts in the mouth of Charles V's son, Philip II of Spain. In the 19th century the saying was applied to the British Empire.

183 10 **That philosophy . . . must be seen not as a fault**] The question of how philosophy starts played a central role in German idealism. The main issue, first formulated by J. G. Fichte, was how to begin a system without making use of certain presuppositions that would then have to be considered elements in the very system one is trying to develop. Fichte's attempt was his first principle "I = I." Hegel argued that philosophy must begin with the most abstract category, pure being; see *Wissenschaft der Logik* (→ 181,*14*), vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 3, pp. 59–111 (*Hegel's Science of Logic*, pp. 67–108). Hegel's account was criticized by F. W. J. Schelling, I. H. Fichte, and F. A. Trendelenburg, among others. The issue was also debated in Denmark owing to J. L. Heiberg's defense of the Hegelian position, presented, e.g., in "Recension over Hr. Dr. Rothes *Treenigheds- og Forsoningslære*" (→ 181,*27*). F. C. Sibbern criticized this in the first part of his long review of Heiberg's journal, *Perseus*, no. 1 (→ 181,*14*), in *Maanedsskrift for Litteratur* [Monthly Journal for Literature] (Copenhagen), vol. 19, 1838, pp. 315–360. Heiberg replied in the article "Det logiske System" [The Logical System], in *Perseus*, no. 2, pp. 1–45, which was reviewed positively by A. P. Adler in *Tidsskrift for Litteratur og Kritik* [Journal for Literature and Criticism], ed. F. C. Petersen (Copenhagen) vol. 3, 1840, pp. 474–482. In all this discussion it was considered by everyone a weakness or "fault" if a hidden presupposition could be disclosed in any attempt at beginning a system.

consciousness as the empty form] Presumably a reference to those theories of consciousness in transcendental philosophy according to which consciousness is pure form or a formal principle for knowledge. Among the best known of these theories is Kant's *transzendentale Einheit der Apperzeption* ("transcendental unity of apperception"); see *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (→ 181,*14*), pp. 129–146. In order to have a determinate "representation" of objects, it is necessary, according to Kant, for the manifold of individual representations to be united in a single consciousness. Without such a unity, determinate representations of objects would not be possible. Correspondingly, for J. G. Fichte the thinking subject's act of positing itself is the highest principle for thought and the foundation of all knowledge. The indubitable first principle for knowledge is that there is a self-identical subject, expressed by Fichte in the form of a variant of the law of identity, I = I. See J. G. Fichte, *Grundlage der gesammten Wissenschaftslehre*, 2nd ed. (Jena, 1802 [1794]), pp. 1–16; an English translation is available as J. G. Fichte, *Introduction to the Wissenschaftslehre and Other Writings*, ed. and trans. Daniel Breazeale (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1994 [1997]). For both Kant and Fichte this form of consciousness is "empty," because it is only a formal principle and not an actual empirical subject. 12

liberum arbitrium] A philosophical concept from the early Middle Ages applied to the human ability to choose freely between two or more possibilities. 18

the one glass magnifies . . . diminishes] That is to say, "the one glass magnifies, the other diminishes"; see entry DD:90 in *KJN* 1, 240–241. — **a blade of grass is worth more than all wisdom**: The source, if any, has not been identified. 24 183

hear wisdom from the mouth of a Pharisee . . . from an apostle] See J. G. Hamann's letter of Octo- 25

ber 12, 1759, to his friend J. G. Lindner, which says: "Baumgarten, Forstmann, Reichel, Paulus, and Cephas are human beings, and I often hear with more joy the word of God in the mouth of a Pharisee, who is a witness against his will, than from the mouth of an angel of light." *Hamann's Schriften* [Hamann's Writings], ed. Fr. Roth and G. A. Wiener, 8 vols. (Berlin, 1821–1825; ASKB 536–544), vol. 1 (1821), p. 497. See entry BB:27 in *KJN* 1, 113–114.

Nyhavn 282 the Charlottenborg side] According to the February 1840 census, Mathias Wilhelm Sass, a military officer and merchant, lived with his family on the ground and first floors. Sass had the contract for the Århus–Kalundborg ferry route and owned both the smack in which Kierkegaard traveled to Jutland on July 19, 1840, and the steamship *Christian den Ottende* [Christian the Eighth], on which he sailed on the return journey on August 6; see Not6:1 with explanatory note, pp. 187 and 575–576 in the present volume. *1* 184

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NOTEBOOK 6

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NOTES FOR NOTEBOOK 6

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Critical Account of the Text

I. Provenance

Notebook 6, according to H. P. Barfod's catalogue of Kierkegaard's posthumous papers, was "a small pocket-book in leather, without marking and date, containing entries from a journey to Jutland (partly in pencil)" (*see illustration).* Kierkegaard refers to it in Not7:2 as "my diary from my journey."[1] According to *B-cat.*, the diary consisted of twenty-two leaves or forty-four pages. The whole manuscript is lost, and the text has been transmitted indirectly via Barfod's edition of *Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer* (*EP*).[2] In three cases, only the opening words of entries have survived, specifically by having been registered as headwords in *B-cat*.[3] A single entry, Not6:21, is not registered at all in *B-cat.*, but because Barfod published it on p. 260 of *EP* I–II, between the entries corresponding to Not6:20 and Not6:22, there is reason to assume that this is the place it originally occupied in the manuscript. Headwords of the entries in *Notebook 6* are listed under item 447 in *B-cat.*, and the entries themselves have been published previously as *Pap.* III A 51–54.

II. Dating and Chronology

The first entry is dated "17 July" and appears to have been written on board the ferry from Kalundborg to Århus. However, we find Kierkegaard listed among the passengers for the ferry that made the crossing on July 19, 1840, i.e., two days later. The second entry, Not6:2, is dated "*Aarhuus*, 18 July." If we make the reasonable

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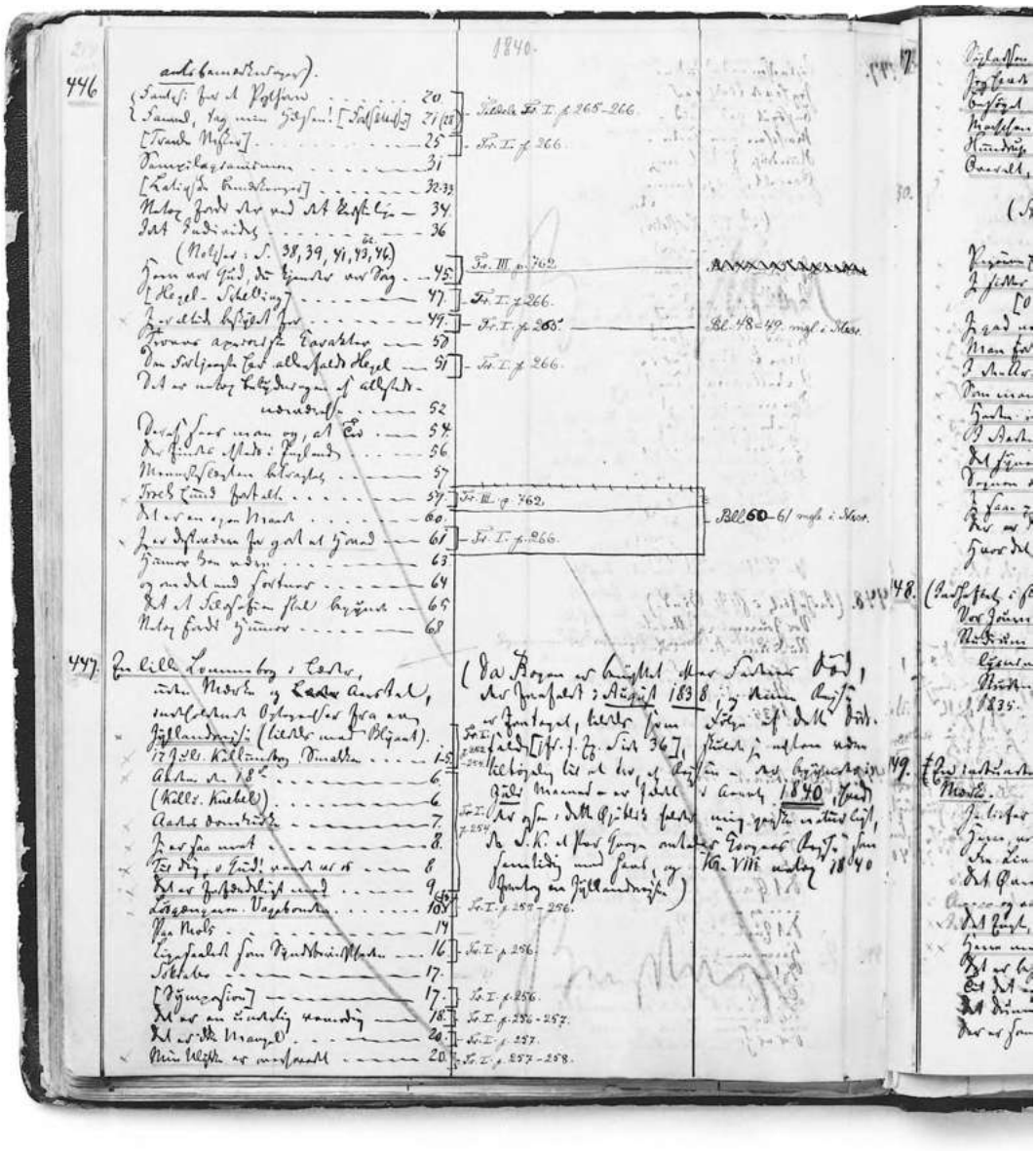
1) See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 7*," p. 587 in the present volume.

2) *EP*, I–II, pp. 252–265.

3) This is the case for entries Not6:9, Not6:11, and Not6:25.



Barfod's description of *Notebook 6* in *B-cat.* 447.

assumption that the mistaken dates are Kierkegaard's error, this second date must be July 20.

Notebook 6 contains no other dates, but various external circumstances and events make it possible to give approximate dates for some of the entries.

The king and queen made a journey to Jutland at the same time that Kierkegaard did, as Barfod also remarks in the margin of *B-cat.* 447, where he comments in general on the date of the notebook's composition (*see illustration*):

> (Because the notebook was used after his father's death, which took place in *August 1838*, and this journey was undertaken in part as a consequence of his death [see, e.g., p. 36],[1] I would almost be inclined to believe that the journey—which began in *July*—fell in **1840**, which at the moment also seems to me quite natural, as S. K. twice mentions "the king's journey" as taking place at the same time as his own, and Christian VIII undertook a journey to Jutland precisely in 1840.)

Not6:3 and 22 seem to indicate that Kierkegaard met "Anders" at "the parade of the town militia"; presumably this was the same Anders Westergaard who later became Kierkegaard's servant.[2] In *Aarhuus Stifts-Tidende*, [Århus Provincial Times], no. 116, July 20, 1840, we are told that on the occasion of the visit of the king and queen to Århus, where they arrived on the afternoon of July 20, "the town militia paraded from the triumphal gateway to the King's Courtyard." It is overwhelmingly probable that Not6:22 stems from the same date.[3]

The royal visit is also mentioned in Not6:22, this time in Viborg, where they arrived, later than scheduled, on July 26, 1840, on their way back from Holstebro:

> In Viborg the king arrived too late one night, for which reason the entire population did not go to bed but sat up like the wise

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1) Barfod's reference to "p. 36" applies to Not6:24.

2) See the explanatory note for entry Not6:3, p. 576 in the present volume.

3) A similar parade did, however, take place upon the departure of the king and queen on July 22.

> virgins. The queen arrived at 2½ A. M., and then the illumination began. Up until now, in each of the market towns where I have been after the king, the inhabitants have maintained they know from a very reliable source that nowhere had he enjoyed himself as much as with them.

Thus entry Not6:22 must have been written later than July 26, 1840.

We note also the words "up until now, in each of the market towns where I have been after the king." Based on the route taken by the royal couple we can give approximate datings of Kierkegaard's visits to these same towns.[1] As mentioned, he arrived at Århus on July 29, a day before the royal couple, but we cannot tell how long he remained there. On July 22 the king and queen came to Randers and on the following day left for Viborg, arriving in the evening. If Kierkegaard came to both Randers and Viborg "after the king," he must have arrived in the two towns on July 23 and 24, at the earliest. Similarly, the royal couple arrived at Holstebro on the afternoon of July 24 and returned to Viborg on the 26th. In the light of what is referred to in Not6:22, Kierkegaard must accordingly have been in Holstebro no earlier than the evening of July 24. However, it is uncertain whether Kierkegaard visited Viborg a second time or that in the above-quoted passage from Not6:22 he may not merely have been referring to something he had heard or read.

Prior to his visit to Sædding Kierkegaard wrote the following in Not6:17:

> I had thought of preaching for the first time in the church at *Sæding*, and it would have to be this Sunday. To my no little surprise I see that the text is Mk 8:1–10 (the feeding of the 4 thousand), and I was struck by the words, "From whence can a man satisfy these men with bread *here in the wilderness*?" seeing that I am to be speaking in the poorest parish in the Jutland *heath district*.

"This Sunday" refers to the seventh Sunday after Trinity, the text for

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1) For further details, see the explanatory note for entry Not6:22, pp. 580–581 in the present volume.

which is Mark 8:1–10. In 1840 the seventh Sunday after Trinity was on August 2.[1]

Regarding the return voyage from Århus, Kierkegaard is listed among the passengers taking the steamship from Århus to Kalundborg on August 6, 1840.[2] The last entry, Not6:35, inspired by the Århus dragoons blowing assembly, could accordingly stem from this date. The dates given on the passenger lists, July 19 and August 6, respectively, thus form the beginning and the end of the diary.

It is important, however, to point to the retrospective character of the entries, bearing as they do the imprint of having been written down later than the events they refer to.[3] It cannot be ruled out that Kierkegaard entered them in his notebook immediately afterward, as is further supported by the fact that the notebook itself—judging from Barfod's description—showed physical signs of having been written in during the journey, and thus the entries were not written (or transcribed) into the notebook later.

III. Contents

Notebook 6 contains Kierkegaard's diary from the journey to Jutland in the summer of 1840. It consists of impressions from the journey mixed with reflections.[4]

The journey to Jutland took place on the invitation of Kierke-

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1) Entry Not7:2 contains a draft of a sermon on the text in question, and Kierkegaard there notes: "cf. my diary from my journey." See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 7*," p. 590 in the present volume.

2) See the explanatory note for entry Not6:35, p. 584 in the present volume.

3) In entry Not6:20 Kierkegaard refers to a meeting with Hundrup, which must have taken place on July 26 at the latest, as Hundrup and his wife were on board the steamship from Århus to Kalundborg on July 27. The entry must have been written later, however, because Not6:17, in which Kierkegaard mentions the following Sunday, August 2, as "this Sunday," cannot have been written earlier than Monday July 27.

4) In form the entries recall the Gilleleje entries in *Journal AA* (AA:1–12), *KJN* 1, 3–25.

gaard's father's sister, Else, in Sædding.[1] This gave Kierkegaard an opportunity both to see his family's native district and to seek diversion after successfully passing his theological examination on July 3, 1840.[2]

The notebook opens with a satirical account of the passage from Kalundborg to Århus. We can follow Kierkegaard's route through Jutland fairly closely. After a few days in Århus and a visit to Pastor Boesen's in Knebel, the journey went via Randers, Viborg, Holstebro, and Ringkøbing to Sædding, where Kierkegaard stayed for three days with his relatives, and from there back to Århus, returning by steamship to Kalundborg.

The aspect of pilgrimage to his Jutland roots is emphasized in Not6:24, where Kierkegaard gives expression to his expectations for the coming encounter with Sædding and the feelings for his father to which this gives rise:

> I sit here all alone (many times I have been just as alone but not so aware of it) and count the hours until I shall see *Sæding*. I can never recall any change in my father, and now I am to see the places where as a poor boy he tended sheep, the places for which, because of his descriptions of them, I have been so homesick. What if I were to become ill and be buried in the Sæding churchyard! Strange idea. His last request to me is fulfilled—is that to be all that *my* earthly destiny amounts to? In God's name! Yet in relation to what I owed to him the task was not so paltry. I learned from him what fatherly love is, and through this I gained a conception of divine fatherly love, the one single unshakable thing in life, the true Archimedean point.

The portrayal of people, places, and events on the way is generally spirited and lively. The fact that it also bears an unmistakable literary stamp is not surprising, the surroundings taking on the color of Kierkegaard's poetic pen. The boundary between the actual and the fictive is at times transgressed, as, e.g., when in Not6:31, on Them,

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1) *LD*, 59–60; *B&A* 1, 46–47. See the first explanatory note for entry Not6:1, p. 575 in the present volume.

2) Something else was also on his mind at the time, the possibility of his engagement to Regine Olsen; cf. a passage in Not15:4, pp. 431–436 in the present volume.

Kierkegaard recounts that this undistinguished town was full of barons and counts, which sounds quite unlikely. Also, it has been shown that the two noble gentlemen actually mentioned, Count Ahlefeldt and Baron Rosenørn, cannot have been in Jutland at the time.[1] But the fact that descriptions of nature, such as that of the heath in Not6:29, have a Romantic flavor does not mean that the walk on the heath did not take place.

There is no account of the stay in Sædding, the only mention being of the parish clerk's farewell speech in Not6:32, and Kierkegaard's thoughts about giving a sermon in the church. In Not6:17 when he writes: "I had thought of preaching for the first time in the church at *Sæding*, and it would have to be this Sunday," this does not mean that he actually did preach in Sædding. This was in any case prohibited to theology graduates unless they had followed the courses at the Pastoral Seminary, and Kierkegaard did not begin there until November 17, 1840.[2] More likely, he had thought beforehand of the possibility of his preaching for the first time at Sædding, and now that he was there, it struck him that the text for that Sunday, the feeding of the four thousand, was well suited to that poor parish.

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1) See the explanatory note for entry Not6:31, p. 583 in the present volume.

2) See the explanatory note for entry Not6:17, p. 578 in the present volume.

Explanatory Notes

187 *1* **The Jutland Journey**] When Kierkegaard's father (→ 196,*3*) died, Søren and his brother Peter Christian were invited by their father's sister, Else Pedersdatter Kierkegaard (→ 197,*17*), in a letter of May 4, 1838 (*LD*, 55–56; *B&A* 1, 43–44), to visit her and her husband in Sædding. Following Peter Christian's visit on July 30–31, 1839, in a letter of March 24, 1840 (*LD*, 59–60; *B&A* 1, 46–47), Kierkegaard's aunt asked that he too "would do us the pleasure of traveling home to us," saying that, although they could not offer him any "large manner of living," they could "enjoy one another's company out of Christian love and as friends and relations." Kierkegaard took his examination for the theological degree on July 3, 1840, and two weeks later traveled to Jutland. See the next note.

3 **17 July. Kallundborg**] Market town with a population of 2,211 according to the census of February 1, 1840. — **17 July**: Suggests that Kierkegaard arrived at Kalundborg already on that date but is more probably a mistake for July 19, as he did not leave Kalundborg until the morning of July 19 (→ 187,*9*). Probably Kierkegaard traveled via diligence from the post office in Købmagergade in Copenhagen on Saturday, July 18, at 7:45 P. M., arriving at Kalundborg on Sunday morning immediately before the departure of the ferry at 8:00 A. M. However, he may have taken the day coach from the station at Hotel d'Angleterre in Copenhagen on Saturday, July 18, at 7:00 A. M., arriving at Kalundborg at 9:30 P. M. that day; see *Veiviser eller Anviisning til Kiøbenhavns, Christianshavns, Forstædernes og Frederiksbergs Beboere* [City Directory, or Information on the Residents of Copenhagen, Christianshavn, the Suburbs, and Frederiksberg] (n.p., 1840; hereafter abbreviated *Kiøbenhavns Veiviser*), p. 748.

5 **The smack**] A small, single-masted sailing vessel used for transportation of passengers and goods. Starting in 1836, the crossing from Kalundborg to Århus was navigated by the wholesale merchant M. W. Sass (see the explanatory note for Not5:34, p. 563 in the present volume) with the steamship *Dania*, but according to the contract with the General Post Office he was to have introduced a new and better steamship no later than May 1, 1840. This did not happen, however, until the *Christian VIII* was put into operation on July 20, 1840 (→ 188,*12* and → 188,*31*), so that in the meantime passengers were conveyed by one of the smacks that were really intended for the transport of cattle from Århus to Kalundborg and were only used for passengers after the *Dania* had been laid up for inspection in January. See *Kiøbenhavns Veiviser* (→ 187,*3*), p. 740.

9 **There were 4 clergymen on the crossing . . . unusually swift**] The passenger list printed in *Randers Amtsavis og Avertissementstidende* [Randers District Newspaper and Advertiser], July 22, 1840, no. 106, includes "Pastor A. Sørensen; . . . Pastor Krarup with wife and 2 children; Dean Petersen with wife, foster daughter, and 2 children; . . . Pastor Rørdam; . . . [and] Cand. theol. Kirkegaard [*sic*]"; and in *Aarhuus Stifts-Tidende* [Århus District News], July 20, 1840, no. 116, and *Viborg Stifts-Tidende* [Viborg District News], July 23, no. 117, Kierkegaard is entered as "Cand. Theol. Kjersgaard." — **although it lasted 8 to 9 hours . . . unusually swift**: According to *Randers Amtsavis og Avertissementstidende*, July 17, no. 103: "owing to storm and headwinds, the smack leaving Kalundborg for Århus on Sunday, July 12, at 8.00 A. M., did not arrive until Monday evening at 11:30 P. M."

19 **the dissolution of the parish boundaries . . . complete parish freedom**] That is to say, the freedom of citizens to apply for formal attachment to a priest other than their own parish priest, a demand that affected the discussions of church matters starting in 1834 when it was put forward by N. F. S. Grundtvig. See *Den Danske Stats-Kirke upartisk betragtet* [The Danish Church Considered Impartially] (Copenhagen, 1834); the parish tie held formally in the whole of Denmark until 1855, but in actual practice it had already been dissolved in Copenhagen.

36 **death . . . encompasses everything . . . bears his cross in silence**] Alludes to the story of the dance

of death, an allegorical presentation of death (often in the form of a skeleton), who invites people of all ages and from all walks of life to dance and leads them to the grave.

188 12 **C. Boesen told me . . . on the steamship**] Carl Ulrik Boesen (1801–1868), brother of Kierkegaard's friend Emil Boesen, from 1835 parish priest in Knebel-Roelse parish. If this notebook entry was made on July 19, Kierkegaard must have spoken with C. U. Boesen shortly after arriving in Århus, which may mean that Boesen accompanied Kierkegaard to Knebel. — **young girl . . . on the steamship**: Alludes to the new steamship *Christian VIII* (→ 187,5), which, in order to operate the Århus–Kalundborg crossing, sailed from Copenhagen to Århus, arriving on July 18 at 2:00 A. M. Boesen must have received his information secondhand, as he is not listed as one of the 103 passengers in either the *Aarhuus Stifts-Tidende* (→ 187,9), July 20, 1840, no. 116, or the *Randers Amtsavis og Avertissementstidende* (→ 187,9) of the same date, no. 105; nor do these passenger lists appear to contain information on passengers who would fit the description of the seasick family that Kierkegaard mentions having heard about from Boesen.

188 23 **Aarhuus, 18 July**.] Market town with a population of 7,087 according to the census of February 1, 1840 (*see map 3, C4*). (Århus may also be spelled "Aarhus"; in Kierkegaard's day it was usually spelled "Aarhuus.") — **18 July**: Kierkegaard did not arrive in Århus until July 19 (→ 187,9).

27 **nothing but dashes**] The Danish word here translated as "dashes" is *Tankestreger*, literally, "thought lines."

188 31 **Anders at the parade**] The Anders whom Kierkegaard met at the parade of the Århus town militia on July 20 (→ 195,6) may be identical with the Anders C. Westergaard (1818–1867), born in northwestern Jutland, whom Kierkegaard subsequently, in May 1844, employed as a servant. He is not entered in the passenger list together with Kierkegaard (→ 187,9), but according to *Randers Amtsavis og Avertissementstidende* (→ 187,9), July 20, 1840, no. 105, he appears to have arrived at Århus the day before on the steamship *Christian VIII*. Kierkegaard mentions him later only during the stay in Holstebro (see Not6:21). The fact that he is not among the listed passengers returning to Kalundborg on August 6, 1841 (→ 198,8), may be owing to his having left Kierkegaard in Holstebro in order to continue north to his own birthplace north of Limfjord. The parade witnessed by Anders was in honor of the presence in Århus of the king and queen of Denmark.

Kalløe Castle] Erected by King Erik Menved in 31
1313 at Kalø, in Kaløvig; the island is connected to the mainland by a dike (*see map 3, E3*). The castle, which frequently changed hands, was razed in 1672 and has since remained a ruin. See J. M. Thiele, *Danske Folkesagn* [Danish Legends], 2 vols. containing 4 collections (Copenhagen, 1818–1823; ASKB 1591–1592), vol. 2, 3rd collection (1820), pp. 66–68.

Marsk-Stig = "King Mastic."] Marshal Stig Andersen 31
(d. 1293), called Marsk [Marshal] Stig, condemned for complicity in the murder of King Erik Glipping in Finderup Lade, 1286, after which together with other outlawed grandees he took to piracy in Danish waters and plundered coastal districts. In 1290 he had a castle built on an island, Hjelm, in the Kattegat, three miles (five kilometers) east-southeast of the Djursland coast, where in breach of the king's minting monopoly he established a workshop for counterfeiting; many raids or expeditions emanated from the place until he died there in 1293. — **King Mastic**: The expression cannot be identified; "Mastic" (the Danish text has *Mastix*) is probably a local version of "Marsk Stig."

Knebel: the formation of the three burial 32
mounds] Three grave mounds (*Trehøje*) from the Bronze Age in the Mols Bjerge ("Mols Hills"), where at 408 feet (127 meters) above sea level they form the next-highest point of land and afford a view over all of Mols (→ 190,23) and the Jutland coast to the southwest and to the east across Ebeltoft Cove to Hjelm (see the previous note). Knebel lies about two miles (three kilometers) west-northwest of Trehøje and immediately east of Knebel Cove (*see map 3, E3*); according to the census of February 1, 1840, Knebel parish had 264 inhabitants. Kierkegaard probably made an excursion to Knebel, where he visited the parish priest C. U. Boesen (→ 188,12 and → 190,5), before continuing from Århus to Randers (→ 195,21).

Aarhuus Cathedral; the organ] Århus cathedral 33 188
was founded in 1201 and consecrated to St. Clem-

ent, the patron saint of seafarers; after a fire it was restored in Gothic style in 1396; and in about 1500 it acquired the form that it had in Kierkegaard's time and still retains today (except for a later spire). The organ in the loft above the main entrance from the porch was built in 1730 by the German organ builder Lambert Daniel Carstens, and in its time it was considered to be one of the best organs in Denmark; see K. Schytte, *Kortfattet Beskrivelse over Aarhuus Domkirke* [Brief Description of Århus Cathedral] (Århus, 1835), pp. 27–29.

33 **voracious appetite of market towns for "news from the capital"**] As, e.g., the *Aarhuus Stifts-Tidende* (→ 187,9) and *Randers Amtsavis og Avertissementstidende* (→ 187,9), which assiduously reported local news from the Copenhagen newspapers.

189 17 **The Vagrant**] for Danish, *Løsgængeren*, someone with no settled home, regular work, or means of subsistence. According to Danish law vagrants were liable to imprisonment of from five to thirty days, whereas a repeated offense was punishable by being sentenced to the workhouse for up to a year, a penalty that was doubled for each new offense.

18 **A young man . . . no one has heard anything from him**] The story is probably fictitious; the tale of the "young man" seems to have been inspired by the story of Hartvig Andreasen Lunding, a gypsy from Jutland, who in 1823 betrayed the gypsies' "thieves' jargon" to the philologist N. V. Dorph in Viborg Reformatory. See Dorph's *De jydske Zigeunere og en rotvelsk Ordbog* [The Jutland Gypsies and a Dictionary of Thieves' Jargon] (Copenhagen, 1837; ASKB 1036), pp. 1–5, which cites the gypsy saying that "it is difficult to lay aside the walking stick after it has become warm in one's hand." (Reportedly, a few days after his release from prison Lunding was murdered by other gypsies for having revealed their secret language.) — **Christiansfeldt**: Town in southern Jutland, founded in 1733 as a colony of the pietistic Congregation of Brothers from Herrnhut in Germany, which with its congregational discipline and care of souls in daily divine service acquired a stamp of severity. As a boy Kierkegaard, together with his father, attended meetings of the congregation in Stormgade, Copenhagen (*see map 2, A2*).

Mrs. Boesen . . . in Knebel] Achthonia Frederikke Frechland Boesen (born 1801), married to Carl Ulrik Boesen (→ 188,12), lived with four children and a foster child and eight servants, in the rectory in Knebel (→ 188,32). 5 190

Viborg penitentiary] The penal institution for northern Jutland, erected in Viborg in 1743 (*see map 5, C3–4*). As of April 1, 1835, gypsies and vagrants constituted 88 of the 194 prisoners; by December 31, 1839, the total prison population had grown to 247. 5

a room] One of the penitentiary's two schoolrooms (one for each sex). 6

C. Boesen] → 188,12. 8

opening up for him in so many ways] May allude to the king's imminent visit to Viborg, where he could be expected to hold out the prospect of a pardon to some of the convicts; see, in this respect, *Viborg Stiftstidende* [Viborg District Times], July 28, 1840, no. 120. 13

this teacher was my vagrant] The vagrant Hartvig Andreasen Lunding is mentioned during his captivity in Viborg Reformatory as a "teacher"; see Dorph, *De jydske Zigeunere og en rotvelsk Ordbog* (→ 189,18), p. 4. 21

in Mols] Mols district, hilly area on the Djursland peninsula, known especially for the Mols Bjerge (→ 188,32) and the so-called Molbo ("inhabitant of Mols," or "hick") stories, which tell amusingly of the tribulations of simple farmers. 23 190

commune naufragium] Alludes to the saying "Commune naufragium dulce (est)" ("common shipwreck is sweet"). 25 190

self-torment as if a kind of satisfaction . . . lay in it] Alludes to ascetic penance as practiced in Christianity by hermits, monks, and especially the flagellants, who, starting around 1260, prescribed self-torment as a more powerful means of atonement for sin than the Church's sacraments and ceremonies. 27

the mind should be ready and willing] Allusion to Mt 26:41: "Stay awake and pray, that you may not come into the time of trial; the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak." 28

It is indeed . . . in the Symposium] Alludes to Plato's dialogue *Symposium* (201d—212b), where 1 191

Socrates recounts a conversation about Eros he once had with Diotima, a priestess and his teacher, for whom love is what prompts us to develop our souls in the search for good. See Kierkegaard's Danish language edition of Plato, *Udvalgte Dialoger af Platon* [Selected Dialogues of Plato], trans. C. J. Heise, 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1830–1838; ASKB 1164–1166), vol. 2 (1831), pp. 61–82.

191 *10* **telegraphs**] The optical telegraph was in use in Denmark starting with the wars of 1801–1814 but was replaced in 1852–1854 by underground electrical telegraphy, effected by the army's Engineer Corps.

11 **Madness . . . movements of the divine**] Probably an allusion to Plato's *Phaedrus* (245a), where the poet's poetic inspiration is described as one of the forms of divine madness.

15 **reviewed**] That is to say, critically assessed in journals.

25 **among the Jews**] Specifically the Israelites, especially in the OT.

27 **Rachel reproved God . . . why did I become so**?] See Gen 25:22, where, however, it is the pregnant Rebecca who speaks: "The children struggled together within her; and she said, 'If it is to be this way, why do I live?' So she went to inquire of the Lord."

30 **Goethe . . . to want to be one**] Probably alludes to the passage in Goethe's autobiography, *Aus meinem Leben. Dichtung und Wahrheit* [From My Life: Poetry and Truth] (1811–1833), bk. 13, where the German poet, naturalist, theater director, and minister of state Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) tells of the unpleasantness that the success of his novel *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* [The Sufferings of Young Werther] (1774) brought on him, and how the requirements of his newfound fame as an author interfered with the calm and privacy needed for artistic productivity. See *Goethe's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzer Hand* [Goethe's Works: Complete Edition, with the Author's Final Changes], 60 vols. (Stuttgart, 1828–1842; vols. 1–55 constitute ASKB 1641–1688), vol. 26 (1829), pp. 236–237.

192 *11* **The voyage down the Gudenaa to Albæk**] That is to say, along the approximately five miles (eight kilometers) of the small river Gudenå that were navigable, from Randers (→ 197,*10*) westward to Albæk, which lies north of the Gudenå just above its outlet into Randers Fjord (*see map 3, B1*). At the census of February 1, 1840, Albæk parish had 423 inhabitants.

Støvringgaard's cloister] A home for unmarried women of gentle birth, west of Randers Fjord, about two miles (three kilometers) north-northeast of Albæk (*see map 3, C1*). The cloister was founded in 1735 by Madame Privy Counsellor Christine Harboe (born Baroness Fuiren), and according to its charter of March 12, 1745, was to house a prioress together with twelve unmarried ladies, as was the case in 1840. To be admitted, an applicant had to be the daughter of a man from one of the first five (of a total of nine) classes in rank. The cloister was entitled to the annual income from an endowment that consisted of a large parcel of arable land and a considerable fortune in cash; see A. F. Bergsøe, *Den danske Stats Statistik* [Danish State Statistics], 4 vols. (Copenhagen, 1844–1853), vol. 4 (1853), p. 295. *11*

I had thought . . . this Sunday] It cannot be ascertained whether Kierkegaard actually preached in Sædding on Sunday, August 2, 1840 (see the following note), but in light of the fact that it was only the week before that he realized what the text for that Sunday would be, it seems unlikely; nor was it usual to let theology graduates preach, unless they had attended the Pastoral Seminary, where Kierkegaard did not begin until November 17, 1840. In "Protokol for de homiletiske og katechetiske Øvelser i Pastoral-Seminariet" [Registry of the Homiletic and Cathechistic Exercises at the Pastoral Seminary] Kierkegaard's probationary sermon in Holmen's Church on January 12, 1841, is mentioned as "Hr. *S: Kierkegaards* første Pr[ædiken]" [Mr. S. Kierkegaard's first sermon] (*LD*, 19; *B&A* 1, 14). — **church at Sæding**: In Sædding parish (→ 192,*19*), this Romanesque building, with walls of finely fashioned granite stones, was erected in the 13th century and consecrated to St. Laurence. It has no tower. In the nave there is a plaque to "Niels Sedings Minde" ("In Memory of Niels Seding") (→ 197,*25*). From 1828 to 1843 the parish priest for Sædding and Bølling parishes was Jens Andreas Thonboe (1799–1864). *14* 192

the text is Mk 8:1–10 . . . with bread here in the wilderness?] See the Danish Church's prescribed *16*

text from the gospel for the seventh Sunday after Trinity (in 1840, August 2), Mk 8:1–9. The emphases are Kierkegaard's, but otherwise the text is cited word for word.

19 **the poorest parish in the Jutland heath district**] Sædding parish, about eight square miles (twenty-one square kilometers), was somewhat hilly, with sandy earth mixed with humus, extensive heath to the northeast, with the Ganer Stream forming its western boundary (*see map 4, D3–4*). The parish had two villages, Steensig and Sædding, only the latter having a church and school, in all twenty-two farmsteads and eleven houses, of which ten farmsteads and seven houses lay outside the two villages. According to the census of February 1, 1840, the parish had 209 inhabitants, whose main occupation was farming and sheep breeding, as well as some sale of wax and honey. The parish was consistently productive and had relatively good agricultural yields compared with other parishes in western Jutland. See Bergsøe, *Den danske Stats Statistik* (→ 192,*11*), vol. 1 (1844), p. 97.

192 21 **The visit at Hald . . . out in order to beg**] Gypsies in particular were known for begging or panhandling, which like vagrancy was forbidden according to the *Danske Lov* ("Danish Law") (1683) and the statute of August 2, 1829, §§ 4–7. At the end of the 1830s crop failure reduced a number of others to beggary; see Chr. Molbech, "Ethnographisk Skizze af en jydsk Hede-Egn i Lysgaard-Herred" [Ethnographic Sketch of a Jutland Heath Area in the Lysgaard District], in *Historisk Tidsskrift* [Historical Journal], ed. Danish Historical Society (Copenhagen), 1st ser., vol. 1, 1840, p. 176. — **Hald**: Manor in Dollerup parish, a bit more than four miles (seven kilometers) southwest of Viborg, lying on the west side of Hald Sø ("Hald Lake") (*see map 5, C4*). — **Non Mill**: Mill on Non Mølleå ("Non Mill Stream"), just north of the present Non Mølle Kro ("Non Mill Inn") and one and a half miles (two kilometers) northeast of Hald (*see map 5, C4*). — **a running stream called Koldbæk**: A spring of this name between Hald and Non Mølle has not been identified, but about two and a half miles (four kilometers) north-northeast of Hald there is a location with the same name.

32 **that he did not get to talk to the king . . . two rix-dollars**] There is no mention in the newspapers of the king giving alms during his stay in Viborg (→ 195,*17* and → 195,*21*). — **two rix-dollars**: Danish coinage at the time was divided into *rigsdaler* (properly *rigsbankdaler* ["national bank dollars"]), marks and shillings, with six marks to a rix-dollar and sixteen shillings to a mark; thus one rix-dollar amounted to ninety-six shillings. Four hundred rix-dollars were reckoned enough to support a family; a maid received at most thirty rix-dollars a year besides board and lodging; likewise, an apprentice artisan received free board and lodging from his master in addition to typical wages of two hundred rix-dollars a year. A pair of shoes cost three rix-dollars and a pound of rye bread two to four shillings. Conveyance by diligence from Copenhagen to Kalundborg (→ 187,*3*) cost six rix-dollars and twenty shillings for a seat inside the coach or four rix-dollars and sixteen shillings for a seat on the outside; see *Kiøbenhavns Veiviser* (→ 187,*3*), p. 747.

the more complicated historical life] i.e., paintings 4 193
of historical events, usually of subjects of national importance.

Swiss cows] Attempts were made from about 1800 5
to improve the cattle breed by introducing Swiss cows. This proved unprofitable in Danish conditions, but owing to the fine aroma of the milk, some farmsteads found use for it in the production of better-quality cheeses, in so-called *schweitzerier*, i.e., dairies where the milk was used to produce cheeses similar to Swiss cheese. See Bergsøe, *Den danske Stats Statistik* (→ 192,*11*), vol. 2 (1847), p. 257.

Dutch dairy cows] Cows kept for dairy production; the farmer or tenant farmer might also be Dutch. 5

aegis that life goes under: "In God's Name"] A 13
common salutation with which beggars began their appeals for alms.

1 mark] i.e., sixteen shillings (→ 192,*32*). 26

an old woman carrying a cradle on her shoulder] 28
Probably a gypsy.

Herr Bugge . . . 7 more years of siege without being starved out] In 1351–1358 Niels Bugge (d. 1358) 37
was among the leaders of several uprisings against King Valdemar Atterdag. In 1345, Bugge had acquired the farmstead of Hald on the island in Hald Sø ("Hald Lake"), which he fortified and made his seat; in 1355, he held out against the king's siege but was subsequently killed under the supposed protection of a safe-conduct. See "Hr. Bugges Drab"

[The Murder of Herr Bugge] in *Udvalgte Danske Viser fra Middelalderen*, [Selected Danish Ballads from the Middle Ages], ed. W. Abrahamson, K. Nyerup, and K. L. Rahbek, 5 vols. (Copenhagen, 1812–1814; ASKB 1477–1481), vol. 2 (1812), pp. 266–272, which tells of how, after Bugge's murder, his wife was besieged at Hald for a year. See also Thiele, *Danske Folkesagn* (→ 188,*31*), where the story about Kalø Castle is told.

194 2 **The walk on the heath**] Probably from Non Mill (→ 192,*21*) over the wide heath south and west of Viborg (*see map 5, C4*).

2 **The wooded area near Hald**] A woods lying north of the manor house of Hald (→ 192,*21*).

12 **main road to Viborg**] Between Hald and Viborg, either the north-south road between Viborg and Horsens or the east-west road between Viborg and Holstebro (*see map 5, C4*).

14 **heathered slopes on the other side of Viborg Lake**] That is, east of Viborg Sø ("Viborg Lake") (*see map 5, C–D4*).

194 22 **Hundrup**] Ferdinand Emil Hundrup (1808–1879), Danish philologist and teacher, was listed (in *Randers Amtsavis og Avertissementstidende* [→ 187,*9*], July 29, no. 109), along with his wife, as among the passengers on the crossing from Århus to Kalundborg on July 27, 1840.

23 **teacher Andresen**] Jacob Andreas Andresen (1798–1832), grammar school teacher in mathematics and French. See F. E. Hundrup, *Lærerstanden ved Slagelse lærde Skole* [The Teaching Staff at Slagelse Grammar School] (Roskilde, 1861), p. 60, where Hundrup says of Andresen: "He had remarkable natural gifts, but went into decline and weakened and destroyed them, and also a body that was well-endowed by nature and strong."

195 2 **a man beating ... important piece of news**] A drummer (an official position in market towns) whose role was to alert citizens to fires and to proclaim decrees.

4 **in Aarhuus ... the streets are to be swept**] Presumably on the occasion of the royal visit on July 20 (→ 195,*21*), which was marred by "constant thundershowers" and "pouring rain," *Touristen* [The Tourist], July 29, 1840, no. 31, p. 123.

In Holstebro there was target-shooting ... flags flying] The market town of Holstebro, through which Storåen ("Big Stream") flows, and which was surrounded by moorland, had a population of 1,186 according to the census of February 1, 1840. In most market towns there was a shooting club that arranged competitions where members shot at targets or artificial birds to win the prizes there on display. Neither the shooting club in Holstebro nor the location of the competition can be identified. — **town judge**: Danish, *Byfogden*, the highest public authority official in a market town. In Holstebro the incumbent from 1838 to 1848 was Carl Nicolai Petersen. — **an official newspaper in which to publish the results**: As, e.g., *Aalborg Stiftstidende og Adresse-Avis* [Aalborg District Newspaper and Advertiser], which on July 28, no. 150, announced the names of the prize-winning members at the shooting club's target shoot in Ålborg on July 26. — **Anders was as highly entertained ... by the parade of the town militia in Aarhuus**: → 188,*31*. 6

In Viborg the king arrived ... **the illumination began**] The streets were illuminated with torches and other decorative forms of lighting appropriate to the festive occasion. Kierkegaard's account accords with the report in the local newspaper, *Viborg Stifts-Tidende* (→ 187,*9*) for July 27, 1840, no. 119. — **Viborg**: Market town with a population of 3,343, according to the census of February 1, 1840 (*see map 5, C3–4*). — **the wise virgins**: Alludes to the parable of the wise virgins in Mt 25:1–13. 17

the market towns where I have been after the king] From July 13 until October 5, 1840, King Christian VIII (1839–1848) made a tour of the provinces, arriving in Århus on July 20 at 4:00 P. M. At 10:30 A. M. on July 22, he departed from Århus for Randers, arriving there at 3:00 P. M. that day. The next day, July 23, the king continued on from Randers, departing at 4:00 P. M. and arriving at Viborg at 9:00 P. M. the same day. On the morning of July 24, the king departed from Viborg for Holstebro, where he arrived at 4:00 P. M. From Holstebro the king returned via Lemvig and Agger to Viborg, where he arrived at 8:30 A. M. on July 26. On July 27 the king left Viborg at 1:00 P. M. to continue his tour to the south. Kierkegaard arrived in Århus (→ 188,*23*) on July 19, the day before the king, making an excursion to Knebel and a few days later traveling on to Randers, where he seems to 21

have stayed for a day or two before going further to Viborg. Here, too, he seems to have stayed a day or two before going on to Holstebro (→ 195,*28*). Kierkegaard probably traveled by "extra post" (→ 195,*28*), as his name is not included on the lists of those traveling by stagecoach and diligence, which were regularly published in *Randers Amtsavis og Avertissementstidende* (→ 187,*9*) and *Viborg Stifts-Tidende* (→ 187,*9*); see, e.g., *Randers Amtsavis og Avertissementstidende*, July 25, 1840, no. 107.

25 **In Holstebro ... Father was of course remembered**] In large parts of the Jutland heath district it was common to supplement the frugal and uncertain incomes from land cultivation with the production of wool and woolen wares, which were often bought up by so-called slop sellers, who either were commissioners for hosiers in Copenhagen or themselves retailed the goods at markets, e.g., in Holstebro (→ 195,*6*). It is thus as a hosier that Kierkegaard's father, M. P. Kierkegaard (→ 196,*3*), was remembered in Holstebro, where he had apparently traveled on the pass that he received in 1780 on taking out trade license as a hosier in Copenhagen. — **the Jerusalem of hosiers**: The holy city of hosiers.

26 **Fell, who had been in partnership with Troels Lund**] Poul Pedersen Feld, born in Holstebro about 1771, in 1795 took out a trade license as a hosier in Helsingør, where evidently he entered into partnership with Troels Troelsen Lund, who in 1793 had himself taken out a trade license as a hosier in Helsingør. The latter had been apprentice hosier to his cousin in Copenhagen, Henrik Hansen Lund, father of Johan Christian and Henrik Ferdinand, the former of whom married Kierkegaard's sister Nicoline Christine in 1824, and the latter of whom married Kierkegaard's sister Petrea Severine in 1828. At the census of February 1, 1840, Poul Feld lived in the house of his niece, Henriette Christrup Feld, and the latter's Dutch husband, innkeeper Peder Eijndhoven. Fell was listed as sixty-eight years old and unmarried. It seems clear that Kierkegaard lodged at Peder Eijndhoven's inn in Holstebro.

28 **When we passed ... the pastor's name was Gjeding**] Idum, today Idom Kirkeby, about four and a half miles (seven kilometers) west of Holstebro, surrounded by moorland; the church, situated well up in the beautiful landscape, is a Romanesque stone structure from the 13th century. — **postilion**: Coachman on one of the post and transportation coaches contracted out by the General Post Office to a private hauling firm. If one traveled in accordance with the ordinary postal route and time schedule, the conveyance was by diligence or mail coach; otherwise one traveled by "extra post" (a supplementary mail coach) or more likely by "day coach." West of Viborg there was neither diligence nor day coach, and because the usual postal route went via Skærumbro and therefore not via Idom, Kierkegaard must have traveled from Holstebro by extra post via Idom to Ulfborg, and from there along the country road to Ringkøbing (see the following note). — **Giedde**: Presumably Christopher Octavius Gede (1803–1858), born in Copenhagen and from 1835 to 1842 parish priest in Harte-Bramdrup parish (Vejle district). — **Gjeding**: Jens Jensenius Gjeding (1771–1849), Danish priest, Idom's parish priest from 1810 until his death.

The girls ... men's hats] In northwest Jutland and 34 195
especially in Ringkøbing County it was common in the years 1820–1860 for women to go about in black, high-crowned hats of hare wool with a broad silk band, called "hare felt hats." Kierkegaard seems to have observed his first girl with a "man's hat" while still traveling on the road from Ulfborg to Ringkøbing, where he probably arrived on August 1, 1840. — **Ringkjøbing**: Market town, lying on the northern shore of Ringkøbing Fjord, where the Vonå reaches the sea, had a population of 1,239 according to the census of February 1, 1840, (*see map 4, B3*).

I sit here ... I shall see Sæding] Kierkegaard was 2 196
probably sitting in Ringkøbing (→ 195,*34*) on August 1, 1840, waiting to be driven the last stretch to Sædding (→ 192,*19*).

I can never ... my father ... tended sheep] Kier- 3
kegaard's great-grandfather, Christen Jespersen Kierkegaard, took his last name from one of the two annex farms that belonged to the priest of Bølling and Sædding parish. He leased this church farm (*Kirkegaard*) from about 1704. His son, Peder Christensen Kierkegaard, Søren Kierkegaard's grandfather, took over the lease (and the name) and married Maren Andersdatter Steengaard, with whom he had a number of children, including

Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard (1756–1838), Søren Kierkegaard's father. Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard grew up at "Kirkegaard," and like many other sons of the poor peasantry he served as a shepherd boy, watching over large flocks of sheep in the pastureland and distant moorland plains, where the nights were spent in houses or huts of turf and heather. "Kirkegaard" was later leased by an elder brother, Anders Pedersen Kierkegaard, while in about 1768, Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard traveled to Copenhagen. There he came into apprenticeship with his uncle (i.e., his mother's brother), hosier Niels Andersen Seding. In 1780 he himself took out a trade license as a hosier in Copenhagen. In 1788 he acquired an additional license to import and sell large consignments of sugar, syrup, and coffee as a wholesaler, and as early as 1797 he was able to retire with a considerable fortune, later increased through successful investments. In May 1794 he married Kirstine Røyen, who died childless two years later, whereupon in 1797 he married Ane Sørensdatter Lund (1768–1834). With her he had seven children, of whom he was survived only by Søren Kierkegaard and Søren's elder brother Peter Christian (1805–1888). Except for the years 1803–1805, the family lived in Copenhagen, where in 1809, M. P. Kierkegaard bought the house at Nytorv 2 (*see map 2, B2*). He lived there until his death on August 9, 1838; Søren Kierkegaard continued to live there until 1839 and again from 1844 to 1848. — **I can never recall any change in my father**: Perhaps an illusion to Jas1:17: "Every generous act of giving, with every perfect gift, is from above, coming down from the Father of lights, with whom there is no variation or shadow due to change."

7 **Sæding churchyard**] Danish, *Sædding Kirkegaard*, beside Sædding Church (→ 192,*14*).

8 **His last request to me is fulfilled**] That is, that he should take his examination for the theology degree → 187,*1*): "I had a talk with S. K. soon after he had taken his degree in theology in 1840," Kierkegaard's half-cousin Hans Brøchner later recalled. "He told me that his father had always wanted him to take a theology degree and that they had discussed the matter very often." From Bruce H. Kirmmse, *Encounters with Kierkegaard: A Life as Seen by His Contemporaries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 228.

12 **Archimedean point**] To the Greek mathematician and physicist Archimedes (287–212 B.C.) is attributed the saying: "Give me a fixed point where I can stand and I will move the whole world." See the Danish translation of *Plutarch's Lives* owned by Kierkegaard, *Plutark's Levnetsbeskrivelser* [Plutarch's Lives], trans. S. Tetens, 4 vols. (Copenhagen, 1800–1811; ASKB 1197–1200), vol. 3 (1804), p. 272.

16 **It is said . . . in long rows**] In 1325, Sædding parish was presumably hit hard by the plague. When digging under the porch of Sædding church in 1965, two layers of skeletons were found covered with large amounts of stone. The neighboring parishes of Finderup and Herborg were so depopulated that the churches were closed and later torn down. 196

22 **that little place**] Presumably "Kirkegaard" (→ 196,*3*). 196

25 **the heath rising in the background**] That is, toward the northeast (→ 192,*19*).

29 **nulla dies sine linea**] A saying attributed to the Greek painter Apelles (4th century B.C.), who exercised his abilities every day. Here presumably used in the sense "no day without a line." 196

6 **Whither shall I flee from thy presence**?] See Ps 139:7: "Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence?"(King James version). 197

10 **In Aarhuus . . . all Aarhuus cows**] Citizens in the market towns had grazing rights on the town's field; an employee of the council drove them there in the morning and home again in the evening. — **Randers**: Market town with a population of 6,633, according to the census of February 1, 1840 (*see map 3, A1*); Kierkegaard had been there earlier on his tour (→ 195,*21*). — **my postilion from Salten**: Presumably in the sense that Kierkegaard had traveled with this coachman (→ 195,*28*) from Salten, where there was an extra post station. Salten lies a bit over a mile (two kilometers) southeast of Them (see the next note), where Kierkegaard stayed overnight on the way to Århus. Presumably Kierkegaard left Sædding on August 3 or 4 for Ringkøbing, in order to travel with extra post via Salten to Århus, where he arrived on August 4 or 5. 197

197 17 **3 days with my poor aunt**] Else Pedersdatter Kierkegaard (1768–1844), sister of Kierkegaard's father (→ 196,*3*), took over "Kirkegaard" after their brother Anders Pedersen Kierkegaard died in April 1802. In October of the same year she married Thomas Nielsen, who on her death stayed on at the leasehold farm until his own death in 1846. According to the census of February 1, 1840, the farmstead was occupied by the married couple together with two unmarried servants, nineteen-year-old Jens Jensen and forty-one-year-old Maren Kirstine Jørgensdatter. Kierkegaard can be presumed to have stayed there from Saturday, August 1 until Monday, August 3, or Tuesday, August 4, 1840.

18 **Ulysses' cronies with Circe**] See Homer, *The Odyssey*, 10.237–243, where Circe dupes Odysseus's crew into drinking poisoned wine, which transformed them into swine, whereupon they were locked in a pigsty.

20 **I spent the night in Them**] The census of February 1, 1840, gives the town of Them (Skanderborg County) a population of 109, among them the thirty-eight-year-old Thomas Jensen, who ran an inn where Kierkegaard may be presumed to have spent the night.

21 **Count Ahlefeldt . . . in Langeland**] Appears to allude to either Count Christian Johan Frederik Ahlefeldt-Lauervigen (1789–1856), who owned the Langeland estate, or Count Elias Carl Frederik Ahlefeldt-Laurvigen (1816–1864), second lieutenant with Prince Christian Frederik's Regiment, son of Chamberlain and Colonel Carl Christian Ahlefeldt-Laurvigen, who lived at his estate on Langeland. However, both were members of the Advisory Assembly of Estates for the islands, which met in Roskilde on July 15, 1840, which means that they could not have been in Them at the beginning of August.

22 **Today . . . old, noble friend Rosenørn**] May allude to Chamberlain, Baron and Colonel Henrik Christian Rosenørn-Lehn (1782–1847). He, too, was a member of the Advisory Assembly of Estates for the islands, for which reason he should not have been on Jutland but in Roskilde, where he is recorded as having spoken on August 9. Kierkegaard may instead be referring to Mathias Rosenørn (1814–1902), who took his law degree in 1836, but in the summer of 1840 he was on a study tour in Europe, from which, according to his own memoirs, he did not return to Copenhagen until November 30, 1840. — **Today**: Presumably August 5 or 6 in Århus.

The parish clerk . . . in Sæding parish] In accor- 25 197
dance with Kierkegaard's parents' joint will and testament of September 20, 1802, confirmed by the crown on November 9 of that same year, his father M. P. Kierkegaard (→ 196,*3*) applied on June 9, 1821, to the Royal Danish Chancellery for confirmation of an endowment in which he placed three thousand rix-dollars (→ 192,*32*) in royal bonds, the annual interest from which was to be used in part to remunerate a schoolteacher in his native parish, Sædding, and in part for the procurement of "good and appropriate books." Moreover, a house in Sædding, which M. P. Kierkegaard had bought in 1796, was designated as a school building on condition that it be reserved as a dwelling for his mother and siblings as long as any of them remained alive, and that two-thirds of the endowment interest would go to them as long as they lived. The testator further wished that the endowment bear the name "Niels Sedings Minde" ("In Memory of Niels Seding") in memory of his deceased uncle (his mother's brother) (→ 196,*3*]). A plaque with an appropriate inscription was to be set up in Sædding Church and the endowment placed under the jurisdiction of the bishop and district pastor. The plaque was set up (→ 192,*14*) on June 9, 1822, and when the last remaining occupant of the house died in February 1834, the school could finally take over the building and pay a permanent teacher. — **The parish clerk in Sæding**: Jens Jensen Kierkeby (1798–1881), parish clerk in Sædding from 1838 to 1842, occupied the position of teacher at Sædding's school during the same period, the position being made permanent at the time of his appointment from January 1, 1838. It appears that he had been the cause of some difficulties in the parish in connection with the endowment, with regard to which M. P. Kierkegaard wrote to the bailiff in Sædding, Anders Steengaard, in November 1836, that his intention with the endowment had not been to make the schoolmaster's income larger and richer than that in neighboring parishes but only to "help the poor little parish that carries a really very heavy burden as a consequence of the new school system" (NKS 3175, 4°). The difficulties evidently con-

tinued, because M. P. Kierkegaard complains of them again in a letter of June 27, 1838, to his sister (→ 197,17), who, in her reply of July 21, declares that the cause of the dispute with the parish clerk is that "he is so assertive and wants more than is due him" (NKS 3175, 4°).

198 8 **the dragoons blowing assembly**] Prince Frederik Ferdinand's Light Dragoons had a garrison in Århus, from where Kierkegaard sailed on Thursday, August 6, at 8:00 A. M. for Kalundborg aboard the newly instated steamship *Christian VIII*; see *Aarhuus Stifts-Tidende* (→ 187,9), August 7, 1840, no. 127, where the list of passengers includes four theology graduates, "Cand. theol. Fenger, Wulff, Kierkegaard, and Allen." From Kalundborg Kierkegaard may have traveled immediately with the diligence to Copenhagen, scheduled to arrive on Friday, August 7, at 6:00 A. M. But he could also have spent the night in Kalundborg in order to take the day coach, scheduled to arrive on Friday, August 7, at 9:30 P. M. (see *Kiøbenhavns Veiviser* [→ 187,3], 1840, pp. 764–765). Finally, he may have traveled with the extra post on Saturday, August 8, 1840. See Not15:4 (p. 431 in the present volume), where Kierkegaard mentions August 9, 1840, as being immediately after his homecoming.

Awake, you who sleep, the Lord is coming!] See 12 Eph 5:14: "Therefore it says, 'sleeper, awake! Rise from the dead, and Christ will shine on you.'"

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NOTES FOR NOTEBOOK 7

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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript

Notebook 7 was originally "a bound book without date or marking."[1] According to *B-cat.*, the notebook contained eight leaves (sixteen pages) that had been written on, while "the remainder had no writing." The original bound book,[2] including the pages without writing, has been lost, though the pages that had been written on are now preserved in the Kierkegaard Archive (KA) of the Royal Library.

II. Dating and Chronology

Notebook 7 is not dated. It must, however, have been written between August 1840 and October 1841, though there is no basis for more specific dating within this period.

In Not7:2 Kierkegaard refers to his *Notebook 6* ("see my diary from my journey"), which indicates that the entry was written after August 7 or 8, 1840, when he had returned from his trip to Jutland.[3] The heading for the entry is "7th Sunday a.[fter] T.[rinity]," which in 1840 fell on August 2, when Kierkegaard was still traveling in Jutland. In 1841 the seventh Sunday after Trinity fell on July 25. But there are no dates or other evidence that would indicate that the notebook was not begun until the summer of 1841. It is more likely that "7th Sunday a.[fter] T.[rinity]" is not linked to an actual Sunday; on the contrary, the reference to the travel notebook (*Notebook*

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1) *B-cat*. 449.

2) In the draft of "Rotation of Crops" Kierkegaard mentions the present notebook as "the red book," so it must originally have had a red binding; see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Enten—Eller*, *SKS* K2–3, 38.

3) See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 6*," p. 567 in the present volume.

6) appears to indicate that in the present notebook (*Notebook 7*) Kierkegaard was considering writing a sermon on the gospel for the seventh Sunday after Trinity and that he had a clear recollection of having noted down some ideas for such a sermon in his travel notebook. Thus, it is more likely that the entry is from 1840 than from 1841.[1]

Not7:9 is cited almost word for word from a stanza in Poul Martin Møller's poem "The Old Lover," and Kierkegaard cites from this same stanza in three undated letters to Regine, probably from the period September–December 1840.[2] Not7:28 begins with the words "In addition to the rest of my numerous circle of acquaintances—with whom I generally have a rather superfic. relationship—I have one more intimate confidante: my melancholia," and a similar formulation reappears in an undated letter to Regine, which probably stems from December 1840: "Previously, you knew that I never drove alone, but that grief and worry and sadness were my faithful companions; now the traveling group is less numerous."[3]

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1) *EP* reproduces Not7:2 among the entries from *Notebook 6*, i.e., among entries from 1840; see *EP* I–II, pp. 262–263. The editors of *Pap.* were of the opinion that Not7:2 and subsequent entries connected to it could have been written in 1840, "after [Kierkegaard's] return from his travels," but they chose to assign them to July 1841 because they believed that the next entry, Not7:5, "most likely stems from the time prior to the fourth period of the engagement, which ended with the first breach [with Regine] in August 1841," in which case it would "make chronological sense to assign the sermon entries to the year 1841, when the seventh Sunday after Trinity fell on July 25" (*Pap.* III, p. x). Henning Fenger maintains that "nothing, nothing at all speaks for Heiberg and Kuhr's placing of 'the prayer and the entries directly following, with the sketches for a sermon connected with a prayer' . . . under July 25, 1841." Henning Fenger, *Kierkegaard: The Myths and Their Origins*, trans. George C. Schoolfield (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980), p. 170.

2) See the explanatory note to Not7:9, p. 595 in the present volume; see also *LD*, 64, 66, 72; *B&A* 1, 50, 52, 57.

3) *LD*, 69–70; *B&A* 1, 55. Fenger dates the letter November 12 or 13, 1840, in *Kierkegaard: The Myths and Their Origins*, p.186. The editors of *Pap.* maintained that "the last entries in all probability [point] rather clearly toward a date around the time of the final break, which took place on October 11 [1841]" (*Pap.* III, p. x). Against this Fenger maintains that

None of the criteria mentioned above can serve as the basis for certain dating, however. The only thing that is known with certainty is that Not7:38 was written before October 25, 1841. This is evident from a remark in the draft to "Rotation of Crops," from the first volume of *Either/Or*, which Kierkegaard composed during his trip to Berlin, which began on October 25, 1841.[1] The remark is as follows: "NB. At this point comes a polemic which I have in more or less finished form in the red book back home."[2] The words "back home" show that Kierkegaard did not have the notebook with him during his sojourn in Berlin. When the fair copy of "Rotation of Crops" is inspected and compared with the draft in which the remark in question is found, it becomes clear that entries Not7:33 and Not7:38 were in fact incorporated in that essay, albeit in edited form.

There are no bases for dating the subsequent entries, but presumably they were also written before Kierkegaard's departure for Berlin in late October 1841. Two of the last entries, Not7:46 and Not7:56, contain material that forms a part of the draft of "The Seducer's Diary," which was only finished after Kierkegaard's return to Copenhagen on March 2, 1842.[3]

In the light of the points mentioned thus far, we must satisfy ourselves with the conclusion that the notebook was probably begun in the late summer of 1840 and finished before Kierkegaard departed for Berlin on October 25, 1841.

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all the entries in the journal "can just as well have been written and doubtless *were written in the last five months of 1840*" (p. 167). Fenger's principal argument for this date is the similarity of these entries with a series of letters written to Regine in the autumn of 1840 (see pp. 167–168, 179–180).

1) See the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Enten—Eller*, *SKS* K2–3, 38–58.

2) Manuscript 9 of *Enten—Eller*, *Pap.* III B 122,12 (p. 171); see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Enten—Eller*, *SKS* K2–3, 38.

3) *EO* 1, 417–418, 435–436; *SKS* 2, 405, 422–423. See also the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Enten—Eller*, *SKS* K2–3, 42–43.

III. Contents

Notebook 7 consists of fifty-seven fairly brief entries containing reflections on religious, philosophical, and literary subjects, on the relationship to Regine Olsen, on marriage, and so forth. The notebook is also noteworthy for the way in which it was put to use, because—more than had been the case previously with the other notebooks—Kierkegaard returned to his journal entries in this notebook, edited them, and incorporated them into his published work. In this respect, *Notebook 7* calls to mind a number of the journals in the AA-KK group.

After the introductory poem, which is cited from the German author L. Achim von Arnim, Not7:2 follows, bearing the heading "7th Sunday a.[fter] T.[rinity]" and the words "see my diary from my journey." As noted above, the travel notebook to which Kierkegaard refers is *Notebook 6*, in which he jotted down some reflections on the gospel text for the seventh Sunday after Trinity. In *Notebook 7* he again directs his attention to this gospel text, and in Not7:3 he composes the draft of a sermon on the passage. A number of the entries in this notebook focus on various religious considerations and reflections. Thus, in Not7:15 and Not7:32, Kierkegaard writes on sin and the forgiveness of sins. In Not7:2 his reflections include praise of God, while Not7:6 is cast in the form of a prayer: "Lord, my God, give me once again the courage [to] hope; merciful God, let hope once again fructify my bare and barren spirit.—"

The notebook also contains a series of philosophical and literary observations. Thus, in Not7:21 among the things Kierkegaard touches on is the relation between philosophy and doubt. In Not7:27 he displays his enthusiasm for the collection of tales known as *The Thousand and One Nights*. And in Not7:19 he jots down an idea for a novella.

A number of entries deal with Regine Olsen and with Kierkegaard's thoughts about love and marriage. This is the case, e.g., with Not7:28, 31, 45–46, and 50. In its entirety Not7:45 reads:

> . . . and I loved her much, she was as light as a bird and as daring as a thought; I let her climb higher and higher, I reached forth my hand and she stood upon it and beat her wings, and she called down to me: It's splendid up here; she forgot, she did not know, that it was I who made her light, I who made her daring in

> thought, [that it was her] belief in me that made her able to walk on water; and I paid homage to her and she received my homage. —at other times she fell down upon her knees before me, merely wanting to look up to me, wanting to forget everything.

Above the entry an "R" has been added, written in an ink that seems indistinguishable from Kierkegaard's own ink, and the editors of *Pap.* thus assumed that Kierkegaard had inserted the letter, which of course must stand for "Regine."[1] Analysis of the chemical materials with an electron microscope shows, however, that this "R" was not written by Kierkegaard but was a later addition by Barfod.

As noted, *Notebook 7* is noteworthy for the way in which Kierkegaard made use of it; he frequently returned to it, edited the entries, and incorporated them in his published works; this was particularly the case with respect to *Either/Or*, which includes about twenty entries from *Notebook 7*.[2]

At least seven entries found their way into the "Diapsalmata." Not7:10, 29, and 37 reappear nearly word for word,[3] while Not7:25, 26, and 28 are reproduced in slightly revised form.[4] Not7:31 is incorporated in the long diapsalm titled "Either/Or."[5] Not7:8 was incorporated in the conclusion of "The Immediate Stages of the Erotic, or the Musical Erotic."[6] A number of entries provided material for "Rotation of Crops"; for example, Not7:33 was incorporated into the essay almost word for word,[7] while Not7:38 is found in the last portion of that text in greatly revised form.[8] Two entries were

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1) *Pap.* III A 133. Henning Fenger as well (in *Kierkegaard: The Myths and Their Origins*, p. 168) has no doubt that the "R" was inserted by Kierkegaard.

2) See also the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Enten—Eller*, *SKS* K2–3, 39–41, 49–50.

3) See *EO* 1, 20–21; *SKS* 2, 28–29.

4) See *EO* 1, 20; *SKS* 2, 28–29.

5) See *EO* 1, 38–40; *SKS* 2, 47–48.

6) See *EO* 1, 133–134; *SKS* 2, 134–135.

7) See *EO* 1, 295; *SKS* 2, 284.

8) See *EO* 1, 296; *SKS* 2, 285.

used in "The Seducer's Diary"; Not7:46 reappears in somewhat revised form,[1] while Not7:56 was incorporated into the conclusion of the essay.[2] Lastly, Not7:47 was incorporated into two passages in "Equilibrium."[3]

Kierkegaard also used a number of entries from the notebook in other works; e.g., Poul Martin Møller's poem, cited in Not7:9, was used in *Repetition*.[4] In the *Two Edifying Discourses* from 1843 Kierkegaard made use of the draft sermon in Not7:2, which is found in the prayer that appears in the second of the two discourses,[5] while elaborations of Not7:16, 50, and 53 were included in the conclusion of the second of the *Three Edifying Discourses*, also published in 1843.[6] Finally, Not7:41 and Not7:41.a, both of which treat the scriptural passage "Cast all your cares on God," were reused in 1848 in *The Lily of the Field and the Bird of the Air*.[7]

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1) See *EO* 1, 418; *SKS* 2, 405.

2) See *EO* 1, 436; *SKS* 2, 422–423.

3) See *EO* 2, 161, 179–184; *SKS* 3, 158–159, 175ff.

4) See *R*, 136; *SKS* 4, 13.

5) See *EUD*, 31; *SKS* 5, 41.

6) See *EUD*, 55–56, 77, 74; *SKS* 5, 66, 86, 83.

7) See *WA*, 41–43; *SKS* 11, 45–47.

Explanatory Notes

201 *1* **Je tiefer wir ... Dolores 2nd vol. p. 260**] Cited, with minor variations in punctuation, from L. Achim von Arnim's novel *Armuth, Reichthum, Schuld und Busse der Gräfin Dolores. Eine wahre Geschichte zur lehrreichen Unterhaltung armer Fräulein* [The Poverty, Wealth, Guilt, and Repentance of Countess Dolores: A True Story, Written Down for the Instructive Entertainment of an Impoverished Young Lady], 2 vols. (Berlin, 1810), vol. 2, p. 260.

202 *1* **7th Sunday after Trinity**] See the Danish Church's prescribed gospel text for the seventh Sunday after Trinity, Mk 8:1–9.

2 **see my diary from my journey**] i.e., the diary (*Notebook 6*, pp. 187–198 in the present volume) that Kierkegaard kept during his journey to Jutland in the summer of 1840, when he considered preaching on this same text; see Not6:17 in this volume.

3 **Lord, our God! ... with blessing**] See the prayer that Luther (→ 203,*11*) recommends in his *Small Cathechism* (originally published in German in 1519) for use at mealtimes: "All eyes look to you, O Lord, and You give everyone food at the right time. You open Your generous hands and satisfy the hunger of all living things with what they desire." *Dr. M. Luthers lille Catechismus* [Dr. M. Luther's Small Catechism] (Copenhagen, 1841), p. 30.

6 **You hear the cry of an animal ... bounteous with your blessing**] See Luther's explanation of the mealtime prayer (→ 202,*3*): "It must also be noted, however, that what is termed a blessing is that God provides all living animals with sufficient food for them to live in peace and happiness; but those who burden themselves with cares, those who busy themselves with the accumulation of riches, even though they have enough, cannot enjoy with a peaceful heart the things they have. After this, pray the Lord's Prayer and the following prayer: Lord God, Heavenly Father, bless us and these gifts, which we receive from Your generous hand, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen" (*Dr. M. Luthers lille Catechismus* [→ 202,*3*], p. 31). — **hear the cry of an animal**: See above in this note, for Luther's explanation of the mealtime prayer he recommends.

the festive times when he lived on earth] Alludes to Jesus' reply to the question of why he and his disciples did not fast as did John the Baptist and the Pharisees: "The wedding guests cannot mourn as long as the bridegroom is with them, can they? The days will come when the bridegroom is taken from them, and then they will fast" (Mt 9:15). *16* 202

"let the dead bury the dead,"] Cited from Mt 8:22; see also Lk 9:60. *18*

he had nowhere to lay his head] Cited loosely from Mt 8:20 "the Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head"; see also Lk 9:58. *20*

his bread was to do his father's will] Alludes to the instituting of the eucharist, when Jesus blessed bread, called it his body, and asked his disciples to eat it; later, when he was alone in the Garden of Gethsemane, he asked God if he might avoid his task, saying, "Abba Father, for you all things are possible; remove this cup from me; yet, not what I want, but what you want" (Mk 14:36). *21*

I have compassion on the multitude, he said] → 202,*1*. *27*

he, too, had been hungry in the desert] See Mt 4:1–2: "Then Jesus was led by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil. He fasted forty days and forty nights." *31*

He does not put asunder what God has joined together] Alludes to the wedding ritual as it is prescribed in *Dannemarks og Norges Kirke-Ritual* [Church Ritual for Denmark and Norway] (Copenhagen, 1762 [1685]; hereafter abbreviated *Kirke-Ritual*), pp. 318–325; it is further specified in *Forordnet Alter-Bog for Danmark* [Prescribed Service Book for Denmark] (Copenhagen, 1830 [1688]; ASKB 381), pp. 256–263; p. 258: "What God has joined together may no man put asunder." *32*

he says: Seek ye first ... be added unto you] See Jesus' words in the Sermon on the Mount: "But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteous- *33*

ness; and all these things shall be added unto you" (Mt 6:33, King James version).

202*m* 1 **every gift is good when it is received with thankfulness**] Alludes to 1 Tim 4:4: "For everything created by God is good, and nothing is to be rejected, provided it is received with thanksgiving."

5 **the widow, with her humble gift and her rich blessing**] Alludes to the story of the poor widow who only put two coins of little monetary value ("mites" in the King James version) in the collection box in the temple. Jesus emphasized that she gave even though she was impoverished, unlike others who gave from their wealth (Mk 12:41–44).

203 9 **in these impoverished districts**] Presumably an allusion to the parish of Sædding, "the poorest parish in Jutland in the *heath district*"; when Kierkegaard traveled to Jutland in the summer of 1840 he considered preaching on the gospel for the seventh Sunday after Trinity; see Not6:17 in this volume (→ 202,*2*).

10 **How shall we find bread for the multitude**] → 202,*1*.

11 **as Luther says so beautifully . . . who died of hunger**] See Luther's sermon for the seventh Sunday after Trinity (→ 202,*1*) in *En christelig Postille sammendragen af Dr. Morten Luthers Kirke- og Huuspostiller* [A Collection of Christian Sermons, Gathered from Dr. Martin Luther's Collections of Sermons for Church and Home], trans. J. Thisted, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1828; ASKB 283), vol. 1, pp. 437–445; p. 441, col. 2: "That is something never yet seen or heard of, that a Christian man has died of hunger." — **Luther**: Martin Luther (1483–1546), German theologian, Augustinian monk, professor at Wittenberg.

15 **they did not come to him because they saw signs and wonderful deeds**] Alludes to Jesus' words to the nobleman who asked for help for his sick son: "Unless you see signs and wonders, you will not believe" (Jn 4:48).

204 2 **the gothic style . . . combined so richly**] A style of architecture, sculpture, and painting dominant in western and northern Europe ca. 1150–1500, known particularly for the "Romantic" architecture in which mighty cathedrals were built up around pointed ("Gothic") arches and buttresses and were decorated with circles and rosettes. See, e.g., G. W. F. Hegel *Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik* [Lectures on Aesthetics], ed. H. G. Hotho, 3 vols. (Berlin 1835–1838; ASKB 1384–1386; in *Hegel's Werke* [→ 207,*12*]), vol. 10.1–3; vol. 10.2, pp. 332–352; p. 348: "Romantic fancy displays even in architecture its wealth of invention and extraordinary links between heterogeneous elements. On the other hand, however, at least at the time when Gothic architecture was at its purest, a steady return of the same simple forms is preserved even in decorations, e.g., in the pointed arches of the windows." English translation from *Hegel's Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, trans. T. M. Knox, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975; photo repr., 1998), vol. 2, p. 697. — **syllogistic**: Of or relating to syllogism (from the Greek "calculate together"), an inference in which the conclusion is inferred from two premises. Aristotle formalized the types of syllogisms, that is, the relation between the predicate and the middle term in the major premise (first premise), that between the middle term and the subject in the minor premise (second premise), and that between the subject and the predicate in the conclusion. Scholasticism added alphabetical notation indicating the mood (*modus*) of the various types, that is, when the judgments in the three parts are universally affirmative (A), particularly affirmative (I), universally negative (E), or particularly negative (O); the type of conclusion could thus be expressed by using these vowels, which typically were assigned a woman's name, e.g., a judgment of the type AAA was called "Barbara."

Der heilige Franciscus ein Troubadour by J. Görres] J. Görres, *Der Heilige Franciskus von Assisi, ein Troubadour* [Saint Francis of Assisi, a Troubadour] (Strasbourg, 1826). Görres cites a number of Francis of Assisi's songs, which are characterized by sentimentality, repetitions, and simple symmetry, among other traits, but he does not compare them with gothic or romantic art. — **Franciscus**: Francis of Assisi (1182–1226), whose given name was Giovanni Bernardone, but who was called Francesco by his father; Italian poet and saint, founder of the Franciscan order. — **J. Görres**: Johann Josef Görres (1776–1848), German historian of literature; he wrote on political subjects and subsequently on philosophical and religious subjects as well; professor at Munich, influenced by Schelling and, after ca. 1830, also by Catholicism; he is especially known for his principal work, *Die christliche* 1 204*m*

Mystik [Christian Mysticism], 4 vols. (Regensburg, 1836–1842; ASKB 528–532).

204 14 **this is why the banquet scene . . . a little out-of-the-way room . . . hypochondriac**] Act 2, scene 13 in Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni* (see below in this note). In the Danish version performed in Kierkegaard's day, the episode took place in act 2, scene 17 of *Don Juan. Opera i tvende Akter bearbeidet til Mozarts Musik* [Don Giovanni: An Opera in Two Acts, Adapted to Mozart's Music], trans. L. Kruse (Copenhagen, 1807). See Kruse's stage directions: "A beautiful room in Don Giovanni's little cottage. Table set; a little orchestra" (p. 114). See also Don Giovanni's lines in the graveyard scene: "Also, in the little out-of-the-way rooms / I have recently rented, I am hardly ever sought, / For the landlord there doesn't even know my name" (p. 104). — **D. Giovanni**: Actually *Il dissoluto punito ossia Il Don Giovanni* [The Dissolute Punished, or Don Giovanni] (known in Denmark as *Don Juan*), composed in 1787 to a libretto by Lorenzo da Ponte; performed eighty-four times at the Royal Theater from 1807 to 1839 (reappeared in the repertoire again in the 1844–1845 season). — **hypochondriac**: Even as late as Kierkegaard's day, "hypochondria," in addition to its present-day meaning—i.e., a continual fear of illness and an excessive concern for one's health—still had the older meanings of melancholia and obsession with minor details (see Ludvig Meyer, *Fremmedordbog* [Dictionary of Foreign Words], 3rd ed. [Copenhagen, 1853; ASKB 1035]), and Kierkegaard not infrequently used the word in these senses, both in his journals and notebooks and, e.g., in *The Concept of Anxiety* (*BA*, 162n; *SKS* 4, 460).

204 27 **P. Møller's poem . . . sun among women**] With minor deviations, this is cited word for word from a stanza in Poul Martin Møller's poem "Den gamle Elsker" [The Old Lover] in *Efterladte Skrifter* [Posthumous Writings], 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1839–1843; ASKB 1574–1576), vol. 1 (1839), pp. 11–14; p. 12. Kierkegaard cites from the same stanza in three undated letters to Regine, all of which were most likely written between September and December 1840; see *LD*, 64, 66, 72; *B&A* 1, 50, 52, 57. — **P. Møller**: Poul Martin Møller (1794–1838), Danish writer and philosopher; 1822, adjunct in Latin and Greek at the Metropolitan School in Copenhagen; 1828, associate professor, and 1830, professor of philosophy at Kristiania (Oslo); from 1831 until his death, professor of philosophy at the University of Copenhagen, where he was one of Kierkegaard's teachers.

insects that die at the very instant of fertilization] 5 205 Perhaps a recollection from Henrich Steffens's *Indledning til philosophiske Forelæsninger* [Introduction to Philosophical Lectures] (Copenhagen, 1803), pp. 74–75: "Truly, there is nothing clearer than that the completely developed insect is represented by the detached organs of generation . . . The activity of the fully formed animal is rarely anything more than the reproductive act . . . This situation is most striking with the butterflies. They *nourish* themselves, they build, they work only as larvae. The butterfly has no other task that than of the flower. Many enter the world lacking mouths; when the reproductive act is over, this living flower withers, and one can prolong its life by preventing mating."

taking off every stitch of clothing . . . into the water] 8 205 Probably a reference to the Rysensteen Baths at Kalvebod Strand, southwest of Langebro (*see map 2, A3*). See a draft of the first part of *Either/Or*: "It is the most beautiful moment in my life, when I stand in the bathhouse, undressed. The door is open—the wide horizon—the air is misty—I have nothing more to do with the world—I am stark naked—leap out into the water" (*Pap*. III B 180,5).

A traveling humorist] Allusion to the expression 14 205 "a traveling scholastic or student," which refers to medieval students who wandered from university to university; see, in particular, Goethe's tragedy *Faust* 1, 1, 968, in *Goethe's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand* [Goethe's Works: Complete Edition with the Author's Final Changes], 55 vols. (Stuttgart, 1828–1833; ASKB 1641–1668; hereafter abbreviated as *Goethe's Werke*), vol. 12 (1828), p. 69, where Faust uses the expression "a traveling scholastic" in referring to the figure Mephistopheles.

theodicy] Derived from the Greek for "divine justice," a justification of divine providence with respect to the question of evil in the world. See G. W. Leibniz, *Essais de Théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme et l'origine du mal* [Essays in

Theodicy, Concerning the Goodness of God, the Liberty of Man, and the Origin of Evil] (Amsterdam, 1710), which Kierkegaard owned in a German translation, *Herrn Gottfried Wilhelms, Freyherrn von Leibnitz, Theodicee, das ist, Versuch von der Güte Gottes, Freyheit des Menschen, und vom Ursprunge des Bösen* [Herr Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibnitz's Theodicy, That Is, Essay Concerning the Goodness of God, the Liberty of Man, and the Origin of Evil], ed. J. C. Gottsched, 5th ed. (Hanover, 1763 [1720]; ASKB 619).

205 *24* **the Trappists**] An order of monks established in 1664 by Jean Bouthillier de Rancé at the monastery La Trappe in Normandy; the monks were enjoined to keep perpetual silence.

206 *3* **the Jews think . . . because he is righteous**] Most likely a reference to Ps 94:1: "O Lord, you God of vengeance, shine forth!" Later in the psalm the vengeance of God is justified by reference to righteousness: "for justice will return to the righteous, and all the upright in heart will follow it" (v. 15). See also Deut 32:35: "Vengeance is mine, and recompense" and Rom. 12:19: "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, says the Lord." — **the Jews**: Variant: *changed from* "the Xians."

206 *13* **miles**] One Danish mile equals about seven and a half statute (English) miles.

206 *15* **God lets his light . . . and the unjust**] See Mt 5:45: "He maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust" (King James version).

17 **he of course lets his blessing . . . every holy day**] See *Kirke-Ritualet* (→ 202,*32*), p. 31: "the priest concludes [his sermon] with a little wish and gives his benediction to the congregation as follows: 'The Lord bless thee and keep thee! / The Lord make his face shine upon thee! and be gracious unto thee! / The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace!'"

206 *21* **in a novella**] Starting in the late 1820s the novella became a popular literary genre, frequently showing scenes and typical characters familiar to the Copenhagen middle classes.

a Jew] According to the census of February 1, 1840, there were 3,839 Jews resident in the kingdom of Denmark, of whom 2,248 resided in Copenhagen. A decree of March 29, 1814, ended the limitations on access by Jews to civic posts and to occupations governed by guilds, but Jews were still frequently suspected of making their living as sellers of stolen property, usurers, etc. *22*

barrels] 139.12 liters or about 38 gallons. *27*

(the Jew's)] Variant: *added*. *33*

North America . . . establish themselves] See, e.g., "Om Nordamericanerne" [On the North Americans] in *Orion. Historisk-geographisk Maanedskrift* [Orion: A Monthly Journal of History and Geography], ed. T. Becker (Copenhagen), vol. 2, 1839, pp. 304–352, esp. 305–313, for a similar comparison. *4* 207

Aristotle] Aristotle of Stagira (384–322 B.C.), Greek philosopher, logician, and natural scientist. *12* 207

philosophy begins . . . in our times, with doubt] The philosophical requirement "to doubt everything" in order to reach the truth goes back to the French philosopher, scientist, and mathematician Descartes (1596–1650); it was subsequently repeated by Hegel in his *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie* (see below in this note). German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831) was privatdocent (extraordinary professor) at Jena from 1801 to 1806, professor at Heidelberg from 1816 to 1818, and professor at Berlin from 1818 until his death. In his library Kierkegaard had a series of individual works from the series *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe* [Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Works: Complete Edition], 18 vols. (Berlin, 1832–1845; ASKB 549–565; abbreviated hereafter as *Hegel's Werke*). For the passage on philosophy beginning with doubt, see Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie* [Lectures on the History of Philosophy], 3 vols. (vols. 13–15 of *Hegel's Werke*), ed. K. L. Michelet (Berlin, 1832–1845; ASKB 557–559), vol. 14 (1833), p. 69: "Philosophy must, generally speaking, begin with a puzzle in order to bring about reflection; everything must be doubted, all presuppositions given up, to reach the truth as created through the Notion." English translation from *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, 3 vols., trans. E. S. Haldane (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1955), vol. *12*

1, p. 406. The requirement to doubt was frequently cited and discussed by Danish Hegelians, and it became a slogan, in particular for the theologian H. L. Martensen (1808–1884) and the philosopher J. L. Heiberg (1791–1860).

15 **the negative**] In this case, doubt. According to Hegel, the dialectic moves itself by virtue of its inner contradictions or its negation: "The . . . negativity is the *simple point of the negative relation* to self, the innermost source of all activity, of all animate and spiritual self-movement, the dialectical soul that everything true possesses and through which alone it is true; for on this subjectivity alone rests the sublating of the opposition between Notion and reality, and the unity that is truth." G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, ed. L. v. Henning, vol. 1.1–2 (vols. 3–5 in *Hegel's Werke*) (Berlin, 1833–1834 [1812–1816]; ASKB 552–554), vol. 2 (*Hegel's Werke*, vol. 5), p. 342; English translation from *Hegel's Science of Logic*, trans. A. V. Miller (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1996), p. 835.

207*m* 1 **δια γαρ το θαυμαζειν οι ανθρωποι . . . vol. 1, p. 275, note 5**] Kierkegaard cites word for word, though without accent marks, from the German philologist Karl Friedrich Hermann (1804–1855), *Geschichte und System der Platonischen Philosophie* [The History and the System of Platonic Philosophy] (Heidelberg, 1839; ASKB 576), vol. 1 (the only volume that appeared), p. 275, note 5. — **δια γαρ . . . ηρξαντο φιλοσοφειν**: Cited from Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, bk. 1, chap. 2 (982b 12–13); English translation from Jonathan Barnes, ed., *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 1554. — **Plato in Theaet. . . . φιλοσοφιας η αυτη**: Cited from Plato, *Theaetetus* (155d); English translation from *Plato: The Collected Dialogues, Including the Letters*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 860. The Greek philosopher Plato (427–347 B.C.) was a pupil of Socrates, who repeatedly figures as the principal character in his dialogues; in the *Theaetetus*, Socrates' interlocutor is the Greek mathematician (415 or 413–369 B.C.).

207 21 **mediation**] "Mediation" is not in fact a term used by Hegel, but it was widely used, e.g., by Danish Hegelians to translate such Hegelian terms as *Vermittlung*, i.e., the mediation or reconciliation of opposed concepts into a higher unity in which the concepts exist as sublated moments.

that the theater was gratis . . . to go to church] See, 29 207
e.g., F. A. Brockhaus, *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyklopädie für die gebildeten Stände (Conversations-Lexikon)* [Universal German Encyclopedia for the Educated Classes (Encyclopedia)], 12 vols., 8th ed. (Leipzig, 1833–1837; ASKB 1299–1310, abbreviated hereafter as *Conversations-Lexikon*), vol. 11 (1836), p. 154: "After the temple, the theaters were the most important buildings for the Greeks and the Romans, because they not only served to produce enjoyment, but were also meant to be a part of the religious service." Admission to the theater in Athens cost two obols, which was given to those who had built the theater; starting in the time of Pericles the state paid for the admission of the poor—and subsequently, for all citizens—to the theater.

5 rixdlrs.] Five rix-dollars. A law passed in July 6 208
1818 decreed that the Danish monetary unit was the rix-dollar (technically, the *Rigsbanksdaler*, abbreviated "Rbd."), which was divided into six marks, each of which was further divided into sixteen shillings. Thus a rix-dollar was equal to ninety-six shillings. For two rix-dollars and twelve shillings one could purchase J. L. Heiberg's *En Sjæl efter Døden* [A Soul after Death] (Copenhagen, 1841; ASKB 1563), while a pair of shoes cost three rix-dollars, and a pound of rye bread cost two to four shillings.

you do not need to point out that they are typo- 11
graphical errors] e.g., by following the common practice of listing them at the beginning or the end of the book as "Typographical Errors." This may be an allusion to the "Preface from the Publisher" in E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Lebens-Ansichten des Katers Murr nebst fragmentarischer Biographie des Kapellmeisters Johannes Kreisler in zufälligen Makulaturblättern* [Life-Views of Kater Murr, together with a Fragmentary Biography of the Conductor Johannes Kreisler, in Random Sheets of Scrap Paper], first published in 1819, where Hoffmann relates that the manuscript there published has been patched together from the life-views of a cat and the fragmentary biography of a conductor, and also contains a number of typographical errors: "In conclusion, it is surely the case that many authors of the most audacious thoughts, the most extraordinary turns

of phrase, must thank their benevolent compositors for having helped greatly in launching their ideas by means of so-called typographical errors . . . But let us give honor to those to whom it is due! Neither Kater Murr nor the unknown biographer of conductor Kreisler ought to deck themselves out with borrowed finery, and the publisher therefore urges that, prior to reading the little book, the reader kindly make the following alterations, and he asks that in doing so the reader think neither better nor less well of the authors than they really deserve. Furthermore, only the more important errors have been noted; lesser errors, on the other hand, have been left to the discretion of the kind readers. (The errors from earlier editions, listed below, have been corrected in the present edition)." *E. T. A. Hoffmann's ausgewählte Schriften* [Selected Writings by E. T. A. Hoffmann], 10 vols. (Berlin, 1827–1828; ASKB 1712–1716), vol. 8 (1828), pp. viii–ix. An English translation of the story is available in E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Selected Writings*, trans. Leonard J. Kent and Elizabeth C. Knight, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

208 27 **When one reads the 1001 Nights . . . by narrating**] The story that serves as the framework for the Arabian collection of tales *The Thousand and One Nights*, tells of a king named Schariar, who had his vizier bring him a virgin every night for his entertainment, after which he killed her. When the turn came for vizier's own daughter, Scheherazade, to do this, she captivated the king with her tales for 1,001 nights. The morning after the final night, she presented him with the children she had secretly begotten with him, and he married her. See *Tausend und eine Nacht. Arabische Erzählungen* [Thousand and One Nights: Arabian Tales], trans. G. Weil, 4 vols. (Stuttgart [vols. 2–4, Pforzheim], 1838–1841; ASKB 1414–1417). For an English translation, see *The Arabian Nights*, trans. Husain Haddawy (New York: Everyman's Library/Knopf, 1990) and *The Arabian Nights II*, trans. Husain Haddawy (New York: Everyman's Library/Knopf, 1998); both volumes are based on the well-regarded Arabic edition by Muhsin Mahdi and include many, if not all, of the tales collected as the "1001 Nights."

209 10 **the endless series of Egyptian kings . . . historical outcome**] See, e.g., Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*, ed. E. Gans and K. Hegel (Berlin, 1840 [1837]), in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 9, pp. 244, 245, where it is stated, with reference to the "lists of Kings" in the history of Egypt by the Ptolemaic high priest Manetho, that "the *History* of Egypt, as we have it, is full of the greatest contradictions. The Mythical is blended with the Historical, and the statements are as diverse as can be imagined. European literati have eagerly investigated the lists given by Manetho and have relied upon them, and several names of kings have been confirmed by recent discoveries. Herodotus says that according to the statements of the priests, gods had formerly reigned over Egypt, and that from the first human king down to the King Setho 341 generations, or 11,340 years, had passed away." English translation from Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, trans. J. S. Sibree (New York: Wiley, 1944), p. 200.

universalization of the particular principle] In 18 209
logic and epistemology, a conclusion that proceeds from the particular judgment, that a quality applies to certain phenomena, to the universal judgment, that it applies to all.

Marry or don't marry, you will regret both] In his 19
own copy of *Either/Or*, in which he later incorporated this entry (see *SKS* 2, 47–48), Kierkegaard noted that the saying by Diogenes Laertius (in his history of philosophy, bk. 2, chap. 5,33) is attributed to Socrates: "Someone asked him whether he should marry or not, and received the reply, 'Whichever you do you will repent it.'" English translation from Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, trans. R. A. Hicks, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970–1972 [1923]), vol. 1, p. 163. Kierkegaard owned two editions of the work: a Danish translation, *Diogenes Laërtses filosofiske Historie, eller: navnkundige Filosofers Levnet, Meninger og sindrige Udsagn* [Diogenes Laertius's Philosophical History, or the Lives, Opinions, and Clever Sayings of Eminent Philosophers], trans. Børge Riisbrigh, ed. Børge Thorlacius, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1812; ASKB 1110–1111; abbreviated hereafter as *Diogenes Laërtses filosofiske Historie*), see vol. 1, p. 71; and a Greek edition, which bore the Latin title *Diogenis Laertii de vitis philosophorum, libri X* [Diogenes Laertius's Lives of the

Philosophers in Ten Books], 2 vols., stereotype ed. (Leipzig, 1833; ASKB 1109), see vol. 1, p. 76.

209 26 **the principle of synergism**] Synergism is the doctrine of human synergy, i.e., a persons's free "cooperation" in his or her own salvation. See Not1:2, with its explanatory note, in the present volume.

28 **speculation**] Speculative philosophy and theology.

210 1 **what we philosophers call the necessary other**] Presumably an allusion to Hegel, *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse* [Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences in Outline], ed. L. v. Henning, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1840–1845 [1817]; ASKB 561–563), vol. 1 (vol. 6 in *Hegel's Werke*), p. 241: "Thus we say: 'I am a human being and I am surrounded by air, water, animals, and everything else.' In this ordinary consciousness everything falls outside everything else. The purpose of philosophy is, in contrast, to banish indifference and to become cognizant of the necessity of things, so that the other is seen to confront *its* other. And so, for instance, inorganic nature must be considered not merely as something other than organic nature, but as its necessary other." English translation from *The Encyclopedia Logic: Part One of the Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, trans. T. F. Geraets, W. A. Suchting, H. S. Harris (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1991), p. 187.

210 4 **Narcissus was ... unhappy love**] See *Paul F. A. Nitsch neues mythologisches Wörterbuch* [Paul F. A. Nitsch's New Dictionary of Mythology], ed. F. G. Klopfer, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1821 [1793]; ASKB 1944–1945), vol. 2, pp. 295–296. This reference work lists three versions of the Greek myth, all of which have Narcissus perish in his own mirror image, a victim of unhappy love. The first version is in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (bk. 3, vv. 341–510), which tells of the nymph Echo's unhappy infatuation with Narcissus and how it had been prophesied that Narcissus would have a long life if he did not come to know himself, which, however, he did, when he fell in love with his own mirror image in a still pool of water, after which he was consumed by a mad love. The second version is Konon, *Narrationes* [Narratives], 24, where a certain Aminias commits suicide because of unhappy love for Narcissus, who later suffers the same fate and is transformed into a flower. The third version is in Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, bk. 9, chap. 31, where Narcissus loses his beloved twin sister, who resembled him perfectly, after which, in order to remember her, he loses himself in his own mirror image and is finally transformed into a spring of water. None of the sources include the detail that Narcissus was reflected in a river, but according to Ovid he was the son the river god Cephisus.

traveled to Fredensborg with two utterly fantastic horses] During the 1840s Kierkegaard frequently traveled by hired coach to Fredensborg, a village east of Esrum Lake in Frederiksborg County, north Zealand, where he was a guest at Great Inn Hotel on Slotsgade, just next to Fredensborg Castle. 12 210

this is how ... keep up with me] Variant: *added*. 17

Old age realizes the dreams of youth] An allusion to the German poet Goethe's motto for the second part of his autobiography *Aus meinem Leben. Dichtung und Wahrheit* [From My Life: Poetry and Truth] (1811–1833), in *Goethe's Werke* (→ 205,*14*), vol. 25 (1829), p. 1: "Was man in der Jugend wünscht, hat man im Alter die Fülle." ("What one wishes in one's youth, in age one has in excess.") 26 210

Swift ... he himself lived there] Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), Anglo-Irish satirist and dean of St. Patrick's in Dublin. For many years Swift feared that he might lose his mind; in 1731 he wrote *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift* (published 1739), in which he says, with respect to the deceased (i.e., himself), that he gave what little fortune he had to build a madhouse. In 1733 he published *A Serious and Useful Scheme, To Make an Hospital for Incurables* (i.e., for incurable simpletons, criminals, malcontents, liars, and the like), and he expressed a wish—as one incurably fond of scribbling—to be taken there himself. In his later years Swift suffered from depression, became insane, and ended his days in total stupor. At his death he had bequeathed a third of his fortune to the establishment of a hospital in Dublin for the mentally ill. A collation of these facts led to the myth that he had in his youth established a madhouse into which he himself was finally committed. 27

J. Böhme ... cling fast to one] It has not been possible to identify a source for this. — **J. Böhme**: 6 211

Jakob Böhme (1575–1624), German shoemaker, philosopher, and Christian mystic.

211 18 **therefore it is written: Cast all your cares on God**] See 1 Pet 5:7: "Cast all your anxiety on him, because he cares for you." The passage is included in 1 Pet 5:6–11, the epistle for the third Sunday after Trinity.

211*m* 8 **serpents around Laocoon**] While he was performing a sacrifice, the Trojan priest Laocoon and his two sons were killed by two gigantic snakes that crawled out of the sea. His death was a punishment from the gods because he had warned his fellow citizens against the huge wooden horse, filled with Greek soldiers, that the Greeks had placed outside the city walls (Virgil, *The Aeneid*, bk. 2, vv. 201–232); see the Danish translation of Kierkegaard's time, *Virgils Æneide* [Virgil's Aeneid], trans. J. H. Schønheyder, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1812), vol. 1, pp. 63–65.

212 2 **of course you expect the resurrection of the dead**] See the Nicean Creed, art. 3: "I . . . expect the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come." *Den danske Kirkes symbolske Böger* [The Symbolic Books of the Danish Church], trans. J. C. Lindberg (Copenhagen, 1830), p. 2.

4 **of course you expect to be gathered together with those who were dear to you**] Commonly used phrase in obituaries, in which the surviving family members express their expectation of being reunited with the deceased in the hereafter.

5 **eager longing**] Perhaps an allusion to Rom 8:19, where Paul writes: "For the creation waits with eager longing for the revealing of the children of God."

7 **transfigured in God**] Transformed into another and more glorious form.

9 **you do not know the day and the hour**] Refers to Mt 24:36, where Jesus, alluding to judgment day, says: "But about the day and hour no one knows, neither the angels of heaven, nor the Son, but only the Father."

212 11 **I know that neither . . . terrifying images**] Refers to Rom 8:38–39, where Paul writes: "For I am convinced that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor rulers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord." — **overcome the world**: Alludes to 1 Jn 5:4: "for whatever is born of God conquers the world. And this is the victory that conquers the world, our faith." Cf. also Jn 16:33, where Jesus says to his disciples: "In the world you face persecution. But take courage; I have conquered the world!"

he bore the sins of all the world] See Jn 1:29, where 22 212
John the Baptist says, with respect to Jesus: "Here is the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world!"

the Latinist says about an alert listener: pendet ex ore alicujus] This is presumably Kierkegaard's rendering of a passage in the *Aeneid* by the Roman poet Publius Vergilius Maro (Virgil) (70–19 B.C.), bk. 4, v. 79, where the infatuated Dido listens to Aeneas tell of the fall of Troy. For a standard Latin text available in Kierkegaard's time, see, e.g., *P. Virgilii Maronis opera* [The Works of Virgil], ed. J. Baden, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1778–1780), vol. 1, p. 477: "Exposcit, pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore" ("and again hangs on the speaker's lips"). English translation from Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid 1–6*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, rev. G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 427. The Danish translation of Kierkegaard's time renders the passage "og hænger atter ved den elsktes Mund" ("and hangs again upon the lips of the beloved") (*Virgils Æneide* [→ 211*m*,8], vol. 1, p. 147). 2 213

her many sins were forgiven her because she loved much] Refers to the account in Lk 7:36–50 of the woman who was a sinner and who sought out Jesus, wet his feet with her tears, dried them with her hair, and annointed them with oil; Jesus said of her (v. 47): "Wherefore I say unto thee, Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she loved much: but to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little" (King James version). 1 214

to lose one's own soul] See Mk 8:36: "For what shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" (King James version). 3 214

10 **Faith — Hope — Love**] See 1 Cor 13:13: "And now faith, hope, and love abide, these three; and the greatest of these is love."

12 **in another place the expression to lose one's self is used**] See Lk 9:25: "For what is a man advantaged, if he gain the whole world, and lose himself, or be cast away?" (King James version).

214 15 **to take the honor yourself (Xt did not take it—did not view this as robbery)**] Presumably a reference to Jn 5:41–44, where Jesus says: "I do not accept glory from human beings. But I know that you do not have the love of God in you. I have come in my Father's name, and you do not accept me; if another comes in his own name, you will accept him. How can you believe when you accept glory from one another and do not seek the glory that comes from the one who alone is God?" — **did not view this as robbery**: See Phil 2:6, where Paul refers to Jesus Christ "who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God" (King James version).

20 **every good gift, every perfect gift, is from above**] See the epistle for the fourth Sunday after Easter, Jas 1:17–21; v. 17: "Every generous act of giving, with every perfect gift, is from above, coming down from the Father of lights, with whom there is no variation or shadow due to change."

214 23 **the pagan poet says that grief sits hindmost on the horse**] Refers to the Roman poet Horace's *Odes*, bk. 3, no. 1, vv. 37–40, in *Q. Horatii Flacci opera* [The Works of Quintus Horatius Flaccus (Horace)], stereotype ed. (Leipzig, 1828; ASKB 1248), p. 65: "But Fear and Foreboding climb as high as the owner; black Anxiety does not quit the bronze-beaked galley, and sits behind the horseman." English translation from Horace, *Odes and Epodes*, ed. and trans. Niall Rudd, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 143. The Danish translation of Kierkegaard's time, *Q. Horatius Flaccus' samtlige Værker* [The Complete Works of Horace], trans. J. Baden, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1792–1793), vol. 1, p. 211, renders the passage as follows: "But fear and threats clamber up to the owner; dark grief [*Bekymring*] does not abandon the copper-clad triple-decker and sits hindmost on the horse." The Latin *cura*, rendered as "Anxiety" in the above-cited English translation and as *Bekymring* ("grief") in Danish, can also be translated as "worry" or "care."

on the border between the happy and the desolate Arabia] Refers to the classic division of the Arabian peninsula "into the desolate, rocky . . . and the happy Arabia[s]"; see F. A. Brockhaus, *Conversations-Lexikon* (→ 207,29), vol. 1, p. 350. 27 214

All God's gifts are good when they are received with thankfulness] → 202*m*,1 and → 214,20. 32 214

overcome the world] → 212,11. 2 215

Diana . . . feared the pains of childbirth] In Roman mythology, the eternally virginal Diana (Artemis in Greek mythology) was the goddess of hunting and fertility, among other things; as such she assisted in childbirth and alleviated the pains of the woman giving birth. As the first born, Diana was said to have experienced her mother's pains in giving birth to her twin brother, Apollo; she therefore asked her father Jupiter (Zeus in Greek mythology) that she might be permitted to remain a lifelong virgin, and this request was granted; see, e.g., the article "Diana" in *Paul F. A. Nitsch neues mythologisches Wörterbuch* (→ 210,4), vol. 1, pp. 615–625, esp. 619–620. 5 215

Euripides, too, says . . . than give birth to a child once] This is said with reference to Medea in Euripides' tragedy of that name, vv. 249–250: "How wrong they are! I would rather stand three times with a shield in battle than give birth once." English translation from Euripides, *Cyclops, Alcestis, Medea*, trans. David Kovacs, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), p. 317. Kierkegaard owned a Danish translation, *Euripides*, trans. Christian Wilster (Copenhagen, 1840; ASKB 1115); see p. 58. — **Euripides**: Greek tragic dramatist (ca. 485–ca. 406 B.C.). 7

the firemen with their entry ladders] Presumably refers to the so-called crawler or hooked ladders. The tops of these ladders had hooks that could be smashed through a window and made to rest on the windowsill; two firefighters could then crawl up and gain entry into the upper floor, after which the operation could be repeated, if necessary, until the desired story was reached. 20 215

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NOTEBOOK 8

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NOTES FOR NOTEBOOK 8

Critical Account of the Text by
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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript

Notebook 8 was originally "a book in large quarto, bound in green" with seven leaves (fourteen pages) written from the front and one leaf (two pages) from the back. The original binding, a single leaf, and a torn-out outer column of one leaf have been lost. The wording of the entries that had been on the missing leaf has been transmitted by H. P. Barfod's edition *Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer* (*EP*).[1] It is not known whether the torn-out outer column had been written on; Barfod's catalog of Kierkegaard's papers (*B-cat*.) offers no information about it. The preserved leaves of *Notebook 8* are in the Kierkegaard Archive (KA) at the Royal Library.

II. Dating and Chronology

The entries written from the front of the notebook are not dated.[2] It is evident from entry Not8:2, however, that Kierkegaard began the notebook aboard ship: "... my soul at the moment of writing this is as turbulent as my body—in a cabin rocked by the pitching and rolling of a steamship."
Kierkegaard defended his dissertation for the magister degree,

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[1]) The entries involved are Not8:20 (several lines), Not8:23, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, and all but the final line of Not8:40; in addition, Not8:49, which consists of headwords only, has been transmitted only in *B-cat*.

[2]) Barfod assigns the entries written from the front of the notebook to the year 1841 and situates them chronologically between two letters Kierkegaard wrote from Berlin, the first of which was addressed to Pastor P. J. Spang and postmarked November 18, 1841, the second of which was addressed to Prof. F. C. Sibbern and was dated December 15, 1841. The editors of *Pap*. also assign *Notebook 8* to 1841, though in parentheses they date the last four entries (of those written from the front of the book) to 1841–1842.

On the Concept of Irony, at the University of Copenhagen[1] on September 29, 1841, and barely a month later, on October 25, he boarded the *Königin Elisabeth* ("Queen Elisabeth") bound for Stralsund. The journey was the first stage of a trip to Berlin that lasted more than four months. The first entries testify to Kierkegaard's voyage across the Baltic on October 25 and 26, 1841.[2] In Not8:6 he writes: "When the moon is reflected on the sea in this way, it's as though it were playing on strings." And in Not8:7: "No wonder, though, that the ocean has been called the mother of everything—when it cradles a ship as it does, betw. its motherly breasts."
In Not 8:9 Kierkegaard has reached his destination: "I really see how important language was to me for hiding my melancholia—here in Berlin it is impossible for me, I can't fool people with language." Kierkegaard probably arrived in Berlin on October 27, 1841,[3] and in the months that followed audited a several lecture series. In Not8:33 he noted: "I'm so glad to have heard *Schelling*'s 2nd lecture—indescribable." This must have been written around November 22, 1841, when Schelling held his second lecture on "Philosophy of Revelation."[4] Another entry written from the front of the notebook which is of importance for dating the notebook is Not8:42, in which Kierkegaard writes:

> "Here in Berlin a Demoiselle Hedevig Schulze, a singer from Vienna, performs the part of Elvira. She is really beautiful, assured in her manner,—in the way she walks, her height, manner of dressing (black silk dress, bare neck, white gloves) she strikingly resembles a young lady I knew."

We know that, during Kierkegaard's stay in Berlin, Hedwig Schulze twice sang the role of Elvira in Mozart's *Don Giovanni* at the Berlin Court Opera: on December 3 and 12, 1841.[5] Not8:42 was probably

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1) See the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Om Begrebet Ironi*, *SKS* K1, 143ff.

2) See the last note to entry Not8:2, p. 613 in the present volume.

3) See the note to entry Not8:9, p. 614 in the present volume.

4) See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 11*," pp. 660–661 in the present volume.

5) See the explanatory note to Not8:42, p. 618 in the present volume.

written during the days immediately following these performances. This is further confirmed by a paper slip enclosed in a letter Kierkegaard wrote to his friend Emil Boesen on December 14. The slip mentions the same "Demoiselle Schulze" and her resemblance to Regine Olsen.[1] Comparison of the two references would appear to indicate that Not8:42 was written before the letter to Boesen. The entry has the appearance of an immediate impression, while the discussion of Hedwig Schultze in the letter to Boesen is presented in the light of Kierkegaard's final break with Regine in October 1841, and in a much more reflective and elaborate form.

Kierkegaard wrote four entries starting from the back of *Notebook 8*, of which Not8:50 and 51 are dated "1 Dec." and "6 Dec.," respectively. These relate to the lecture series by various scholars that Kierkegaard followed during his stay in Berlin, including those given by K. Werder and P. K. Marheineke.[2] The entries written from the back of the notebook can thus be dated December 1841.

It may therefore be concluded that Kierkegaard began *Notebook 8* on October 25, 1841, at the start of his journey to Berlin, and that he wrote in it until Christmas 1841. In December 1841 he made four entries from the back of the notebook, in connection with the lectures he was following by Werder and Marheineke. *Notebook 8* thus covers the period of October to December 1841.

III. Contents

Notebook 8 consists of fifty-three entries. Those written from the front have been given the title "De vita. E vita." [About (a) Life. From (a) Life.], with the subtitle "Digteriske Forsøg" [Poetic Attempts].[3] These entries may furthermore be grouped around two

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1) See *LD*, 105; *B&A* 1, 83.

2) See the "Critical Account of the Texts of *Notebook 9* and *Notebook 10*," pp. 624ff. in the present volume.

3) Barfod transferred the wording of the lost title page onto the outer column of the first leaf (recto side). That column also contained a subtitle, written in pencil but subsequently deleted with heavy lines of ink. In *Pap.* II A 146, the editors render this obliterated subtitle as *Dampskibs-Kahyt* [Steamship Cabin], probably because Kierkegaard was aboard a steamship at the time. With the help of transillumina-

themes: Kierkegaard's reflections on his break with Regine and his experiences in Berlin, including a number of deliberations and comments in connection with his attendance at the lectures of Marheineke,[1] Schelling,[2] Werder,[3] and others.
Kierkegaard's reflections on the break with Regine are evident from the beginning of the notebook. On board ship en route to Berlin he read Oehlenschläger's *Aladdin, eller den forunderlige Lampe* [Aladdin, or the Wonderful Lamp],[4] and in Not8:3 he inserted a number of passages from the play in connection with the story of his engagement. Not8:13 touches both on the pain that the unhappy engagement has brought him and Regine and on the indignation aroused by his break with Regine. It reads in part as follows:

> It is truly something to despair over. My only wish was to remain with her; but from the moment I felt it had to go wrong, and unfortunately that moment came all too soon, I decided to make her think that I didn't love her; and now here I am, hated by evryone for my faithlessness, the apparent cause of her unhappiness, and yet I am as faithful to her as ever. And even if I could only see her happy with another, however painful that might be to my hum. pride, I would nonetheless be glad. But at present she is consumed with grief because I who could make her happy, did not want to. And truly I could have made her happy, if it were not for, etc.....

In Not8:18 Kierkegaard writes: "I cannot be quit of this relationship, for I cannot poetize it; the moment I want to poetize it, I am immediately possessed by an anxiety, an impatience that wants to resort to action." And in Not8:30 we read: "Yes—if it were she who had

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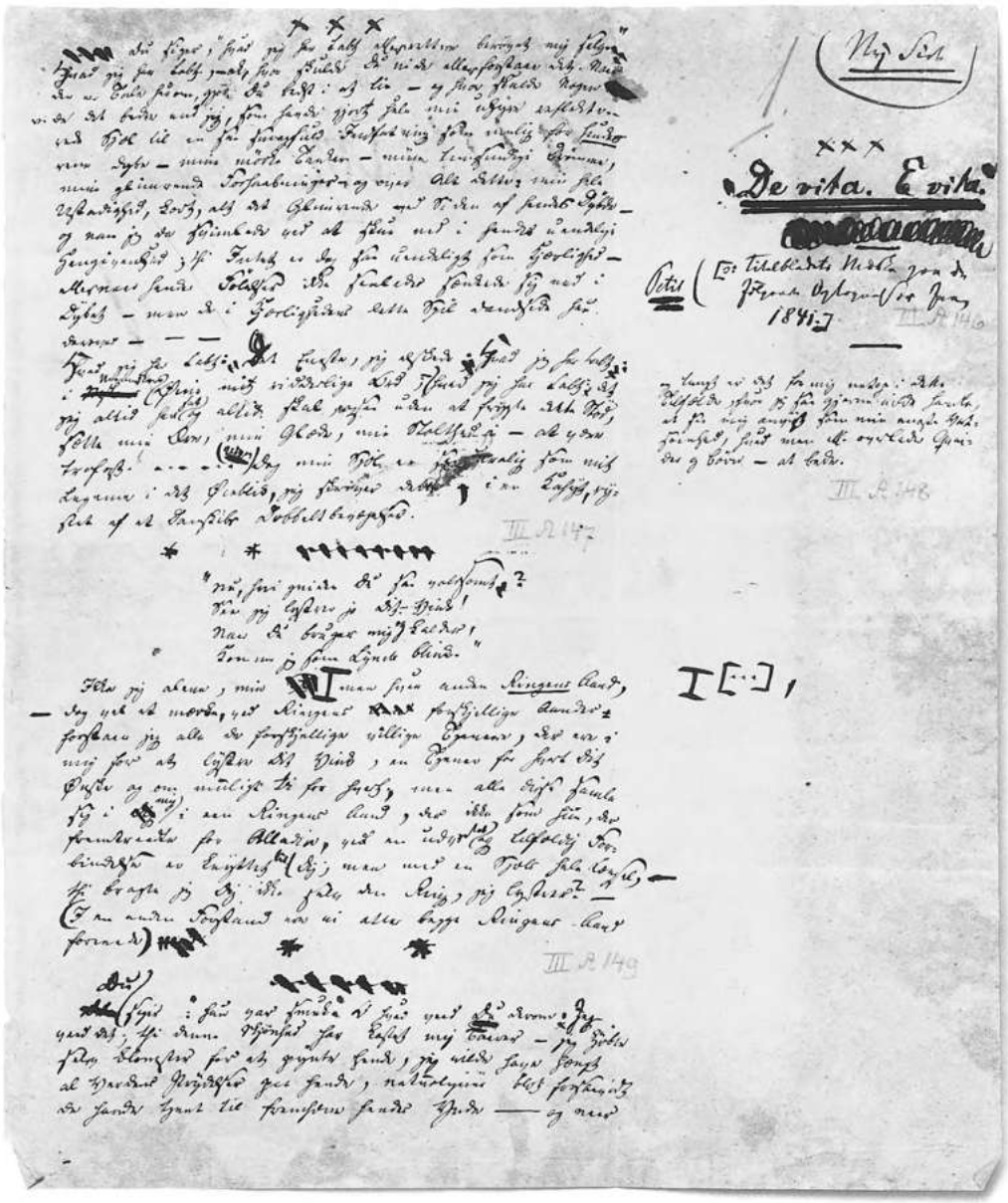
tion by infrared light, however, it is possible to read what was originally written: "*Digteriske Forsøg*" [Poetic Attempts]. (*See illustration*).

1) See the "Critical Account of the Texts of *Notebook 9* and *Notebook 10*," pp. 624–626 in the present volume.

2) See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 11*," p. 684 in the present volume.

3) See the "Critical Account of the Texts of *Notebook 9* and *Notebook 10*," pp. 624–626 in the present volume.

4) See the first explanatory note to Not8:3, p. 613 in the present volume.



Notebook 8:1–4. The first extant page of *Notebook 8*, where Barfod recorded Kierkegaard's title from the title page. Barfod later crossed out the subtitle, "Digteriske Forsøg" [Poetic Attempts].

broken off with me, it would have been easy for me to forget her, no matter how much I loved her. I would have dared to crowd sail in order to forget her; I would have dared to poetize her—but now I cannot persuade myself to do so."

As mentioned, other entries concern Kierkegaard's accounts of his stay in Berlin and his attendance at the lectures on dogmatics and philosophy that were the official reason for his being there. The arrival in Berlin itself is noted in Not8:8: "It is after all salutary once in a while to feel that one is in God's hand and not forever sneaking around in the nooks and crannies of a familiar city where one always knows a way out." Not8:10 takes up his encounter with the German language: "You really feel how much you lack when you can't speak a language in the way you can your mother tongue—all the intermediate shades and tones." Thus Kierkegaard's notebook entries do not concern themselves with the sights and attractions of Berlin but are instead characterized by a number of personal reflections occasioned by his encounter with new surroundings.

Kierkegaard's journey to Berlin had been planned as a study tour. "*Berlin* is indeed the only place in Germany worth traveling to in scientific [*videnskabelig*, also "scholarly"] respects. So I hope to profit properly from this semester," he writes from his Berlin lodgings in a letter to Professor Sibbern, dated December 15, 1841.[1] Kierkegaard attended lectures conscientiously and in a letter to Sibbern delivered a comprehensive report on his many impressions from the German auditoriums:

> I listen to *Marheineke*, *Werder*, and *Schelling*. I have heard *Steffens* a few times, I have also paid my fee to hear him but strangely enough he doesn't appeal to me at all . . .
>
> *Werder* is a virtuoso, more one cannot say of him. I suspect he must be a Jew; for baptized Jews always distinguish themselves by their virtuosity and of course take part in all fields these days. . . .
>
> *Schelling* is lecturing to a select, numerous, and yet also *undique conflatum auditorium* [audience gathered from all sides]. In the first hours, to hear him was to be almost in danger of one's life. I have never in my life been in such an unpleasant crush—but what one doesn't do to hear *Schelling*.[2]

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1) *LD*, 108; *B&A* 1, 85.

2) *LD*, 106–107; *B&A* 1, 83–84.

Kierkegaard had special expectations of Schelling's lectures on "Philosophie der Offenbarung" [Philosophy of Revelation], and having heard the second lecture, on November 22, 1841, he wrote enthusiastically in Not8:33:

> I'm so glad to have heard *Schelling*'s 2nd lecture—indescribable. But then I have been sighing and the thoughts within me have been groaning long enough; when he mentioned the word *"actuality"* concerning philosophy's relation to the actual, the child of thought leaped for joy within me as in Elizabeth. After that I remember almost every word he said. Perhaps here there can be clarity. This one word, it reminded me of all my philosophical pains and agonies.

Kierkegaard followed Schelling's lectures for a good two months and took comprehensive notes.[1] As the lectures proceeded, however, he had difficulty sustaining the enthusiasm evident in *Notebook 8*. With lecture 41, held on February 3, 1842, Kierkegaard stopped taking notes.

Kierkegaard made four entries (Not8:50–53) in *Notebook 8*, writing from the back of the notebook, and assigned them the collective title "Notanda. ad philosophiam pertinentia" [To Be Noted; Pertaining to Philosophy]. These entries are related to lectures he followed in Berlin and probe a number of categories, including *Etwas* ("something") and *Anderes* ("other"). The entries also show that Kierkegaard had read in Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik* [Lectures on Aesthetics].

Two entries in *Notebook 8* served as source material for later published work. Both Not8:24 and Not8:37 appear in a slightly revised form in "The Seducer's Diary" in the first part of *Either/Or*.[2]

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1) See *Notebook 11*, pp. 303–366 in the present volume.

2) See *EO* 1, 417 and 441; *SKS* 2, 405 and 428.

Explanatory Notes

221 1 **You say, "what I . . . deprived myself of."**] An allusion to Kierkegaard's broken engagement and perhaps to a remark by Kierkegaard's elder brother, P. C. Kierkegaard, or friend, Emil Boesen. After defending his dissertation on September 29, 1841, Kierkegaard broke off his engagement to Regine Olsen (→ 221,*27*) on October 11 or 18 (→ 221,*27*), and on October 25 he left Copenhagen for Berlin. Both P. C. Kierkegaard and Emil Boesen accompanied him to the steamship (→ 221,*20*) at Toldboden (*see map 2, G3*). See P. C. Kierkegaard's diary, NKS 2656, 4°, vol. 1, p. 118.

15 **what have I lost, in peop.'s eyes my word as a gentleman**] That is, by breaking off his engagement.

20 **in a cabin rocked by the pitching and rolling of a steamship**] "The new Royal Prussian Postal Steamship *Königin Elisabeth* ["Queen Elisabeth"] departs for Ystad and Stralsund on Monday morning at 11:00," *Kjøbenhavns kongelig alene privilegerede Adressecomptoirs Efterretninger* [Information from Copenhagen's Only Royally Licensed Advertising Office] (hereafter abbreviated *Adresseavisen*), October 22, 1841, no. 248. Normally the crossing would take about twenty-four hours, and according to plan Kierkegaard was to arrive at Stralsund on the morning of October 26, 1841; see *Stralsundische Zeitung* [Stralsund Times], October 28, 1841, no. 129, which announced the steamship's arrival and listed among the passengers "Magister *Aaby-Kierkeyoord*."

221 23 **Now why rub . . . streak of lightning**] With minor deviations in punctuation, the Danish is quoted word for word from Adam Oehlenschläger's comedy *Aladdin, eller den forunderlige Lampe* [Aladdin, or the Wonderful Lamp], in *Poetiske Skrifter* [Poetic Writings], 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1805; ASKB 1597–1598), vol. 2, pp. 273–274. The lines are those of the genie or jinn of the lamp to the evil Noureddin, who has finally come into possession of the coveted lamp. Earlier in the comedy the genie reacted with lines almost identical to these when Aladdin's mother, Morgiane, rubbed the lamp (p. 139).

Not I alone . . . not bound in you] Immediately 27
following his words to Morgiane (see the previous note) the genie of the lamp says to her: "Not I alone, Madame! But every lamp's spirit, bows down and obeys the one who has the lamp in hand" (p. 139); the genie's words to Noureddin are almost the same (p. 274). When, earlier in the comedy, Noureddin sends Aladdin down into an underground cave to fetch the wonderful lamp, he gives him a ring on his finger for protection. On returning, Aladdin refuses to give the lamp to Noureddin, who then has him locked up in the cave. In his despair Aladdin happens to strike the ring against the rock face. The genie of the lamp immediately appears and says: "Master! What do you want of me? / Look! I must obey you. / The ring is in your hand, / You command the spirit of the ring. / It is not alone I who / must stand ready. / All the slaves who / pay homage to its sanctity, / kneel to the deep earth, / obey your mighty word" (p. 133). — **my R.**: "My Regine!," Kierkegaard's opening formula in his letters to Regine Olsen during their engagement from September 10, 1840, to October 11 or 18, 1841; see the explanatory note for Not15:4, p. 787 in the present volume, as well as *LD*, 61–88; *B&A* 1, 47–69, especially the letter of October 28, 1840, which Kierkegaard imagines being brought by "The jinn [or spirit (*Aand*)] of the ring" (*LD*, 66; *B&A* 1, 52). — **ten**: Variant: *first written* "tr"; perhaps these were the first two letters of *tre*, the Danish word for "three." — **me**: Variant: *first written* "you."

did not I myself bring you the ring that I obey] 35
Either an allusion to the ring that Kierkegaard gave to Regine Olsen, and which she wore during their engagement, or to the ring he himself wore but attempted to send back to her, in vain, on August 11, 1841, after which he took it to her himself when definitively breaking off the engagement; see Not15:4, p. 433,*21* in the present volume, with its accompanying explanatory note.

222 16 **When the moon is reflected on the sea in this way**] Presumably in the Baltic on the night of October 25–26, 1841. There was a full moon on the 30th.

222 19 **the ocean has been called the mother of everything**] No definite saying of this kind has been identified, but in Romantic *Naturphilosophie* ("philosophy of nature") it was common—as, e.g., in Henrich Steffens—to believe that created life arose in "water, the element that seems to contain the germ of all productive nature's design," *Indledning til philosophiske Forelæsninger* [Introduction to Philosophical Lectures] (Copenhagen, 1803), p. 80.

222 25 **the nooks and crannies of a familiar city**] Refers to Copenhagen, which, bounded within its ramparts, covered about 1.75 square miles (4.5 square kilometers), and which according to the census of February 1, 1840, had a population of 120,819. By comparison, Berlin had an area of more than 11.5 square miles (30 square kilometers) and in that same year had 329,000 inhabitants.

222 29 **here in Berlin**] Kierkegaard is presumed to have arrived in Berlin, the Prussian capital, on October 27, 1841, having traveled by diligence from Stralsund. He took up lodgings at "Mittelstrasse No. 61 one flight up" (*LD*, 91; *B&A* 1, 72–73), but following problems with his host he moved before the new year to "Jägerstrasse No. 57 one flight up" (*LD*, 116; *B&A* 1, 91). See also JJ:109, with its accompanying explanatory notes, in *KJN* 2, 162 and 491–492.

223 6 **They say love makes one blind**] The saying "Love is blind" is found as no. 1427 in N. F. S. Grundtvig, *Danske Ordsprog og Mundheld* [Danish Sayings and Adages] (Copenhagen, 1845; ASKB 1549), p. 54. It is also entered as no. 4659 in E. Mau, *Dansk Ordsprogs-Skat* [Treasury of Danish Sayings], 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1879), vol. 1, p. 519.

223 23 **not duty**] Variant: *added* "not"

28 **the girl . . . calling my own**] → 221,27. Cf. an undated letter to Regine—presumably from November 1840—in which Kierkegaard writes: "for to tell the truth, if I had for a moment doubted whether I dared call you 'mine' (you know how much this expression means to me; you know this, you, who yourself have written that your life would be concluded [*afsluttet*] should I be separated from you; oh then let it be included [*indesluttet*] in me as long as we are united, for only then are we prprly *united*); not for a moment have I doubted, no, I write with all my soul's innermost conviction, yes, not even in the darkest nook in the world shall I doubt, that I am yours / Yours for ever / S. K." (*LD*, 70; *B&A* 1, 55).

such virtues were glittering vices] Alludes to an 30
expression from the Middle Ages: "Virtutes paganorum splendida vitia" (Latin, "The virtues of the pagans are glittering vices"). See AA:18, with its accompanying explanatory note in *KJN* 1, 29 and 334.

from the moment . . . all too soon] Cf. Not15:4, in 5 224
which Kierkegaard, writing in 1849 and referring to the engagement of 1840, claims: "the next day I saw that I had made a mistake" (p. 432,15 in the present volume).

have done her wrong . . . I am suffering] If the 19
suffering was somatic, then according to Danish law, Kierkegaard should have informed his betrothed of his ailment. See *Kong Christian den Femtes Danske Lov af det Iuridiske Fakultet giennemset* [King Christian V's Law Reviewed by the Faculty of Law], ed. Bærens (Copenhagen, 1797 [1683]), bk. 3, chap. 16, § 14, art. 7: "If someone [prior] to betrothal had any concealed illness, such as leprosy, epilepsy, or any other such infectious disease, and did not reveal it, then he or she may be quit of the other if it is so demanded."

her only wish for me is to remain with her—the 2 225
family implores me] See Not15:4 from 1849, where Kierkegaard writes that on the day he broke off the engagement, Regine's father begged him to stay with her (→ 221,27), saying that her despair made him fear for her health (p. 434,17 in the present volume). — **her only wish**: Variant: the editors of *SKS* suggest that "her" may be an error for "my."

make her believe . . . a frivolous prsn] In Not15:9 4
from 1849 Kierkegaard writes: "she herself said that if I could convince her that I was a scoundrel she could easily come to terms with the entire business" (p. 439,19 in the present volume). He further recalls, in Not15:4, that he had spent the nights after the break in his bed weeping, whereupon his brother, Peter Christian, had said "that he would

go to the family and prove to them that I was not a scoundrel. I said: Do that and I'll put a bullet through your head" (p. 435,*3* in the present volume). See also Kierkegaard's letter to Emil Boesen dated October 31, 1842, in which he relates that on the day before he left for Berlin, Professor F. C. Sibbern had told Peter Christian that he considered Kierkegaard egotistic and vain. "Sibbern has presumably talked with the family. I could only wish that he had also talked with her, for then my purpose would have been achieved" (*LD*, 90; *B&A* 1, 71).

225 *10* **talk of earthly love making one eloquent**] If this alludes to a proverb, it has not been identified.

226 *15* **to bring my young life to an end**] See Not8:13: "I would go back to her—in order then to end my life" (p. 223,*31* in the present volume). Kierkegaard was then twenty-eight years old.

20 **I was a deceiver**] See Not8:15 and → 225,*4*.

22 **for God all things are possible**] See Mt 19:26, where Jesus says: "For mortals it is impossible, but for God all things are possible."

23 **tempting God**] See, e.g., the article "Versuchen" [Try/Tempt], § 3, in *M. Gottfried Büchner's biblische Real- und Verbal- Hand-Concordanz oder Exegetisch-homiletisches Lexicon* [M. Gottfried Büchner's Hand Bible Concordance of Topics and Words, or Exegetical-Homiletic Lexicon], 2 vols. (with continuous pagination), 6th ed., ed. H. L. Heubner (Halle 1837–1840 [1740]; ASKB 79), vol. 2 (1837), pp. 1356–1357. There it says that people tempt God "if they, out of distrust or titillation of the flesh, call God's word, promises, commandments, warnings, goodness, omnipotence and omniscience into question, and presumptuously demand proof of these; yes, if they then dare demand it of him, by all manner of grumbling and lamentation. It occurs (1) through new sins, by which one forces the question of whether God will punish them; and (2) by recklessly exposing oneself to risk without call, hoping for God's protection."

26 **the whole thing would have been a trifle**] The Danish word here translated as "trifle" is *Smørrebrød*, literally a piece of bread and butter, i.e., a simple matter or "piece of cake," an expression found, e.g., in C. Molbech, *Dansk Ordbog* [Danish Dictionary], 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1833; ASKB 1032), vol. 2, p. 374, col. 1.

watch what I write in my letters] Probably an allusion to Kierkegaard's confidential letters from Berlin to his friend Emil Boesen, dated October 31, 1841 (*LD*, 89–91; *B&A* 1, 71–72), and November 16, 1841 (*LD*, 92–95; *B&A* 1, 73–75). *32*

down in the street] Presumably Mittelstrasse (→ 222,*29*). However, it also could be either Jägerstrasse or Charlottenstrasse because, after moving from his first lodging, Kierkegaard lived on the corner of the latter two streets, where he rented an entire apartment on the second floor from a pharmacist named Lange, who since 1840 had run "König-Salomo-Apotheke" on the ground floor at the same address. *36* 226

I think … in the moonlight on board ship] → 221,*20* and → 222,*16*. *38*

a church near the house] Regine Olsen lived with her parents at Nye-Børs, 66 (see Not15:4 with the accompanying note to p. 431,*23* in the present volume) in a property, now torn down, called De sex Søstre ("The Six Sisters"), located between the Stock Exchange (*Børs*) and Knippelsbro (*see map 2, C2–3*). On the opposite side of the canal to the northwest lay Holmen's Church (*see map 2, C3*). *4* 227

if she wanted it she would be welcome to my whole fortune] See the letter to Emil Boesen dated November 16, 1841, in which Kierkegaard writes: "that I would with pleasure put my whole fortune entirely in her hands if she so wished" (*LD*, 94; *B&A* 1, 74). — **my whole fortune**: Kierkegaard's father died in 1838 and left assets valued in 1839 at about 125,000 rix-dollars, which Kierkegaard and his brother inherited; see F. Brandt and E. Thorkelin, *Søren Kierkegaard og pengene* [Søren Kierkegaard and Money], 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 1993 [1935]), p. 67. In 1841, Kierkegaard's personal assets could hardly have been less than 50,000 rix-dollars, a considerable sum considering that, e.g., a judge in the Royal and Municipal Court in Copenhagen had an annual income of 1,200–1,800 rix-dollars, and an apprentice craftsman about 200 rix-dollars per annum, while 400 rix-dollars was reckoned enough to maintain a family for a year. *11* 227

As agreed, I am returning herewith the flower … it has been nurtured forth] Cf. an undated letter to *20* 227

Regine Olsen referring to a gift, a letter case, which it seems she has just given to him for his birthday on May 5, 1841: "Herewith I am sending you a rose. Unlike your gift, in my hands it did not develop in all its splendor, but it has withered in my hands. Unlike you, I have not been a happy witness to how everything unfolded, I have been a sad witness to how it vanished more and more; I have seen it suffer; its scent was lost; its head grew tired, its leaves drooped in the struggle with death, its blush disappeared, its fresh stem grew dry; it forgot its splendor, it thought itself forgotten, and it did not know that you kept its remembrance, it did not know that I constantly brought it to mind, it did not know that we both preserved its memory. —In truth if it had known this, it would have revived out of joy, when its time came once more it would have had but one wish, and with this wish I hereby comply; it would wish that it could stay with you, for it would say: You saw me [i.e., Kierkegaard] daily, and though I thank you for not forgetting me, that fact does not amaze me; for she did not see me and still did not forget me. So I comply herewith with its last wish, it returns to you, as it first belonged to you" (*LD*, 85; *B&A* 1, 67). — **nurtured it forth**: in Danish, *opelsket* (literally, "loved forth" or "loved up").

228 *5* **And yet . . . as a deceiver**] Cf. Not8:15 and → 225,*4* in the present volume.

8 **for I pay little heed to the external attacks by peop. who want to intrude on me**] Alludes either to those who, like Regine's father (→ 225,*2*), would press Kierkegaard to go back to Regine, or to those who, like Sibbern (→ 225,*4*), shamed him for not doing so; see Kierkegaard's reaction in his letter to Emil Boesen dated November 16, 1841. "Let the city talk" (*LD*, 94; *B&A* 1, 74). See also a letter to Pastor P. J. Spang dated November 18, 1841, in which Kierkegaard explains the reason for his journey: "[if] there had not been other things that persuaded me, I would not have traveled; I am not used to going out of my way for a crowd" (*LD* 96; *B&A* 1, 76).

17 **alas, the last can be worse than the first**] Perhaps an allusion to Jesus' discourse on driving out unclean spirits in Mt 12:45 and Lk 11:26.

today] November 22, 1841, at the latest; see Not8:33 and → 229,*24*. *24* 228

a letter to her home; it would be printed] A letter addressed to Regine's home in Nye-Børs (→ 227,*4*), though not sent there but printed anonymously in a Copenhagen newspaper. *Adresseavisen* (→ 221,*20*) in particular printed anonymous letters from private persons, as reflected in contemporary novels, in which, e.g., a suitor who had fallen out of favor with the beloved's family might resort to this expedient. Cf. Thomasine Gyllembourg, *Familien Polonius* [The Polonius Family] (Copenhagen, 1827). *27*

My R] → 221,*27*. *28*

I would have dared to poetize . . . persuade myself to do so] See Not8:18 and a letter to Emil Boesen dated November 16, 1841, in which Kierkegaard writes: "I do not poetize her, I do not bring her to mind but call myself to account. This is my boundary. I can poetize everything, so I believe, but where it is a matter of duty, obligation, responsibility, guilt, etc., there I will not and cannot poetize. If she had canceled the connection with me, yes, then my soul would have soon driven the plow of forgetfulness over her; she would have served me as others before her did—but now I serve her" (*LD*, 93; *B&A* 1, 74). *6* 229

In parting, she asked that I remember her] See Not15:4, where, in 1849, Kierkegaard writes of the break with Regine on October 11 or 18, 1841: "She said: Promise to think of me. I did so" (p. 434,*31* in the present volume). *19* 229

heard Schelling's 2nd lecture] November 22, 1841. Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling (1775–1854), German philosopher, studied philosophy and theology with Hegel (→ 231,*24*) in Tübingen (1790–1795). He was appointed professor extraordinarius at Jena in 1798, professor at Würzburg in 1803, appointed general secretary of the Academy of Visual Arts in Munich in 1806, taught at the University in Erlangen from 1820 to 1827, and then became professor at Munich. From there he was called to Berlin in 1841 in order to combat left Hegelianism. Schelling held lectures there from November 15, 1841, until March 18, 1842, on the philosophy of revelation. Kierkegaard followed the lectures until February 3, 1842, taking extensive *24* 229

notes; see the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 11*," pp. 659–663 in the present volume.

26 **"actuality" concerning philosophy's relation to the actual**] See Kierkegaard's notes from Schelling's second lecture in Not11:2, p. 303 in the present volume.

27 **the child of thought leaped . . . as in Elizabeth**] Alludes to Lk 1:41, where Elizabeth, while expecting her child (who will be John the Baptist), receives a visit from Mary, who had been told that she was to give birth to the son of God: "When Elizabeth heard Mary's greeting, the child leaped in her womb. And Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit." See also v. 44: "For as soon as I heard the sound of your greeting, the child in my womb leaped for joy."

230 16 **trustworthy in small things . . . the pound entrusted to me**] Alludes to the parable of the entrusted pound in Lk 19:11–27, where a nobleman gives ten of his slaves a pound each and bids them invest it while he is traveling. On his homecoming he has them summoned: "The first came forward and said, 'Lord, your pound has made ten more pounds.' He said to him, 'Well done, good slave! Because you have been trustworthy in a very small thing, take charge of ten cities' " (vv. 16–17).

20 **if you lost . . . your soul**] Alludes to Mt 16:26: "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world but lose his own soul" (King James version).

231 1 **Mine**] → 221,*27* and → 223,*28*.

2 **Solomon says . . . a sweet kiss**] Refers to Prov 24:26: "One who gives an honest answer gives a kiss on the lips." See *Die Bibel, oder die ganze Heilige Schrift des alten und neuen Testaments, nach der deutschen Uebersetzung D. Martin Luthers* [The Bible or the Entire Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testaments, According to the German Translation by Dr. Martin Luther] (Carlsruhe, 1836; ASKB 3), which has: "Eine richtige Antwort ist wie ein lieblicher Kuss." ("A correct answer is like a sweet kiss.") In church tradition the book of Proverbs is attributed to King Solomon; in Luther's German translation the book is thus designated "Die Sprüche Salomons" [The Sayings of Solomon]; and in the Danish translation of Kierkegaard's day, *Biblia, det er: den ganske Hellige Skrifts Bøger* [Biblia, That Is, Books of the Entire Holy Scripture] (Copenhagen, 1830; ASKB 7), it was known as "Salomo Ordsprog" [Solomon's Proverbs].

Yours] During their engagement Kierkegaard as a rule signed his letters to Regine Olsen, "Your S. K.," "Yours forever," or "Yours forever / S. K." (→ 221,*27* and → 223,*28*). Barfod noted that there was text following "Yours," but that it had been crossed out by Kierkegaard. 7

the gospel about the Good Samaritan] Refers to the parable of the merciful Samaritan who, unlike a priest and a Levite, assisted a man who had been assaulted by robbers; see Lk 10:25–37, the gospel for the thirteenth Sunday after Trinity. 9 231

he says: who was his neighbor?] Jesus tells the parable to a lawyer who, knowing that the law commands love of neighbor, nonetheless quibbles: "And who is my neighbor?" (Luke 10:29). 14

the answer is, the one who treated him well] When Jesus asked the lawyer (see previous note) who the neighbor was in this case, he answered (Lk 10:37): "The one who showed him mercy." 14

meter of . . . strength] An apparatus for measuring physical strength, especially in amusement parks. In a scientific context: dynamometer. 18 231

Jonas Olsen . . . had hated] Regine's elder brother, Jonas Christian Olsen (1816–1902), matriculated in 1837 at the University of Copenhagen, where in 1842 he passed his degree examination in theology. His note, a little letter of the sort typically delivered by a servant or by foot post, is not preserved. 20

Hegel . . . in Aesth. . . . besteht] Apart from some orthographic differences, Kierkegaard cites the German word for word from G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik* [Lectures on Aesthetics], ed. H. G. Hotho, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1835–1838; ASKB 1384–1386); these lectures constituted vol. 10.1–3 in *Hegel's Werke* (see below), and the passage Kierkegaard cites is in vol. 10.3, p. 362. The English translation is from G. W. F. Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, trans. T. M. Knox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), vol. 2, p. 1068. — **Hegel**: Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), German philosopher, privatdocent (professor extraordinarius) at Jena from 1801 to 1806, professor at Heidelberg from 1816 to 1818, and, from 1818 until his death, professor in Berlin. Kierkegaard owned a number of separate works in the series *Georg Wilhelm* 24

Friedrich Hegel's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe [George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Works: Complete Edition], vols. 1–18 (Berlin, 1832–1845; hereafter abbreviated as *Hegel's Werke*).

232 6 **D. Giovanni's natural genius**] Mozart's well-known opera *Il dissoluto punito ossia Il Don Giovanni* [The Reprobate Punished or Don Giovanni] (known as *Don Juan* in Denmark and Germany), composed in 1787 to a text by Lorenzo da Ponte and first performed in Prague that same year.

232 15 **Demoiselle Hedevig Schulze ... the part of Elvira**] Hedwig Schulze (1815–1845), German singer, made her debut in 1839 at the Berlin Court Opera on Unter den Linden, where until 1843 she sang, among other roles, that of the seduced Donna Elvira in Mozart's *Don Giovanni*. During Kierkegaard's stay *Don Giovanni* was performed on December 3 and then again on December 12, 1841, on both occasions at the Court Opera; see *Almanach für Freunde der Schauspielkunst auf das Jahr 1842* [Almanac for Friends of the Art of Acting for the Year 1842], ed. L. Wolff (Berlin, 1843), pp. 22–23. The cast for these performances is not provided, but "Dlle. Hedwig Schulze" appears under the heading "Sängerinnen" [Female Singers] in the same almanac's list of performers (p. 11). See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 8*," pp. 606–607 in the present volume.

232 28 **and no woman ... Grief does**] Variant: *added*.

232 31 **Paul writes ... Rejoice ... again I say: Rejoice**] See Phil 4:4.

234 27 **the scriptures ... a noisy gong and a clanging cymbal**] See 1 Cor 13:1: "If I speak in the tongue of mortals and of angels, but do not have love, I am a noisy gong or a clanging cymbal." And v. 13: "And now faith, hope and love abide, these three; and the greatest of these is love."

33 **the voice ... is preserved there**] Presumably an allusion to the words of the angel to the shepherds in the fields concerning the birth of Christ: "Do not be afraid; for see—I am bringing you good news of great joy for all the people" (Lk 2:10), later conveyed by the shepherds to Joseph and Mary in the stall: "But Mary treasured all these words and pondered them in her heart" (Lk 2:19).

does not leave himself without a witness] See Acts 14:17, where Paul says that God "has not left himself without a witness in doing good—giving you rains from heaven and fruitful seasons, and filling you with food and your hearts with joy." 3 235

that magician Simon ... fell down] Simon from Gitton in Samaria (1st century A.D.), called Magus (Latin, "magician"), is mentioned in Acts 8:9–24, where he tries to purchase the Holy Spirit from the apostles Peter and John. The legend has it that Simon came to Rome, where he tried to show his powers to the emperor Nero by flying, but was brought down by Peter. Kierkegaard's presumed source is *Gottfrid Arnolds Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie von Anfang des Neuen Testaments biß auff das Jahr Christi 1688* [Gottfrid Arnold's Impartial History of the Church and of Heresy from the Beginning of the New Testament to the Year of Our Lord 1688], 2 vols. in 4 pts. (Frankfurt am Main, 1699–1700; ASKB 154–155), vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 43, col. 2. 15

the one who has the ear to hear] Alludes to a phrase with which Jesus often concludes his parables, e.g., Mt 11:15: "Let anyone with ears listen." Cf. also Mt 13:9; Mt 13:43; Mk 4:9; Lk 8:8; and Lk 14:35. 20 235

1 Dec. In what Werder has discussed up to now] Karl Werder (1806–1893), German philosopher and poet, studied under Hegel in Berlin, where in 1838 he became professor extraordinarius. Kierkegaard followed Werder's lectures on his *Logik. Als Commentar und Ergänzung zu Hegels Wissenschaft der Logik* [Logic: As Commentary and Supplement to Hegel's Science of Logic], pt. 1 (Berlin, 1841; ASKB 867; hereafter abbreviated *Logik*); cf. G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik* [Science of Logic], ed. L. v. Henning, in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 231,24), vols. 3–5 (Berlin, 1833–1834 [1812–1816]; ASKB 552–554). We cannot determine how far Werder had come in his lectures by December 1, 1841. 1 239

the transition from "Werden" to "Daseyn,"] See the section "Auflösung des Werdens" [Dissolution of Becoming] in Werder, *Logik*, pp. 108–111, which refers to Hegel's *Wissenschaft der Logik*, bk. 1, sec. 1, 4

chap. 1, C.3 ("Aufheben des Werdens" [Sublation of Becoming]), in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 3, pp. 109–111.

4 **from changeableness to unchangeableness**] See the section "Auflösung der Veränderung" [Dissolution of Change] in Werder, *Logik*, pp. 146–164, which refers to Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, bk. 1, sec. 1, chap. 2, in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 3, pp. 137–173, i.e., B.c ("Die Endlichkeit" [Finitude]), C ("Die Uendlichkeit" [Infinity]), and "Der Uebergang" [Transition].

5 **Entstehen (Nichts i Seyn) . . . i.e. Daseyn**] See Werder, *Logik*, p. 109: "Indeterminate rest, being, and *abstract* generation are transcended [or sublated] in becoming; therefore it is restless movement. Passing away, which as restless movement itself passes away, is determinate being [*Daseyn*], is becoming, as is the movement of that which arises from itself and the peace which accordingly moves in itself." Hegel describes the dialectical relation between *Entstehen* ("arising") and *Vergehen* ("passing away") in *Wissenschaft der Logik*, bk. 1, sec. 1, chap. 1, C.2 ("Momente des Werdens" [Moments of Becoming]), in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 3, pp. 108–109: Both are the same, *becoming*; and although they differ in direction they interpenetrate and paralyse each other. The one is *ceasing-to-be*: being passes over into nothing, but nothing is equally the opposite of itself, transition into being, coming-to-be. This coming-to-be is the other direction: nothing passes over into being, but being equally sublates itself and is rather transition into nothing, is ceasing-to-be." English translation from *Hegel's Science of Logic*, trans. A. V. Miller (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1969), "Moments of Becoming: Coming-to-be and Ceasing-to-be," p. 106. The passage is quoted in Werder's *Logik*, p. 98.

9 **and that I think cannot be given at all in logic**] Variant: The editors of *SKS* believe that a word is missing after "I," perhaps the word "think," which has been added to the main text in square brackets.

10 **Etwas and Anderes . . . form each other**] According to Hegel's speculative logic, the categories of *Etwas* ("something") and *Anderes* ("other") are related dialectically, mutually implying each other as their opposite; see Werder, *Logik*, pp. 126–133, especially pp. 132–133: "Something is for the other and the other is for something, what does that mean? It means: the something, besides being something and *not* the other, is *also* the other, and the other, besides being the other and *not* the something, is *also* something. Each is still not *totally* the other, but as said: only momentarily, i.e., *also*. They are in unity with *each other* or are one as *two*." See also Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, bk. 1, sec. 1, chap. 2, B.a ("Etwas und ein Anderes" [Something and an Other], in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 3, pp. 122–129.

but expressed as unity, this is change] See Werder, 17
Logik, p. 138: "The truth of the something and the other is change. The concept of determinate being has realized itself in change. Determinate being, according to its concept, is becoming in the present. This existing becoming in the present, *that which has come into Being* [*das Geworden*] *as becoming*, as the becoming of itself, we call *change*."

But infinity . . . is accordingly infinity] See Hegel, 19
Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik (→ 231,24), vol. 3 (*Hegel's Werke*, vol. 10.3), pp. 242–243: "Thinking, however, results in thoughts alone; it evaporates the form of reality into the form of the pure Concept, and even if it grasps and apprehends real things in their particular character and real existence, it nevertheless lifts even this particular sphere into the element of the universal and ideal wherein alone thinking is at home with itself. Consequently, contrasted with the world of appearance, a new realm arises which is indeed the truth of reality, but this is a truth which is not made *manifest* again in the real world itself as its formative power and as its own soul. Thinking is only a reconciliation between reality and truth within thinking itself. But poetic creation and formation is a reconciliation in the form of a *real* phenomenon itself, even if this form be presented only spiritually." English translation from Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art* (→ 231,24), vol. 2, p. 976.

A remark . . . Aesthetik, part 3, p. 243] Alludes to 25 239
Hegel's account of the dialectical relation between finitude and infinity in *Wissenschaft der Logik* (→ 239,4), on which Werder comments in *Logik*, p. 152: "The finite with its inherent *passing away*, that by virtue of which and by reason of which it passes away, is thus *itself as not itself*. But that expresses the infinite and nothing more . . . In the *word*: *infinite* there lies obviously the *thought* of the infinite—the thought that it is the *finite* itself as not itself."

239 29 **The doctrine of revelation . . . in his Dogmatics**] See Kierkegaard's notes from the German theologian and professor Philipp Konrad Marheineke's lectures in Berlin: "Die Christliche Dogmengeschichte" [History of Christian Teaching], the section on "God's Mediated Revelation," in Not9:1, pp. 244–248 in the present volume.

31 **the logical principle . . . Werder . . . the last word**] See Werder, *Logik*, p. 153: "So one can say: the finite itself is the infinite—and one says so if one *knows what* one says. The finite '*itself*' means: *not* the finite—but the completed. For the finite is not *itself*, because as finite it *is* not, since its being is non-being; and from eternity, even before it was able to begin as finite, it had already passed away as such. That means: it *is* only in the everlasting. The *itself* of the finite is the infinite. That non-being manifests itself as *not-having-been* is the manifestation of being itself, *as such*. And eternal being, precisely as this manifestation, is becoming itself. For it is, in this way, its own reflection and contemplates itself, *its* other existing in itself. What does that mean? *Not-having-been-being*? . . . It means *being*, *eternal absolute being*; it is the other expression for this, *its* other expression, its own, its reflection, its word, wherein it sees and understands itself from eternity, itself. It means: the finite *itself* is the infinite."

34 **the doctrine of the image of God in Marheincke's lecture**] See Kierkegaard's notes from P. K. Marheineke's lectures: "Die Christliche Dogmengeschichte" [The History of Christian Teaching], the section on "Vom göttlichen Ebenbilde" [On the Divine Image], in Not9:1, pp. 248–250 in the present volume.

4 240 **A passage . . . Aesthetik, vol. 3, p. 440, foot of page**] See Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik* (*Hegel's Werke*, vol. 10.3), vol. 3, pp. 440–441: "But, thirdly, there is a form of the spirit which, in one aspect, outsoars the imagination of heart and vision because it can bring its content into free self-consciousness in a more decisively universal way and in more necessary connectedness than is possible for any art at all. I mean philosophical thinking. Yet this form, conversely, is burdened with the abstraction of developing solely in the province of thinking, i.e. of purely ideal universality, so that man in the concrete may find himself forced to express the contents and results of his philosophical mind in a concrete way as penetrated by his heart and vision, his imagination and feeling, in order in this way to have and provide a total expression of his whole inner life." English translation from Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art* (→ 231,*24*), vol. 2, pp. 1127–1128.

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NOTES FOR NOTEBOOK 9 and NOTEBOOK 10

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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript

Notebook 9 and *Notebook 10* are two small octavo pocket books, each comprising thirty-eight leaves or seventy-six pages. The text runs continuously from *Notebook 9* to *Notebook 10*. Both are fully bound in thin, green leather. The front and back covers of each notebook are decorated with a double gold edging, with the front cover also having gold floral patterning. The inside of the front and back covers are covered with light red glossy paper. Each book also has four loops made of green leather that serve as pen-holders, and the paper covering the inner side of the front cover of each book is folded into a small pocket. Both notebooks are preserved in their entirety and are kept in the Kierkegaard Archive (KA) at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

Notebook 9 is written in from both front and back, *Notebook 10* from the front only.

II. Dating and Chronology

Notebook 9 consists of nine entries, none of them dated.

The notebook was begun in October, 1841. After defending his dissertation *On the Concept of Irony* on September 29, 1841, Kierkegaard left on October 25 for Berlin, where he attended Marheineke's lectures on "Die Christliche Dogmengeschichte" [The History of Christian Dogma], which had begun on October 17.[1]

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[1]) In a letter dated October 31, 1841, sent to Emil Boesen from Berlin, Kierkegaard writes: "I have begun to attend lectures. I have had one hour with Marheineke, which I was very satisfied with, for although it contained nothing new, it was nevertheless very agreeable to be able to hear orally much of what one is used to seeing in print" (*LD*, 90; *B&A* 1, 71). The editors of *Pap.* assert that Kierkegaard followed Marheineke's lectures on "Die Christliche Dogmatik, mit Rücksicht auf

Entries Not9:2–9 are from K. Werder's lectures on "Logik und Metphysik mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die bedeutendsten älteren und neueren Systeme" [Logic and Metaphysics, with Special Regard to the Most Significant Ancient and Modern Systems]. These lectures were also held in Berlin in the winter semester of 1841–1842 and Kierkegaard mentions them in an entry in *Notebook 8* (Not8:50, dated December 1, 1841).

Notebook 10 contains no dates, but since Not10:8 continues in mid-sentence from the closing Marheineke entry in *Notebook 9* (Not9:1), *Notebook 10* is plainly from the same period as *Notebook 9*. Kierkegaard marked this by cutting the page immediately after Not9:1 and the page immediately preceding Not10:8.

The first entry in *Notebook 10* is an excerpt from the third volume of Hegel's *Aesthetics,* which Kierkegaard also mentions in Not8:51, dated December 6, 1841.

Not10:10, the concluding entry of *Notebook 10*, is headed "Copenhagen" and thus was presumably written after Kierkegaard's return from Berlin, i.e., after March 6, 1842.

Notebook 9 and *Notebook 10* are therefore datable to the period from late October 1841 until sometime shortly after March 6, 1842.

III. Contents.

Notebook 9 consists of nine entries, written, as mentioned above, from both the front and the back of the book.

Not9:1 runs from the front of the book and consists of extensive notes on Marheineke's lectures.[1]

The entries written from the back of the book are those on Werder's lectures (Not9:2–7) and two tables of categories related to these lectures (Not9:8–9).

Both Marheineke's and Werder's series of lectures are discussed

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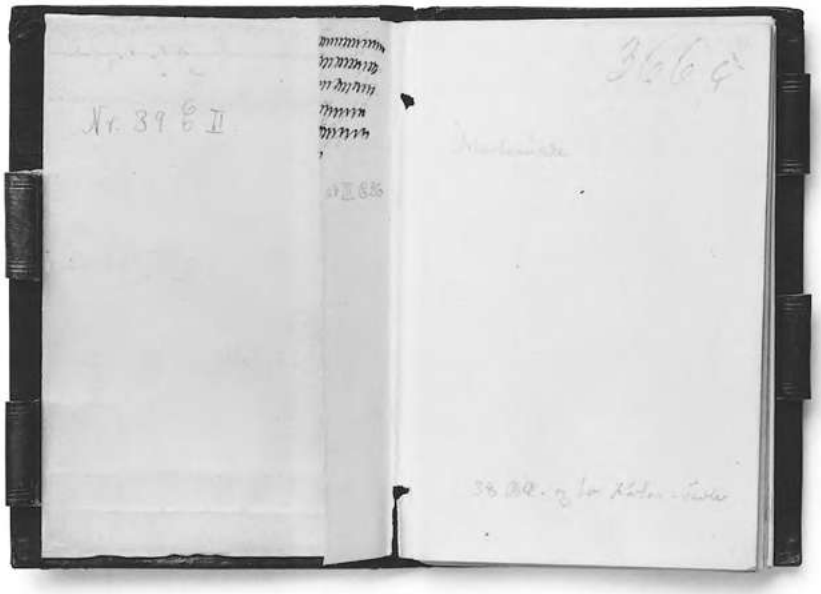
Daub's System" [Christian Dogmatics, With Regard to Daub's System] (*Pap.* XIII, p. 197), also held in the winter semester of 1841–1842. See the introduction to the Explanatory Notes for *Notebook 9*, pp. 627–629 in the present volume.

[1]) See the introduction to the Explanatory Notes for *Notebook 9*, pp. 627–629 in the present volume.



Notebook 9. The first leaf of the journal has been partially cut off.

Notebook 10:8. Midway through a sentence,
Kierkegaard continues with his notes on Marheineke's lectures.

in the introductions preceding the portions of the explanatory notes to which they are relevant.

Notebook 10 contains ten entries.

It is dominated by the two entries (Not10:8–9) that resume Kierkegaard's notes on Marheineke's lectures from *Notebook 9*. Not10:8 is headed "Marheinecke" and begins with the words "that it is for all" (*see illustration*), which continue the sentence broken off at the end of Not9:1. Not10:9 concludes Kierkegaard's notes on these lectures.

The first entry in *Notebook 10* (Not10:1) consists of short excerpts from the third volume of G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik* [Lectures on Aesthetics], ed. H. G. Hotho, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1835–1838; ASKB 1384–1386). These concern the different types of poetry (epic, lyric and dramatic).[1] The next six entries, Not10:2–7, consist of quotations from Sophocles' plays *Oedipus at Colonus*, *Antigone*, and *Philoctetes* and of Kierkegaard's comments on these works.

The concluding entry, Not10:10, has the heading "Copenhagen," presumably intended to distinguish it from the "Berlin" entries. It comprises: (a) a table of the four categories of Stoic philosophy, which are given in Greek and translated into Danish; (b) Kant's tables of categories and forms of judgment; and (c) an unsourced table of various forms of drawing conclusions from judgments.

The two notebooks were probably produced as "live" lecture notes, since even though they do not contain many corrections there are a large number of orthographic and grammatical errors, suggesting that Kierkegaard had his work cut out to keep up.

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1) See also the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 12*," p. 720 in the present volume.

Explanatory Notes

Marheineke's Lectures on "Die Christliche Dogmengeschichte" [The History of Christian Dogma]

Philipp Konrad Marheineke (1780–1846) was a German Lutheran theologian, extraordinary professor at Erlangen beginning in 1805, ordinary professor at Heidelberg beginning in 1807, and ordinary professor at Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin from 1811 until his death. He was influenced by G.W.F. Hegel, but was an independent thinker who developed his own version of speculative theology, based on the assumption that Christian dogmatics and speculative philosophy were fundamentally in agreement. What Christian doctrine represented in the form of *Vorstellung* (German, "representation"), philosophy set forth in the form of the *Begriff* (German, "concept"). He was especially active in the three theological disciplines of symbolics, homiletics, and dogmatics, publishing *Christliche Symbolik* [Christian Symbolics] (3 vols., 1810–1813), *Grundlegung der Homiletik* [The Foundations of Homiletics] (1811), and *Grundlehren der christlichen Dogmatik* [The Foundational Doctrines of Christian Dogmatics] (1819).

According to the "Program of Lectures to Be Held at Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin during Winter Semester 1841–42, commencing October 17," Marheineke gave two series of lectures during this period. The first was "Die Christliche Dogmatik, mit Rücksicht auf Daubs System" [Christian Dogmatics, with Reference to Daub's System], held at 9:00–10:00 A.M., and "Die Christliche Dogmengeschichte" [The History of Christian Dogma], held at 10:00–11:00 A.M. In both series, he lectured five times a week *privatim* ("privately"), meaning that the students paid to attend, as opposed to lectures *publice et gratis* ("gratis to the public"), for which the university paid.

Marheineke's lectures were posthumously published by S. Matthias and W. Vatke in *D. Philipp Marheineke's Theologische Vorlesungen* [Dr. Philipp Marheineke's Theological Lectures], 4 vols. (Berlin, 1847–1849). The second volume (1847), contains the *System der christlichen Dogmatik* [System of Christian Dogmatics]. When these pub-

lished lectures are compared with Kierkegaard's notes, it is clear that his notes follow the course of the lectures very closely, in many cases with a word-for-word rendering of Marheineke. Only in the very last sections of *Notebook 10* are there inconsistencies that point to a significant subsequent reworking of the lectures on Marheineke's part.

There is some debate about which of Marheineke's lecture series Kierkegaard attended. The editors of *SKS* argue that Kierkegaard likely attended those advertised as "Die Christliche Dogmengeschichte" [The History of Christian Dogma] because those lectures are more historically oriented and because Marheineke does not refer to Daub in the *System der christlichen Dogmatik*.[1]

Marheineke began his lectures on October 17, 1841. Kierkegaard, however, did not arrive in Berlin until October 25, and thus his notes in *Notebook 9* begin at the section titled "Von der unmittelbaren Offenbarung Gottes, oder vom Sohn" [On the Immediate Revelation of God, or On the Son] at the point where Marheineke summarizes the heretical positions of Sabellius and Arius (see p. 125 in

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1) This is the view of the *SKS* editors. It is, however, contested by Heiko Schulz in his article "Marheineke: The Volatilization of Christian Doctrine," in Jon Stewart, ed., *Kierkegaard and His German Contemporaries: Theology* (Tome II of *Kierkegaard Research: Sources, Reception and Resources*, vol. 6) (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 117–142. Although Schulz concedes the obvious concurrence between Kierkegaard's notes on Marheineke's lectures in *Notebooks 9 and 10* and Marheineke's posthumously published *System der christlichen Dogmatik* (*SdcD*), he argues that this volume of Marheineke corresponds to his winter semester 1841–1842 lecture series titled "Die christliche Dogmatik, mit Rücksicht auf Daubs System" rather than to Marheineke's other lecture series, also given in the winter semester of 1842–1842, titled "Die christliche Dogmengeschichte." (See also Heiko Schulz, "Die spekulative Verflüchtigung des Christentums. Philipp Marheinekes System der christlichen Dogmatik und seine Rezeption bei Søren Kierkegaard" [The Speculative Volatilization of Christianity: Philipp Marheineke's System of Christian Dogmatics and Its Reception by Søren Kierkegaard"], in *Kierkegaard Studies: Yearbook 2003* [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003], pp. 20–47.) Because the editors of *SKS* also point out that many specific passages in Marheineke's posthumously published *SdcD* often coincide closely with Kierkegaard's notes, the real question is which of the two series of lectures that Marheineke held in the winter semester of 1841–1842 is the one that formed the basis for *SdcD*.

System der christlichen Dogmatik). Kierkegaard takes notes in *Notebook 9* until he breaks off in mid-sentence (corresponding to p. 361 in the *System der christlichen Dogmatik*) and continues from there in *Notebook 10*, with the notes that correspond to pp. 361–470 in Marheineke's subsequently published text.

The page numbers given in the explanatory notes that follow provide the main cross-references to Marheineke's text so as to enable the reader to follow the argument in greater detail and comprehensiveness. They also indicate significant points at which Kierkegaard's text is difficult to understand without reference to the wording of the subsequently published version of Marheineke's lectures. *System der christlichen Dogmatik* is structured in a triadic way, such that each section contains subsections on "The Biblical Teaching," "The Church's Teaching" and the "Concept of the Dogma." In what follows, *System der christlichen Dogmatik* will be abbreviated *SdcD*. See also the "Critical Account of the Texts" of *Notebook 9* and *Notebook 10*, pp. 623–626 in this volume.

243 2 **ex nihilo**] Refers to the Christian doctrine that God created the world out of nothing.

3 **Sabellius**] Sabellius, a Roman theologian of the early 3rd century B.C., said to have been born in Libya. He regarded the three persons of the Trinity as different modes of the one God. According to *SdcD*, p. 125, this is not to be understood as affirming the immediate identity of the divine persons but as a denial of their true differentiation.

3 **Arius**] Arius (d. 336) was an ordained priest at one of the leading churches of Alexandria. In the Christological controversies of the time he held the position that only the Father was without beginning, but the Son was created out of nothing. Thus, the Son is of a similar essence to the Father (**ὁμοιοιούσιος**, Greek, homoiooúsios), not of the same essence (**ὑπόστασις**, Greek, hypóstasis). On the basis of his strong differentiation between the Father and the Son, Arius is seen in *SdcD*, p. 126, as representing the pole opposite Sabellius.

4 **Nicæa**] Nicaea here refers to the first ecumenical council convened by the Emperor Constantine I and held at Nicaea (now Iznik in Turkey) in 325. It issued in the affirmation that the Son was "of the same essence" (Greek, homoioúsios) as the Father, a definition incorporated into the Nicene Creed. This is treated by Marheineke as a position which opposes both Sabellianism and Arianism; see *SdcD*, p. 127.

5 **consubstantial**] "Of one substance" or "having the same essence," a term used of the identity of the divine persons in the Christian concept of the Trinity.

6 **Concept of the Dogma**] See *SdcD*, pp. 128–140.

7 **1) Das sichoffenbarseyn Gottes**] See *SdcD*, pp. 128–131.

8 **Spinoza himself . . . accidents**] A reference to one of the fundamental points of Spinoza's *Ethica* [Ethics] (1675, posthumously published in 1677). In opposition to Descartes's metaphysical dualism in which a basic distinction was drawn between *res cogitans* (Latin, "thinking substance," i.e., the soul, consciousness) and *res extensa* (Latin, "extended substance," i.e., matter), Spinoza argued that there is only one substance, God, which has consciousness and extension as internal properties. See *Ethica*, pt. 2, prop. 1: "Thought is an attribute of God, or God is a thinking thing" and prop. 2: "Extension is an attribute of God, or God is an extended thing." See *Benedicti de Spinoza opera philosophica omnia* [The Complete Philosophical Works of Benedict de Spinoza], ed. A. Gfrörer (Stuttgart, 1830; ASKB 788; abbreviated hereafter as *Spinoza opera*), p. 311. — **accident**: What does not belong to the definition or essence of a thing. Here an error for "attribute" or "property." See *SdcD*, p. 129.

A duality] i.e., of Father and Son within the unity of the Godhead. 10

2) das Grundseyn Gottes] See *SdcD*, pp. 131–134. 12

causa sui] See Spinoza's *Ethica* (→ 243,8), pt. 1, first definition: "I understand that to be cause of itself whose essence involves existence and whose nature cannot be conceived unless existing" (*Spinoza opera*, p. 287). 12

Rationalism] Rationalist theology was widespread in the Enlightenment period, especially between 1750 and 1800. The rationalists held that all propositions of faith must be capable of being grounded in reason and that all beliefs that overstepped human beings' rational capacities were to be rejected. They therefore sought to bring the Christian doctrine of revelation, as well as the contents of the Bible and of confessional statements, into harmony with reason and experience. According to *SdcD*, rationalism has an idea of God as ground of the world but not as his own ground or cause (pp. 131–132). 12

Jacob Bohme] Jakob Boehme (1575–1624), German Lutheran lay theologian and mystical writer, also known as "Philosophus Teutonicus." He was an important influence on German idealism, largely in connection with his dynamic view of the divine being and life. His English followers are referred to in contemporary literature as "Behmenists" (from "Behmen," another Anglicization of his name). 18

Gott hat aus Einem . . . doch ein geblieben] This phrase is not found in *SdcD*. 19

λογος] Greek (lógos), "word," "reason." See, e.g., Jn 1:1–3. According to *SdcD*, p. 133, God is "logos." 20

ground ratio] "reason" in the sense of ground. 20

3.) God: Father and Son] See *SdcD*, pp. 134–140. 25

in the concept] *SdcD*, p. 134, reads "im Begriff, d. i. in der Wahrheit, gegründet" (German, "based in the concept, that is, in truth"). 28

it has the concept] "It" being the Christian idea. 29

αγενητος] Greek (agenētos), "ungenerated." *SdcD*, p. 135, has ἀγεννητός and translates it as *der ungezeugte* (German, "the one who has not been pro- 30

duced or begotten") with reference to God as Father.

30 **γενετος**] Greek (genetós), "generated." *SdcD*, p. 135, has γεννηθείς and translates it as *der Gezeugte* (German, "the begotten") with reference to God as Son.

31 **idea ... representational ideas**] Kierkegaard's *Forestilling* (Danish) translates the German *Vorstellung*, a technical term in Hegelian philosophy. It means an idea or representation that is constrained by the external form or image of what is being thought, and which has not yet attained the pure self-transparency of the concept. It is variously translated here as "idea," "representational idea," or "representation."

32 **God the Father being Father eternally, and God the Son eternally Son**] *SdcD*, p. 136, reads: "daß der Vater ewig der Vater und nicht Sohn, der Sohn ewig der Sohn und nicht Vater ist" (German, "that God the Father is eternally Father and not Son, the Son eternally Son and not Father").

34 **God's generative act**] A reference to the idea of the Son being begotten by the Father, as affirmed in the Nicene Creed.

244 3 **The unification ... presupposes their separation**] An allusion to the incarnation, in which **λογος** (→ 243,*20*) became a human being in Jesus; see Jn 1:14.

11 **rationalistic polytheism**] See *SdcD*, pp. 137–138. "Thus many indeed call God Father, but only as the Father of all people, and [only as] all are his sons and children. This rationalistic teaching is utterly polytheistic."

12 **Only in the Son can one come to the Father**] See Jn 14:6.

14 **God's Mediated Revelation**] See *SdcD*, pp. 140–263.

15 **1. Creation**] See *SdcD*, pp. 140–172.

16 **a) Creation itself**] See *SdcD*, pp. 140–172.

16 **in God's image**] See Gen 1:27.

16 **The loss of this image**] In some Christian theological traditions, not least in Protestantism, the Fall led to the loss of the divine image in which human beings had been created.

19 **α) The biblical teaching**] See *SdcD*, pp. 140–144.

19 **δι' αυτου**] Greek (di auton), "through him." According to *SdcD*, p. 141, Marheineke has in mind Jn 1:3 and Jn 1:10.

εν αυτῳ ... a Werkzeug] εν αυτῳ (Greek [eni auton], "in him"). *Werkzeug* (German, "instrument," "tool"). See *SdcD*, pp. 141–143: "Rationalism helps itself out by appealing to the Son's subordination to the Father and says that the formulae are intended only to refer to the instrument [i.e., of creation]." 20

Supernaturalism] As opposed to the rationalists (→ 243,*12*), the supernaturalists saw revelation as necessary, and asserted the authority of the Bible over that of reason. Both schools, however, shared an intellectual approach to religion, and the supernaturalists typically collated the contents of faith into doctrinal propositions to be defended by rational argument. 21

Creation ex nihilo] → 243,*2*; see *SdcD*, pp. 142–143. 22

β) The Church's teaching] See *SdcD*, pp. 144–147. 25

the emanationist systems] See *SdcD*, p. 144, which refers to Zoroastrianism, Gnosticism, and Kabbalism as examples of such systems. Marheineke here seems to rely on Hegel's discussion of emanation in connection with Gnosticism and Kabbalism. See Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie* [Lectures on the History of Philosophy], ed. C. L. Michelet, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1833–1836; ASKB 557–559), vol. 3; in *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe* [The Works of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel: Complete Edition], 18 vols. (Berlin, 1832–1845; abbreviated hereafter as *Hegel's Werke*), vols. 13–15; vol. 15, pp. 28ff. (*Jub.* vol. 19, pp. 28ff.). 27

Arianism] See *SdcD*, pp. 144–145. — **Arianism**: → 243,*3*. 27

Pantheism] See *SdcD*, p. 145. 29

Ideas that separate God from the world] See *SdcD*, pp. 145–146. 29

materialism] See *SdcD*, p. 145: "This is a) the nature of *materialism*, that it transfers the eternity that is exclusive to God's essence to the material world, thus fixing a contradiction, a gulf, between God and the world." 30

hylozoism] Hylozoism is the view that sees the universe as a single living being. In *SdcD*, p. 145, Marheineke cites Leucippus, Democritus, and Epicurus as representatives of this position. 30

Pelagianism] See *SdcD*, pp. 145–146. — **Pelagianism**: Named after Pelagius, a British monk and ascetic preacher, active in Rome ca. 400. In ca. 410 he went to Africa, and from there to Palestine, where 30

he was not heard from after 418. Pelagius denied the doctrine of original or hereditary sin and asserted that free will is sufficient to lead a sinless life in accordance with the will of God. He regarded sin as an action, not a state, and believed that all are born, like Adam, as originally created by God. He did not reject the idea of grace, however, which he believed to have been given through Christ and which assists us in becoming holy by Christ's inspiring example. His teachings were condemned at Augustine's instigation by two African Synods in 416 and 418, and by a Western imperial edict in 419. He was not, however, formally condemned in the East. Marheineke here refers to the doctrine of creation that underlies Pelagius's views on grace.

30 **The Church's teaching . . . the biblical**] See *SdcD*, pp. 146–147.

34 **the Schmalkaldic Articles**] *Artikel christlicher Lehre* [Articles of Christian Doctrine], also known as the "Schmalkaldic Articles," written by Luther in 1536 as a comprehensive statement of doctrine for Protestants. Translated from German into Latin in 1541 and 1580.

35 **it is the triune God who created the world**] See *De schmalkaldiske Artikler*, pt. 1. art. 1, in *Libri symbolici ecclesiae evangelicae sive Concordia* [The Symbolic Books of the Evangelical Church, or the Concordia], ed. K. A. Hase (Leipzig, 1827; abbreviated hereafter as *Libri symbolici*), p. 303. See *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche. Herausgegeben im Gedenkjahr der Augsburgischen Konfession 1930* [The Confessional Writings of the Evangelical Lutheran Church: Published on the Anniversary of the Augsburg Confession, 1930], 11th ed. [German and Latin] (Göttingen, 1992; abbreviated hereafter as *Die Bekenntnisschriften*), p. 414.

37 **4) Concept of the Dogma**] See *SdcD*, pp. 147–172.

38 **die erscheinende Welt**] *SdcD*, p. 147, has "die Erscheinungswelt" (German, "the world of appearance"). According to Kant, the world of appearances is the world determined by the forms of space and time, and known through sensuously determined representations subject to the categories of the understanding. Opposed to this world of appearances is the "Ding an sich" (German, "the thing-in-itself") that transcends the representational powers of the understanding. See *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* [The Critique of Pure Reason] 4th ed. (Riga, 1794 [1781]; ASKB 595). In Hegel the appearances are opposed to the supersensuous world. See *Wissenschaft der Logik* [Science of Logic], ed. L. v. Henning, 2 vols. (Berlin 1833–1834 [1812–1816]; ASKB 552–554), vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 4, pp. 119–183 and pp. 153–161 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 597–661, esp. pp. 631–639).

stuck on the atom . . . vis-à-vis consciousness] According to the Greek Atomists (namely, Leucippus, Democritus, and Epicurus), the universe consists of atoms whose mechanical and chemical interactions produce the world as we know it. 41

concursus of atoms] See preceding note and *SdcD*, p. 145. 2 245

The Spirit does not hover over the waters] As opposed to the biblical account of creation. See Gen 1:2. 3

In idealism . . . in and for itself] See *SdcD*, p. 148. 5

quantitatively predominant] i.e., predominantly quantitative. 8

Identity teaches that being is thought] See *SdcD*, p. 148. 10

Absolute Spirit . . . and to thought] In Hegel's *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften* [Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences] (1817) Absolute Spirit is the highest of the hierarchy of triadic forms, consisting of subjective, objective, and Absolute Spirit. Its forms are art, philosophy, and religion. See *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften*, ed. L. von Henning, K. L. Michelet, and L. Boumann, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1840–1845; ASKB 561–563; abbreviated hereafter as *Encyclopädie*), §§ 553–577, vol. 3; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*) vol. 7.2, pp. 440–470 (*Jub.* vol. 10, p. 446–476). 11

the other world] See *SdcD*, p. 150, where the expression applies to the world of nature and Spirit and thus to the world of human experience and action. 16

known only . . . and as reborn] See *SdcD*, p. 151, where the idea is that it is only though baptism that the infant is recognized as a full member of the human community. 19

The divine creation] See *SdcD*, pp. 151–169. 20

This is not recognized: in Pantheism] See *SdcD*, p. 151. 21

cosmologically] See *SdcD*, pp. 151–152. The term "cosmologically" refers here to the so-called cosmological proofs for the existence of God. 22

Pantheism's substantiality] *SdcD*, p. 152, has "das pantheistische Substanzialitätsverhältniß" (Ger- 27

man, "the pantheistic relationship of substantiality"), i.e., the notion that God and the world have the same substance.

29 **The teleological**] See *SdcD*, pp. 152–153. The term "teleological" here refers to the so-called teleological proofs for the existence of God (→ 247,24).

30 **Zweck and Mittel . . . by which it realizes itself**] See *SdcD*, p. 152.

33 **an sich**] → 244,38.

37 **Creation by God's Son**] See *SdcD*, pp. 153–158.

37 **opera dei ad extra**] i.e., God's actions in relation to creatures: primarily creation, redemption, and sanctification.

40 **A relationship of God to himself . . . to the one creating**] See *SdcD*, p. 154.

246 6 **God is not the Gnostics' αβυθος or abyss**] See *SdcD*, p. 155, which also alludes to Boehme and Schelling as well as to the Gnostics.

7 **In the Creed, too . . . Creator**] See the Apostles' Creed, which begins "I believe in God, the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth . . ."

11 **εν αυτῳ εκθιστεν τα παντα**] Greek, "in him all things were created." εκθιστεν, should be εκτισθη. See Col 1:16 in *Novum Testamentum graece* [Greek New Testament], ed. C. G. Knapp, 4th ed., 2 vols. (Halle 1829 [1797]; ASKB 14–15).

14 **In the Son the Father loves the world**] See, e.g., Jn 3:16.

19 **Creation from Nothing**] → 243,2. See *SdcD*, pp. 158–163.

20 **negatively**] See *SdcD*, pp. 158–159.

20 **Tohu wabohu**] See Gen 1:2.

21 **he has not created it**] i.e, the world.

25 **Such Gnosticism, lacking Rückkehr, is the opposite of Spinozism**] *SdcD*, p. 159. Here the German *Rückkehr* means "return" in the sense of God's outward movement being grounded in an internal self-relationship or return to himself.

25 **Spinozism, where everything sinks into God**] See *SdcD*, p. 159. — **Spinozism:** often used as a synonym for Pantheism. However, Marheineke is making a distinction here between Spinozism and Emanationist systems (→ 244,27), such as Gnosticism. In the latter systems there is a clear difference between creator and creation, whereas Spinoza maintains a strict monsim.

29 **positively**] See *SdcD*, pp. 160–163.

and lets it emerge for consciousness] *SdcD*, p. 161, 32 reads "nimmt sie auf in das Bewußtseyn" (German, "takes it up into consciousness").

God said: Let there be] See Gen 1:3.6. 35

created from God's essence] A maximalist interpretation of Gen 1:26–27. 37

The Necessity of the World] See *SdcD*, pp. 163–169. 1 247

in der Noth (Nothwendigkeit)] "Necessity" is understood here in a Hegelian sense, i.e., not as a form of causality but definitionally, as in the necessity of the three angles of a triangle making a sum of 180 degrees. 2

expansion] i.e., an expansion of God so as to encompass the world. See *SdcD*, p. 164. 6

The freedom . . . Strauss in his Rechtsphilosophie] In *SdcD*, p. 166, Marheineke does not refer to Strauss, but to the jurist and philosopher of law, Friedrich Julius Stahl (1802–1861), specifically to Stahl's *Die Philosophie des Rechts nach geschichtlicher Ansicht* [The Philosophy of Right from a Historical Perspective], 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1830–1833), vol. 1, pp. 324ff. — **Strauss:** David Friedrich Strauss (1808–1874), a leading representative of the so-called Left Hegelianism. His ground breaking study of the mythical bases of NT texts, published in vol. 1 of his *Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet* [The Life of Jesus, Treated Critically], 2 vols., 4th ed. (Tübingen, 1840 [1835–36]) in 1835 led to his dismissal from a Church position and became a key text in 19th-century studies of the life of Jesus. 14

a treatise by Julius Müller in Studien und Critiken 1835] In *SdcD*, p. 166, Marheineke refers to Julius Müller's review article in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken. Eine Zeitschrift für das gesammte Gebiet der Theologie* [Theological Studies and Criticism: A Periodical for All Fields of Theology], ed. E. Ullmann and F. W. C. Umbreit (Hamburg, 1835), pt. 3, pp. 703–794. The article begins with some remarks on C. H. Weiße's review (1833) of F. Richter's *Die Lehre von den letzten Dingen* [The Doctrine of the Last Things] (1833) and to C. F. Göschel's review (1834) of F. Richter *Die neue Unsterblichkeitslehre* [The New Doctrine of Immortality] (1833). Thereafter it continues with a discussion of C. H. Weiße's, *Die philosophische Geheimlehre von der Unsterblichkeit des menschlichen Individuums* [The Arcane Philosophical Doctrine of the Immortality of the Human Individual] (1834) and of I. H. Fichte's, *Die Idee der Persönlichkeit und der individuellen Fort-* 15

dauer [The Idea of Personality and of Individual Survival] (1834), together with comments on Weiße's review (1834) of Fichte's book. — **Julius Müller**: (1801–1878), German Lutheran theologian, extraordinary professor at Göttingen (1834), ordinary professor at Marburg (1835), and ordinary professor at Halle (1839). Best known for his two-volume work *Die christliche Lehre von der Sünde* [The Christian Doctrine of Sin] (1839–1844).

23 **Zweck der Weltschöpfung**] See *SdcD*, pp. 169–172.

24 **the teleological proof**] → 245,*29*. *SdcD*, p. 169, has "die teleologische Betrachtung" (German, "the teleological view").

28 **posited as "Geist."**] *SdcD*, p. 169, has "als Geist bestimmt" (German, "determined as Spirit").

29 **If one asks what the Zweck . . . but as Spirit**] See *SdcD*, p. 170.

32 **not created ihretvillen, but Gotteswillen**] See *SdcD*, p. 170.

32 **If it is truly für Gott then it is by no means für sich**] See *SdcD*, p. 170.

33 **If it is separated from its für sich**] i.e., separated from its being-for-God. See *SdcD*, p. 170.

37 **merely as the sich genug seiende . . . sich genugthuende**] *SdcD*, p. 171, has "der sich selbst genug*seyende*" (German, "that *is* sufficient for itself) and "der sich selbst genug*thuende*" (German, "that *acts* sufficiently for itself").

248 3 **This may readily be combined . . . its werden und geworden seyn**] That is, God's end (*Zweck*) in *thinking* the world and God's end (*Zweck*) in *creating* the world are one. See *SdcD*, p. 171.

7 **Dieß vermittelt itself . . . the means**] See *SdcD*, p. 172.

12 **Vom göttlichen Ebenbilde**] See *SdcD*, pp. 173–196. → 244,*16*.

13 **The biblical teaching**] See *SdcD*, pp. 173–174.

13 **the Church's teaching**] See *SdcD*, pp. 174–175.

13 **the scholastic**] See *SdcD*, pp. 174–175. — **the scholastic**: refers here to the Catholic theology of the Middle Ages, especially as developed under the influence of Aristotelianism.

13 **Concept of the Dogma**] See *SdcD*, pp. 175–196.

16 **1) Hum. being creation's midpoint**] See *SdcD*, pp. 175–182.

17 **The material world with the sun**] See *SdcD*, pp. 175–177.

17 **the intellectual**] i.e., the intellectual world. See *SdcD*, pp. 177–180.

the accidental] → 243,*8*. 25

angels] See *SdcD*, p. 178. 26

for adopting this idea] i.e., the idea of angels. See *SdcD*, p. 178. 27

This, hum. beings' precedence . . . nature] See *SdcD*, pp. 180–182. 33

Uranfänglichkeit] See *SdcD*, p. 181. 34

Descent from one pair] i.e., from Adam and Eve. 36

The idea of an autochthonous origin] i.e., the idea that organic beings originate from inorganic matter. 36

Strauss . . . assumes it] In *SdcD*, p. 181, Marheineke refers to "I. 680," i.e., to D. F. Strauss (→ 247,*14*), *Die christliche Glaubenslehre in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und im Kampfe mit der modernen Wissenschaft* [The Christian Doctrine of Faith in Its Historical Development and Conflict with Modern Scientific Knowledge], 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1840–1841; abbreviated hereafter as *Die christliche Glaubenslehre*), vol. 1, § 50, "Das erstgeschaffene Menschenpaar" [The First Created Human Couple], pp. 675–686; p. 680. 37

An image of God . . . finite sense] See *SdcD*, pp. 182–186. 40

In its truth . . . identity] See *SdcD*, pp. 182–183. 40

Ebenbild] → 244,*16*. 1 249

homoousios] → 243,*3* 2

homoiousios] → 243,*3* 2

If the Son is image . . . das Nachbild] See *SdcD*, p. 182. 4

with hum. beings' . . . picture] See *SdcD*, pp. 182–183. 6

the lost image] → 244,*16*. 9

alle angeschaffen] *SdcD*, p. 183, has "anerschaffen." 10

Difference and identity come together] See *SdcD*, pp. 183–186. 10

with God] *SdcD*, p. 183, has "mit dem Vater" (German, "with the Father"). 12

the difference that was posited in the first Adam] Namely, the difference from God. See *SdcD*, p. 184. 13

the second Adam] i.e., Christ. See Rom 5:12–21. 13

When the possibility of sin . . . a beginning] See *SdcD*, p. 184. 14

the first hum. being's likeness to God] See Gen 1:26–27. 15

in him the im Uendliche endliche Geist ist] See *SdcD*, p. 185. 20

not a Theilseyn Gottes, in a numerical sense] See *SdcD*, p. 185. 23

29 **the divinity unified in the mind**] *SdcD*, p. 186, has "the divinity and holiness of human nature that is still hidden and enclosed in the mind [*Gemüth*] of man."

33 **The dialectical element in this teaching**] See *SdcD*, pp. 186–196.

33 **1) entails what the hum. being . . . what he is through himself**] See *SdcD*, pp. 186–187.

250 3 **2) it entails . . . für sich**] See *SdcD*, pp. 188–190.

6 **3) The Gegenwart . . . ist Erinnerung**] See *SdcD*, pp. 190–196.

8 **Epiphanius . . . all hum. beings**] Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus (367–403), sought to portray Origen's view as heretical.

11 **scintillulæ**] This idea can be found in Tertullian, *De anima* [On the Soul], chap. 23.

16 **eine Thatsache des Bewußtseyns**] I. H. Fichte attempted to deduce the necessity of space, time, and multiplicity, which Kant had merely assumed, not proven. See his *Grundriss des Eigenthümlichen der Wissenschaftslehre in Rücksicht auf das theoretische Vermögen, als Handschrift für seine Zuhörer* [Sketch of What Is Proper to a Doctrine of Knowledge with Regard to the Theoretical Powers, a Manuscript for His Audience] (Jena 1795, [1802]) and again *Die Thatsache des Bewußtseyns, Vorlesungen, gehalten an der Universität zu Berlin im Winterhalbjahr 1810–11* [The Facts of Consciousness: Lectures Held at the University of Berlin in Winter Semester 1810–11] (Stuttgart, 1811).

19 **Schelling . . . culture**] In *SdcD*, p. 194, Marheineke refers to "Vorles. über d. Meth. des acad. Stud. S. 167. und Philos. und Rel. S. 64," i.e., F. W. J. Schelling, *Vorlesungen über die Methode des academischen Studiums* [Lectures on the Method of Academic Study], 3rd ed. (Stuttgart, 1830 [Tübingen, 1803]; ASKB 764), p. 167 (the beginning of the eighth lecture), and *Philosophie und Religion* [Philosophy and Religion] (Tübingen, 1804), p. 64. — **Schelling**: Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling (1775–1854), German philosopher and key figure in early Romanticism. At one time a friend and colleague of Hegel, he held posts successively in Jena (1798), Würzburg (1803), Munich (1827), and Berlin (1841), where he was active in opposing Left Hegelianism and where Kierkegaard attended his lectures. He retired in 1846.

20 **Hegel Relig. Ph. vol. 1, 306**] In *SdcD*, p. 194, Marheineke refers to "Vorlesungen über die Religionsphilos. 2te Ausg. I. S. 206ff.," i.e., G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* [Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion], ed. P. Marheineke, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1840 [1832]; ASKB 564–565); vol. 1, pp. 206ff. (which is probably a mistake for pp. 306ff.); in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27) vol. 11, pp. 306ff. (*Jub.* vol. 15, pp. 322ff.).

On the Origin of Evil] See *SdcD*, pp. 196–240. 26

The biblical teaching] See *SdcD*, pp. 196–200. 27

the first sin] See Gen 3. 29

Aristotle calls evil συγγενες] In *SdcD*, p. 199, Marheineke refers to "Aristoteles in der Nikomachischen Etik (III. 15.)," i.e., to *Nichomachean Ethics*, bk. 3, chap. 15 (although the intended reference is to chap. 12, 1119b). 29

Plato says . . . φυσει] In *SdcD*, p. 199, Marheineke refers to Plato's dialogue *Meno.* See, e.g., 88b. 29

Cicero too in Tusculans 3:1] In *Tusculan Disputations*, bk. 3, chap. 1, § 2, Cicero writes that "from the time we are born and raised in the family circle, we are constantly surrounded by all manner of badness and downright absurdities; it is as if we had literally swallowed them with our mother's milk." 30

The expression original sin . . . but the idea is there] The doctrine of original sin builds on such biblical passages as the story of the Fall in Gen 3, Ps 51:7, and Rom 5:12–14. Augustine is the first to develop the dogma fully, claiming that sin is transmitted through the act of sexual reproduction, and that through this original (or, as the Danish and German terms suggest, "inherited") sin, we lack all power to will or to do good. The dogma received ecclesiastical endorsement at the Councils of Carthage in 412, 416, and 418, and at Ephesus in 431. It became a prominent element in the teaching of such reformers as Luther and Calvin. See, e.g., *Confessio Augustana* [The Augsburg Confession] (1530), art. 2, "On Original Sin." 30

The ecclesiastical . . . the rationalistic.] See *SdcD*, pp. 200–209. "The symbolic" refers to the teachings of the "symbolic" or confessional books. 32

The symbolic] See *SdcD*, pp. 200–205. 34

Augustine's speculations] → 250,30. 34

justitiæ originalis] This "original righteousness" refers to the state of human beings prior to the Fall. 35

Ψ 58:4] *Greek* (Psi), common abbreviation for Psalms. In the King James version and the NRSV, this is found in Ps 58:3. 37

37 **this ... is not substantialis**] i.e., this vice does not belong to human beings' essence.

37 **Flaccius**] Matthias Flacius (1520–1575), also known as Illyricus from his birthplace in Istria; German Lutheran theologian, pupil of Melanchthon and professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg (1544–1547) and at Jena (1557–1561). Flacius asserted that original sin did in fact belong to the substance of human beings, because human beings had been completely corrupted by the Fall, and the divine image was turned into an image of the devil.

37 **peccatum ... substantiam**] See Flacius, *Clavis scripturae sacrae* [The Key to the Holy Scriptures] (1567), pt. 2, tractate 6.

251 1 **accidens ... discerni potest**] *SdcD*, p. 202. The quote is attributed to the Formula of Concord (German, 1580, Latin, 1598), pt. 2, art. 1:54.

3 **Re. its propagation**] See *SdcD*, pp. 202–204.

8 **Re. death ... punishment and consequence**] In *SdcD*, p. 204, Marheineke refers to "II. S. 52," i.e., to G. C. Knapp, *Vorlesungen über die christliche Glaubenslehre nach dem Lehrbegriff der evangelischen Kirche* [Lectures on Christian Doctrine According to the Teaching of the Evangelical Church], 2 vols., ed. C. Thilo (Halle, 1836 [1827]), vol. 2, § 78, "III. Von der *Zurechnung* oder *Strafbarkeit* des natürlichen Verderbens" [On the Attributability or Punishability of Natural Corruption], pp. 52–53. — **Knapp**: Georg Christian Knapp (1753–1825), German Protestant theologian influenced by Halle pietism. From 1775 he was professor at Halle and from 1785 director of the Franck Foundations in Halle. He was editor of the standard Greek edition of the New Testament, *Novum Testamentum graece* (→ 246,*11*).

10 **as Tertullian says, only one hum. being**] No reference to Tertullian is found in *SdcD*. — **Tertullian**: Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus (ca. 160–ca. 220), born in Carthage, and one of the Fathers of the Latin Church.

12 **Re. the origin of evil**] See *SdcD*, pp. 204–205.

15 **peccatum originis ... in natura**] In *SdcD*, p. 205, it is given as a quotation from Melanchthon's *Apologia confessionis Augustanae* [Apology for the Augsburg Confession] from 1530. It is not an exact quote, however, but a reformulation by Marheineke of art. 1, "De peccato originali" [On Original Sin]. See *Libri symbolici* (→ 244,*35*), pp. 50–59 (art. 2 in *Die Bekenntnisschriften*, pp. 145–157).

The supernaturalist] → 244,*21*. See *SdcD*, pp. 205–208. 17

the Genesis narrative] See Gen 3. 17

Gerhard ... humani generis] Johann Gerhard (1582–1637) German theologian and representative of Lutheran orthodoxy. Beginning in 1616 Gerhard was leader of the theology faculty at Jena and one of the most important ecclesiastical figures of his time. — **pater totius humani generis**: See Gerhard's *Loci theologici* [Theological Passages], 9 vols. (Jena, 1610–1622), vol. 2 (1611), § 52: "Adam did not sin as a private person, but as the head of the entire human race." 19

Calovius ... seminarium tot. g. h.] Abraham Calovius (1612–1686), German theologian of Lutheran orthodoxy. In 1637, Calovius was made extraordinary professor at Königsberg, in 1650 professor at Wittenberg, and in 1652 also general superintendent. — **fons caput seminarium tot. g. h.**: See Calovius, *Systema locorum theologicorum* [Collection of Theological Passages], 12 vols. (Wittenberg, 1655–1677), vol. 3 (1659), pp. 1055ff.; vols. 5–6 (1677), pp. 126, 156ff. 19

More recent supernats.] More recent representatives of supernaturalism (→ 244,*21*) would include A. Hahn, J. A. Ernesti, S. F. N. Morus, F. V. Reinhard, G. F. Seiler, J. C. D. Doederlein, and C. G. Knapp. See *SdcD*, pp. 206–207. 20

The concept of the origin of evil] See *SdcD*, pp. 209–240. 25

suppress it] "It" meaning the emergence of evil. See *SdcD*, p. 210. 29

Its possibility] See *SdcD*, pp. 210–215. 30

es ist geschehen ... durch Hochmuth] This refers to the idea that the devil was originally a higher angelic being, who sought to displace God as universal sovereign. Subsequently he still retains power to fight against God (see, e.g., 2 Pet 2:4). This fallen angel, in the disguise of the serpent, was in turn the cause of the Fall of the first human beings. 33

Die bewußtseiende Natur ... also sich Wollen] 12 252
See *SdcD*, p. 212: "But conscious nature is conscious only of itself, it has no object other than itself, in thinking *itself* it is also willing only *itself*."

prerequisite for evil] i.e., the prerequisite for the existence of evil. See *SdcD*, p. 213. 22

hypostatizing the devil] i.e., making the devil into an object, ground, or independently existing person. 27

33 **Widerspruch and Gegensatz**] The distinction between *Widerspruch* (German, "contradiction") and *Gegensatz* (German, "opposition") refers to two forms of negation described in Hegel's logic. *Widerspruch* corresponds to contradiction in the Aristotelian sense, such that there can be no mediating position between A and not-A ("x is either white or not-white," for example). *Gegensatz*, on the other hand, is a form of opposition that allows for mediation. Thus, a certain location may be both "north" and "south" ("north of x, south of y"). This latter form of opposition plays a decisive role in Hegel's own logic. See *Wissenschaft der Logik* (→ 244,*38*) vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 4, pp. 37–73 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 515–551); and *Encyclopädie* (→ 245,*11*), §§ 116–120, vol. 1; in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 6, pp. 232–243 (*Jub.* vol. 8, pp. 270–281).

34 **The actuality of evil**] See *SdcD*, pp. 215–222.

34 **wovon es seine Form hat**] *SdcD* has "woran" (German, "by which"), p. 215.

34 **Wollen that identifies itself with thinking of evil**] See *SdcD*, p. 217.

36 **It becomes actual**] i.e, evil. See *SdcD*, p. 217.

253 23 **Baptism**] See *SdcD*, p. 222.

23 **Die Schuld**] See *SdcD*, pp. 222–240.

30 **1) The hum. being lets himself be seduced**] See *SdcD*, pp. 223–226.

31 **this happens in der Bewegung der … sondern das freie**] See *SdcD*, p. 223–224.

254 13 **Hum. beings were seduced**] See *SdcD*, pp. 226–227.

17 **He has lost its purity, but not lost it itself**] *SdcD*, p. 226, has "the purity and truth of reason are no longer present in the understanding; the purity and truth of freedom are no longer present in the will; but he has not lost will and understanding, and thus neither has he lost [his] personality."

18 **Das Wissen der Schuld ist das Gewissen**] See *SdcD*, pp. 227–240.

22 **Xt was therefore tempted**] See Mt 4:1–11.

30 **Xt is thus the end of the Law**] See Rom 10:4.

31 **improvement**] *SdcD*, p. 229, has "Befreiung" (German, "liberation").

38 **subjectively**] See *SdcD*, pp. 230–231.

255 1 **Flaccius Illyricus**] → 250,*37*.

7 **Die einzelne Sünde … die der Natur. Original sin:**] See *SdcD*, pp. 231–235.

13 **But original sin … rebirth**] This refers to the Lutheran idea that original sin is not eliminated at baptism, but that even the baptized person is *simul iustus et peccator* (Latin, "simultaneously justified and a sinner").

16 **defectus justitiæ originalis**] → 250,*35*.

25 **Homo … a me alienum puto**] From Terence's comedy *Heauton timorumenos* [The Self-Tormentor].

27 **Identity**] See *SdcD*, pp. 235–240.

30 **as the individual**] *SdcD*, p. 235, has "als einer historischen Person" (German, "as a historical person").

33 **mutato nomine de te narratur fabula**] From Horace's *Satires*, bk. 1, poem 1, ll. 69–70. Kant uses the quotation with reference to the biblical narrative of the Fall in *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloßen Vernunft* [Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone] (Königsberg, 1793), p. 42.

36 **Paul's teaching that we have all sinned in Adam**] See Rom 5:12ff.

37 **Augustine operated … the sin of others and one's own sin**] See *SdcD*, p. 239. — **nos omnes fuimus, sumus ille unus**: This seems to be a reworked quotation from Augustine (→ 250,*34*), *De civitate Dei* [On the City of God], bk. 13, chap. 14, where it is stated that we all share Adam's sin. — **per concesionem**: Note Kierkegaard's misspelling. *SdcD*, p. 239, has "per consensionem" (Latin, "by consent").

1 256 **Every other sin … conflicts with freedom**] See *SdcD*, p. 236. — **But this opposition … Adam's sin**: Kierkegaard's text is difficult to understand at this point because it is contructed around a rhetorical opposition between *det Egne* (Danish, "the [or one's] own") and *det Andet* (Danish, "the other"), and when the sentence is read this way it produces little clear meaning. If, however, we assume that Kierkegaard jotted these words down while *listening* to Marheineke lecture *in German*, the words he wrote as "det Egne" were probably *das Eine* (German, "the one [hand]"), because when spoken, the German *das Eine* sounds virtually identical to *det Egne*. (The second half of the rhetorical figure, "det Andet," presents no problem, because it sounds very much like the German das Andere ["the other (hand)"], with which it is identical in meaning.)

7 **Strauss … superiority and in its inferior**] In the *SdcD*, p. 236, Marheineke refers to "II. S. 53" and "S. 29," i.e., D. F. Strauss (→ 247,*14*), *Die christliche Glaubenslehre* (→ 248,*37*), vol. 2, § 57, p. 53; § 55, p. 29. This is not, in fact, a quotation from Marheineke but is Kierkegaard's account of Marheineke's summary of Strauss's view.

15 **The attribution ... or Erbschuld**] See *SdcD*, pp. 237–238.

18 **one can still raise such questions**] See *SdcD*, p. 238.

29 **2. Preservation**] See *SdcD*, pp. 240–252.

30 **The biblical teaching**] See *SdcD*, pp. 240–241.

30 **The Church's teaching**] See *SdcD*, p. 241.

32 **the scholastics'**] → 248,*13*.

32 **concursus dei**] See next note.

32 **Baumgarten ... dogmatics**] In *SdcD*, p. 241, Marheineke refers to "Baumgarten ... in die Dogmatik," i.e., S. J. Baumgarten, *Evangelische Glaubenslehre* [Evangelical Doctrine of Faith], 3 vols., ed. J. S. Semler (Halle, 1759–1760), vol. 1 (1759), art. 4, "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung, Erhaltung und Regierung" [On God's Foreknowledge, Preservation and Governance], § 5, thesis 2, pp. 807–813, which discusses the *concursus dei generalis* (Latin, "God's general cooperation") and the *concursus dei specialis* (Latin, "God's special cooperation"). — **Baumgarten**: Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten (1706–1757), German Lutheran theologian, adjunct professor beginning in 1730, and ordinary professor beginning in 1734 with the theology faculty at Halle.

33 **deum concurrere ... formale actionum**] Baumgarten's position that God cooperates with regard to the material but not to the formal aspect of actions is interpreted by Marheineke as an attempt to deny God's involvement in sin, because even though God gives human beings the power to act (the material aspect of the action), God does not determine how they should use this power. See *SdcD*, p. 241. See also § 5, thesis 2, in Baumgarten, *Evangelische Glaubenslehre* (→ 256,*32*), vol. 1, pp. 807–808.

36 **The concept of the dogma**] See *SdcD*, pp. 241–252.

36 **negative**] See *SdcD*, pp. 241–244.

39 **One is to remove ... every individual part**] See *SdcD*, p. 242.

257 1 **apocatastasis των παντων**] The idea of apocatastasis, of the return to perfection of all creatures. It was condemned in the first of the anathemas against Origen. — **των παντων**: Greek (tôn pántôn), "all things."

1 **2) that it ... is in God**] See *SdcD*, pp. 242–243.

8 **3) ... preserved by God**] See *SdcD*, pp. 243–244.

16 **positively**] See *SdcD*, pp. 244–248.

16 **1.) ... substantiality**] See *SdcD*, pp. 244–245.

18 **Spinoza's pantheism**] → 246,*25*.

22 **2) ... causality**] See *SdcD*, pp. 245–246.

25 **Jerome inveighs ... dormitat ergo deus**] See *SdcD*, p. 246. — **Jerome**: Sofronius Eusebius Hieronimus (347–420), Father of the Latin Church, exegete and translator, best known for his Latin translation of the Bible known as the Vulgate. — **Pelagius**: British monk and ascetic preacher, active in Rome ca. 400. He went to Africa ca. 410 and from there to Palestine, where he is last heard of in 418.

27 **3) Immanence**] See *SdcD*, pp. 246–248.

28 **In Subst. ist Gott ... der Sohn.**] See *SdcD*, p. 247.

31 **identity**] i.e., the identity between God and the world. See *SdcD*, p. 247.

37 **The concrete determination**] See *SdcD*, pp. 248–252.

39 **1) immediately**] See *SdcD*, pp. 248–249.

1 258 **Brahma**] Brahma is the name of one of the three supreme deities in Hindu theology and is the god of creation. Marheineke may be conflating him with Brahman, which is the transpersonal divine ground of all that is. The comment reflects the current state of knowledge of Hinduism at the time, and its categorization as a form of pantheism.

2 **Pantheism ... Weltseele**] See *SdcD*, p. 249, which makes clear that the reference is to Schelling's (→ 250,*19*) philosophy of nature, as, e.g., in *Von der Weltseele, eine Hypothese der höhern Physik zur Erklärung des allgemeinen Organismus* [On the World-Soul, a Hypothesis in Higher Physics Serving to Explain the Universal Organism] (Hamburg, 1798).

4 **2) ... Gesetzes**] See *SdcD*, pp. 249–251.

11 **God did not leave ... downfall ... says in a Ψ**] See *SdcD*, p. 250, where the reference is to Ps 89:48. — **Ψ:** → 250,*37*.

16 **Solon**] Greek statesman, lawgiver, and poet (6th century B.C.), often credited with laying the foundations for Athenian democracy.

16 **Lycurgus**] According to tradition Lycurgus (9th century B.C.) was originator of the Spartan constitution.

16 **Moses**] Named with Solon and Lycurgus as the (human) giver of the Law to Israel and, therewith, the mediator of divine law to all humanity.

17 **3) Religion**] See *SdcD*, pp. 251–252.

18 **preserves it thus**] i.e., by means of religion. See *SdcD*, p. 251.

27 **3. Providence**] See *SdcD*, pp. 252–263.

28 **The biblical teaching**] See *SdcD*, pp. 252–253.

28 **appears in the book of Wisdom**] In *SdcD*, p. 253, Marheineke refers to Wis 14:3 and 17:2.
29 **The Church's teaching**] See *SdcD*, pp. 253–254.
31 **against 1) Dualism, Gnosticism, Emanationism**] See *SdcD*, p. 253.
32 **2) all theories**] See *SdcD*, p. 253.
33 **Fatalism**] Here referring to some forms of classical philosophy and religion.
33 **Occasionalism**] Occasionalism is the theory that the relationship between cause and effect cannot be necessary, but the cause is only the occasion for the effect, while God actually produces the effect. Nicolas Malebranche (1638–1715) is regarded as one of the chief proponents of this view.
35 **Malebranche carried this out in a mystical way**] According to Malebranche (see preceding note), God is the only true cause in the world. Thus, when we observe a relationship between a cause and an effect, we are actually witnessing God's productive creative work. Our ideas of object are thus ideas "in God," a view that could be seen as "mystical." See chap. 3 in Malebranche, *De la recherche de la vérité* [The Search after Truth], 3 vols. (Paris, 1674–1675).
35 **Bayle . . . freedom**] Although Bayle took a skeptical view vis-á-vis Malebranche's notion of ideas in God, he also represented a form of occasionalism. — **Bayle**: Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), whose thought emphasized the incomprehensibility of God and the insufficiency of reason with regard to God.
37 **Church teaching . . . definitions**] See *SdcD*, pp. 253–254.
38 **actus**] See *SdcD*, p. 254.
38 **prognosis**] See *SdcD*, p. 254.
259 1 **providentia generalis, specialis, specialissima**] In *SdcD*, p. 254, these are said to apply respectively to the world in general, to human beings, and to the pious.
1 **pr. ordinaria s. media, extraordinaria s. immediata**] According to *SdcD*, p. 254, these apply respectively to God's direction of the laws of nature and to God's miraculous interventions.
2 **pr. naturalis and gratiosa**] According to *SdcD*, p. 254, these apply to God's providential care through nature and revelation.
4 **The concept of this teaching**] See *SdcD*, pp. 254–263.
5 **The substantial . . . in gen.**] See *SdcD*, pp. 254–257.
9 **1) all chance . . . world of Spirit**] See *SdcD*, p. 255.
2) . . . is excluded] See *SdcD*, pp. 255–256. 17
3) Zwecklosigkeit] See *SdcD*, pp. 256–257. 25
reason] *SdcD*, p. 258, has "fear." 28
The dialectical] See *SdcD*, pp. 257–259. 33
1) . . . in nature] See *SdcD*, pp. 257–258. 33
haruspices] A form of divination based on the inspection of animal entrails; part of the official structure of Roman religion. 34
τυχη] *SdcD*, p. 257, suggests that Marheineke is thinking specifically of Tyche, the Greek goddess of fortune. 36
2) . . . but the spiritual] See *SdcD*, pp. 258–259. 38
3) In his certainty, God] See *SdcD*, p. 259. 1 260
The concrete] See *SdcD*, pp. 259–263. 7
1) The ethical world-order] See *SdcD*, pp. 259–261. 9
2) The result] See *SdcD*, pp. 261–262. 12
3) Faith therein] See *SdcD*, pp. 262–263: "also the necessary *recognition* of this [i.e., of Providence] or the *belief* in it." 16
God's plans . . . Paul says] See 1 Cor 2:7 and Col 1:26. In *SdcD*, p. 263, Marheineke cites Rom 11:33. 21
Christology] See *SdcD*, pp. 264–388. 24
The Unity . . . Nature] See *SdcD*, pp. 264–317. 25
The biblical teaching] See *SdcD*, pp. 264–270. 26
The messianic prophecies] See *SdcD*, pp. 264–267. The reference is to the OT prophecies concerning the coming of the Messiah. 26
the Chaldean Paraphrases and the Rabbis] This refers to the Aramaic translation of the OT, the Targum, which often freely interprets the OT text, supplementing it with rabbinical commentaries. 29
The N. T. teaching] See *SdcD*, pp. 267–269. This section contains three parts: (a) on Christ's divine nature; (b) on his human nature; and (c) on the unity of the two. 30
Modern exegesis] See *SdcD*, pp. 269–270. 31
rationalists] → 243,*12*. 33
supernaturalists] → 244,*21*. 34
The Church's teaching] See *SdcD*, pp. 270–275. 38
M. Chemnitz de duabus naturis] Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586), German Lutheran theologian, church leader, and the author of *De duabus naturis in Christo* [On the Two Natures in Christ] (1570). Beginning in 1567, he was superintendent in Braunschweig and an important contributor to the Formula of Concord (→ 251,*1*). 39
unio naturarum] Latin, "the union of the natures," i.e., the divine and human natures in Christ. 1 261
communio] See *SdcD*, pp. 273 and 274. 1

1 **communicatio idiom**] Latin, "the communication of properties," namely the reciprocal application of the properties belonging to Christ's divine and human natures. Although the terminology goes back to Alexandrian theology, it became an important topic in Lutheran theology.

1 **unio nat. ... unitio, qua deus assumsit carnem**] Latin, "the union of natures" (→ 261,*1*) and "the act of unification by which God assumed flesh" (see, e.g., Jn 1:14). See *SdcD*, pp. 273–274.

2 **the effect thereof is communio**] See *SdcD*, p. 274.

4 **unio personalis is ... not sacramentalis**] After "in unam" *SdcD*, p. 274, has "ab utraque diversam" (Latin, "different from one another").

6 **communicatio idiomatum**] → 261,*1*.

7 **Concept of This Dogma**] See *SdcD*, pp. 275–317.

11 **1. The ecclesiastical-symbolic-supernaturalistic**] See *SdcD*, pp. 275–277.

18 **2. The aesthetic theology**] See *SdcD*, pp. 277–279.

18 **de Wette's teaching ... religieusen Erfahrung**] *SdcD*, p. 277, refers to de Wette's "Schrift über Religion und Theologie, S. 251," i.e., W. M. L. de Wette, *Ueber Religion und Theologie* [On Religion and Theology], 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1821 [1815]), p. 251. — **de Wette**: Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780–1849), German Lutheran theologian; professor at Heidelberg beginning in 1807, and at Berlin beginning in 1812. He was dismissed in 1819 because of his radical views and was professor at Basel beginning in 1822.

23 **Schleiermacher**] Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768–1834), German Reformed theologian, philosopher of religion, and classical philologist; pastor in Berlin, 1796; extraordinary professor at Halle beginning in 1804; professor of theology at Berlin beginning in 1810.

23 **What is progressive in S. ... surmount**] *SdcD*, pp. 278–279, summarizes and discusses Schleiermacher's Christology. See "Von der Person Christi" [On Christ's Person], §§ 93–94, in Schleiermacher, *Der christliche Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche im Zusammenhange dargestellt*, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Berlin, 1835–1836; ASKB 258) vol. 2 (1836) pp. 24–47. For the English translation, see F. D. E. Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, ed. and trans. H. R. Mackintosh and J. Stewart (Edinburgh, 1928). — **but as life**: *SdcD*, p. 278, has "die Person" (German, "the person") rather than "life."

27 **3. philosophical systems**] See *SdcD*, pp. 279–283.

Kant—ideal] In *SdcD*, p. 280, Marheineke makes clear that he is referring to Kant's interpretation of Christ as an exemplar of the moral ideal, as presented in *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloßen Vernunft* (→ 255,*33*), esp. pp. 67ff. 27

In Fichte ... set this forth] See *SdcD*, p. 281. — **Fichte**: Johann Gottlob Fichte (1762–1814), German philosopher, professor at Jena beginning in 1794, at Berlin beginning in 1810. 28

Schelling] → 250,*19*. The reference in *SdcD*, p. 281, is to Schelling's later thought, as expressed in the *Vorlesungen über die Methode des academischen Studiums* (→ 250,*19*). 33

he got beyond K's ideal] See Schelling, *Vorlesungen über die Methode des academischen Studiums* (→ 250,*19*), lecture 9, pp. 196–197. 33

Fichte's Ichheit] *Ichheit* is a central term in Fichte's philosophy and refers to his subjective idealism, based on the principle of the self-positing "I." 34

God's becoming-hum. is from eternity] See Schelling, *Vorlesungen über die Methode des academischen Studiums*, (→ 250,*19*), lecture 9, pp. 192–193: "The theologians interpret God becoming human in Christ empirically, such that God took human nature at a definite moment in time, which is utterly unthinkable since God is eternally beyond all time. God's becoming human is thus a becoming human from eternity. The man Christ is, in his appearing, merely the summit and to this extent also a new beginning, since from his time this [becoming human] ought to carry on in such a way that all who come after him would be members of one and the same body, of which he is the head." 35

Schl's Xt ... idea] A reference to Schelling, *Vorlesungen über die Methode des academischen Studiums* (→ 250,*19*), lecture 9, pp. 167–186. 37

a symbol ... a myth] This refers to Schelling, *Vorlesungen über die Methode des academischen Studiums* (→ 250,*19*), lecture 8, pp. 167–186; lecture 9, pp. 189–210. 39

he is revealed to himself] "He" refers to "das ewige Wesen Gottes" (German, "the eternal essence of God"). See *SdcD*, p. 282. 2 262

The task of dogmatics ... eminent sense] See *SdcD*, p. 283. 6

Before one ... 3) unity of both] See *SdcD*, p. 283. 12

hum. nature] See *SdcD*, pp. 283–286. 13

as nature (nasci) ... therein Personlichkeit] See *SdcD*, p. 283. 14

15 **Ichheit**] → 261,34.
16 **as indiv.**] See *SdcD*, pp. 283–285.
17 **it comprises . . . pure receptivity**] See *SdcD*, p. 283.
21 **this tranquil stillness**] See *SdcD*, p. 284.
32 **incorporated into what is higher**] See *SdcD*, p. 285.
33 **Selbstbewußtseyn**] See *SdcD*, pp. 285–286.
35 **as he attains . . . he emerges**] See *SdcD*, p. 285.
263 5 **thus he is Spirit**] See *SdcD*, p. 286.
10 **ιδιοσυστατος**] In *SdcD*, p. 286, this is understood in the sense of human beings have "Subsistenz, Für-sich-seyn" (German, "subsistence, being-for-itself").
10 **ανυποστατος**] In *SdcD*, p. 286, this is understood as human nature being "ohne Persönlichkeit, nicht hypostatisch" (German, "without personality, not hypostatic").
11 **the div. nature**] See *SdcD*, pp. 286–289.
28 **freedom that knows itself is his personality**] *SdcD*, p. 288, has "Geist" (German, "Spirit") rather than "personality."
30 **Rom 8:14**] *SdcD*, p. 288, has Rom 8:14–16.
35 **Unity**] See *SdcD*, pp. 289–290.
35 **abstractly it is known in hiddenness**] *SdcD*, pp. 289–290, adds "oder Möglichkeit" (German, "or possibility").
264 1 **as scripture . . . has his dwelling**] See 1 Cor 3:16.
8 **Mediation**] See *SdcD*, pp. 290–292.
17 **One can, with Schelling . . . becoming-hum.**] → 261,35.
19 **Scott in his Dogmatics**] In *SdcD*, p. 291, Marheineke refers to "Schott in seiner Dogmatik," i.e., H. A. Schott, *Epitome theologiae christianae dogmaticae* [Eptiome of Christian Dogmatic Theology], 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1822 [1811]), §§ 90–99, pp. 144–163, esp. § 90, p. 144. — **Scott**: Heinrich August Schott (1780–1835), German Lutheran theologian, professor at Leipzig beginning in 1808, at Wittenberg beginning in 1809, and at Jena beginning in 1812.
26 **As mediated . . . always relative**] See *SdcD*, pp. 292–295.
33 **Entäußerung Philippians**] NRSV translates the relevant phrase in Phil 2:7 as "[Christ] emptied himself . . .," which is often rendered in German as "entäußerte sich selbst" (renounced or alienated himself); see, e.g., Luther, who translated the phrase "äußerte sich selbst."
39 **whoever saw God would perish**] See Ex 33:20.
42 **as Paul says . . . fullness of time**] See Gal 4:4.

Die geschichtliche Erscheinung or the historical Xt] See *SdcD*, pp. 295–308. 5 265
that they say it] In *SdcD*, p. 295, Marheineke claims that what "they say" is that God became man in Christ. 8
an sich] → 244,38. 9
Xt as the God-Man] See *SdcD*, pp. 308–313. 12
1) in Xt's sinlessness] See *SdcD*, pp. 296–299. 15
God-Man] *SdcD*, p. 296, has "die Gottmenschheit" (German, "God-humanity"). 17
Xt is born of the H. Spirit] See the Apostoles' and Nicene Creeds. 26
direction of oneself and one's own will is given] *SdcD*, p. 298, has "die Richtung des Geistes auf den eigenen Willen" (German, "the directedness of the Spirit toward its own will"). 34
if pure humnty is to be maintained, it] "It," i.e., the direction of the will. See *SdcD*, p. 298. 35
2) Die Verheißung und die Erfüllung] See *SdcD*, pp. 299–305. 38
God's eternal decree] See, e.g., Rom 16:25–26; 1 Cor 2:7; Eph 3:4–5. 40
God's apparent favoring of one people] i.e., the election of Israel as a chosen people. 12 266
Die Erfüllung] See *SdcD*, pp. 302–305. 17
Experience cannot give any Abschluß] In *SdcD*, p. 304, this is presented as Strauss's position, with reference to "II. S. 211," i.e., to D. F. Strauss (→ 247,14), *Die christliche Glaubenslehre* (→ 248,37) vol. 2, § 66, p. 211; see also p. 210. 32
Xt is the midpoint of world history] See *SdcD*, pp. 305–308. 36
Strauss's theory . . . God-Man] In *SdcD*, p. 308, Marheineke refers to "Leben Jesu (II. § 151.)" and "Dogmatik (II. S. 214)," i.e., D. F. Strauss, *Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet* (→ 247,14), vol. 2, § 151, pp. 707–713 (esp. pp. 709–710), and *Die christliche Glaubenslehre* (→ 248,37), vol. 2, § 66, p. 214. 5 267
Strauss's theory . . . whole of humnty] See Strass, *Das Leben Jesu*, vol. 2, § 151, pp. 709–710. 11
supernaturalism] → 244,21. 15
the Xn community] The Christian community. *SdcD*, p. 311, "has die christliche Menschheit" (German, "the Christian humanity"). 24
the indwelling . . . in the individual] *SdcD*, pp. 312–313, has "[die] Inhabitation seines Geistes in allen Frommen und Gerechten" (German, "the inhabitation of his Spirit in all the pious and righteous)." 26

30 **It is said ... most important**] *SdcD*, pp. 312–313, represents this as Strauss's point of view; see *Das Leben Jesu* (→ 247,14), vol. 1, § 40, pp. 313–314.

37 **1) as individual ... from others**] See *SdcD*, pp. 313–314.

41 **and he was subject to them**] See Lk 2:51.

268 2 **2) To do justice to the historical ... die Allgemeinheit in him**] See *SdcD*, pp. 314–315.

8 **without honor**] See Jn 5:41 and 8:50,54.

11 **his love for Jn**] John is named several times as "the disciple whom Jesus loved"; see Jn 13:23, 19:26, 20:2, 21:7,20.

14 **Jewish particularism**] i.e., the notion that Israel's election is exclusive. In Christian theology this is contrasted with the universality of the Christian message, as expressed in Mt 28:18–20 and Rom 9–11.

14 **genealogy**] See Mt 1:1–17.

15 **before Abraham was, I am**] See Jn 8:58.

16 **3) Xt ... Son of Man**] See *SdcD*, pp. 315–317. — **Son of Man**: A title used of Jesus more than eighty times in the NT, nearly always in the synoptic Gospels (see, e.g., Mk 2:10).

29 **The Doctrine of Xt's Two States**] A reference to dogmatic teaching about Christ's two "states," that of humiliation (*status exaninitionis*) and that of exaltation (*status exaltationis*). See Phil 2:7, where the Vulgate has *exinanivit* for "humbled himself," with reference to his life "in human form" and especially to his suffering and death. See *SdcD*, pp. 318–334.

30 **The biblical teaching**] See *SdcD*, pp. 318–319.

30 **The Church's teaching**] See *SdcD*, pp. 319–321.

30 **1) this doctrine only concerns the hum. nature**] See *SdcD*, pp. 319–320.

34 **2) the hum. nature as such**] See *SdcD*, p. 320.

36 **3) the conflict ... Tübingen**] See *SdcD*, pp. 320–321. The reference is to the dispute concerning Christ's state of humiliation (→ 268,29) between the Lutheran theologians Balthasar Menzer and Justus Feuerborn from Giessen on the one hand, and Lucas Osiander, Melchior Nicolai, and Theodor Thummius from Tübingen on the other. The Giessen side argued for a form of kenotic Christology, appealing to the use of the Greek term **κνωσις** (Greek [kénôsis], "emptying" [→ 264,33]) in Phil 2:6–7 as well as passages such as 2 Cor 8:9. On this view, Christ voluntarily abandoned his divine powers in the incarnation. The Tübingen theologians argued instead that Christ merely concealed his divine powers in the incarnation, while really still possessing them.

37 **the speculative definition**] See *SdcD*, pp. 321–334.

39 **unio, communio, communicatio idiomatum**] → 261,1.

9 269 **as Calvinist method does**] In Calvinist theology the incarnation itself is seen as a humiliation of the divine Word; because the divine attributes cannot be predicated of human nature, it also follows that Christ's body and blood cannot "be" in the elements of the sacrament after the ascension nor, in fact, be ubiquitous (as in Lutheran doctrine).

15 **αδιαιρετως**] One of the technical terms in the Chalcedonian formula that defined the Church's normative understanding of the relationship between the two natures for orthodox Christian theology.

15 **The Jews**] *SdcD*, p. 324, has "die Jünger" (German, "the disciples").

17 **he says "The Father and I are one."**] See Jn 10:30.

24 **κρυψις**] i.e., in being unified with the human nature, the divine nature nevertheless conceals its divinity.

24 **φανερωσις**] i.e., the manifestation or revelation of the divine nature in Christ's human nature.

27 **how it could appear**] i.e., divinity in humanity. See *SdcD*, p. 326.

30 **He requires faith in all his miracles**] *SdcD*, p. 326, refers to Mt 13:58.

31 **yet he also wants ... beyond that**] *SdcD*, p. 326, refers to Jn 4:48.

33 **absence of necess.**] Variant: Kierkegaard wrote "udblive. Nødv.," apparently as an abbreviation of "udeblivende Nødvendighed" (Danish, "absent necessity" or "absence of necessity"), but *SdcD*, p. 326, has "unausbleibliche Nothwendigkeit" (German, "inevitable necessity"). The meaning of Kierkegaard's expression is thus the opposite of Marheineke's. An explanation may lay in a slip of the pen by Kierkegaard: had he added an additional "u" at the beginning of *udebliv.*, he would have written *uudeblive.*, an abbreviation for *uudeblivelig*, which is Danish for "inevitable" and an exact cognate of the German "unausbleibliche."

33 **According to Daub ... the dogmatic**] In *SdcD*, p. 326, Marheineke speaks of "*Daub* in den Prolegomenen zur Dogmatik" (German, "Daub in the Prolegomenon to Dogmatics"), i.e., Carl Daub, *Einleitung in das Studium der christlichen Dogmatik* [In-

troduction to the Study of Christian Dogmatics] (Heidelberg, 1810), p. 33. — **Daub**: Carl Daub (1765–1836), German philosopher and Lutheran theologian; professor of theology at Heidelberg beginning in 1796. Daub was successively influenced by Kant, Schelling, and Hegel and came to be regarded as one of the main representatives of Right Hegelianism and speculative theology.

40 **It is in the light . . . the two states**] See *SdcD*, p. 327.

42 **What makes them difficult to interpret**] "Them" meaning the elements of both states, i.e., the state of humiliation, which includes Christ's appearance in the guise of a servant, his suffering, death, and descent into hell; and of his state of exaltation, which includes his resurrection, ascension, and position at the right hand of the Father. See *SdcD*, p. 327.

270 8 **Xt says "I am the resurrection."**] See Jn 11:25.

16 **to regard . . . as Schelling does**] → 261,*37* and → 261,*39*.

18 **Osiris**] Osiris, one of the principal gods of Egyptian mythology, who undergoes a death and resurrection; sometimes regarded as prefiguring the death and resurrection of Christ.

21 **Xt's Humiliation**] See *SdcD*, pp. 330–334.

22 **Xt's appearing in the form of a servant**] See Phil 2:5–11, esp. v. 7.

24 **the fullness of time**] → 264,*42*.

30 **Hollenfahrt**] That Christ descended into hell is affirmed in the Apostles' Creed. Different elements of this descent have been emphasized: Christ is said to have preached to and set free the imprisoned souls of the righteous. This is the traditional interpretation of 1 Pet 3:19, where it is said that Christ made a proclamation to the spirits in prison. The story is also said to show Christ's triumph over the devil.

32 **the 3 days**] i.e., from Good Friday to Easter Day.

38 **After his resurrection . . . see him**] See, e.g., Lk 24:31.

41 **sitting at the right hand**] See the Apostles' Creed, where it is said of the ascended Christ that "he is seated at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty" (*Libri symbolici* [→ 244,*35*], p. 1).

41 **Weisse . . . disappearing**] In *SdcD*, p. 332, Marheineke refers to "2. Bd. s. evangelischen Geschichte S. 378," i.e., C. H. Weisse, *Die evangelische Geschichte kritisch und philosophisch bearbeitet* [The Evangelical Narrative Treated Critically and Philosophically], 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1838), vol. 2, p. 378 . — **Weisse**: Christian Hermann Weisse (1801–1866), German philosopher of religion. He was extraordinary professor of philosophy at Leipzig from 1828 to 1837, and ordinary professor beginning in 1845. — **shows himself to 500 believers**: See 1 Cor 15:6.

3 271 **Hades**] A Greek mythological term for the underworld, also used in the NT, sometimes referring to hell (e.g., Lk 16:23).

4 **which is . . . according to the Spirit**] See *SdcD*, p. 332; see also 1 Pet 3:18.

5 **will return . . . to judge**] As affirmed in both the Apostoles' and Nicene Creeds (→ 244,*35*), pp. 1–2).

8 **Redemption**] See *SdcD*, pp. 334–388.

9 **biblical teaching**] See *SdcD*, pp. 334–338.

9 **prophet**] See *SdcD*, pp. 334–335.

9 **not just his teaching . . . exemplary role**] See *SdcD*, p. 334.

10 **Priest**] See *SdcD*, pp. 335–338.

10 **King . . . ewiger Weise**] See *SdcD*, p. 338.

12 **The old division into 3 offices**] See *SdcD*, pp. 338–339.

12 **satisfactio**] See *SdcD*, pp. 339–340; the satisfaction of God's righteous wrath against human sinfulness.

12 **The Church's idea**] See *SdcD*, pp. 338–341.

13 **The Concept of the Dogma**] See *SdcD*, pp. 341–388.

14 **Xt the prophet**] See *SdcD*, pp. 341–360.

15 **Spirit has finally reached . . . Chr. revelation**] → 271,*30*.

17 **The individual consciousness . . . objective Spirit**] According to Hegel, subjective Spirit is Spirit as a human individual and as such is the subject matter of anthropology and psychology. See *Encyclopädie* (→ 245,*11*), §§ 387–482, vol. 3; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 7.2, pp. 40–375 (*Jub.* vol. 10, pp. 46–381). Objective spirit is human life in its communal forms and as such is the subject matter of moral, legal, political, and historical science. See *Encyclopädie*, §§ 483–552, vol. 3; in *Hegel's Werke* vol. 7.2, pp. 376–439 (*Jub.* vol. 10, pp. 382–445). Both of these stages of Spirit are united in absolute Spirit (→ 245,*11*).

21 **natural religion**] See *SdcD*, pp. 342–343. Following Hegel, Marheineke uses the term with reference to those forms of religion in which the divinity is identified with a natural object, such as fire or a sacred animal. As such, it is a form of religion that represents human beings' immediate unity with

nature. See Hegel's *Phänomenologie des Geistes* [Phenomenology of Spirit], ed. Joh. Schulze (Berlin, 1832 [1807]; ASKB 550); in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 2, pp. 518–527 (*Jub.* vol. 2, pp. 526–535); and *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (→ 250,*20*), vol. 1; in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 11, pp. 263–456 (*Jub.* vol. 15, pp. 279–472), where, on p. 258 (p. 274), Hegel says: "Natural religion is the unity of the spiritual and the natural and God is apprehended in this still natural unity.

25 **fetishism**] Hegel sees this as the defining feature of natural religion (→ 271,*21*), manifest in the cult of the divine object (stone, tree, or animal). See *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (→ 250,*20*) vol. 1; in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 11, p. 300 (*Jub.* vol. 15, p. 316).

25 **The religion of art**] See *SdcD*, pp. 343–344. Marheineke takes the notion of a "religion of art" from *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (→ 271,*21*), where Hegel applies the term to the religion of classical Greece (*Hegel's Werke* [→ 244,*27*], vol. 2, pp. 527–561 [*Jub.* vol. 2, pp. 535–569]), and from the second volume of the *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (→ 250,*20*), where Hegel speaks of "the religion of beauty" (*Hegel's Werke*, vol. 12, pp. 95–156 [*Jub.* vol. 16, pp. 95–156]). Displacing natural religion (→ 271,*21*), this form of religious consciousness takes the humanly worked cultic object as the object of worship, culminating in worship of the image of the god as the perfectly beautiful human being (as in the statuary of ancient Greece).

30 **revealed religion**] See *SdcD*, p. 346. In *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (→ 271,*21*) Hegel refers to Christianity as "the revealed religion" (*Hegel's Werke* [→ 244,*27*], vol. 2, pp. 561–593 [*Jub.* vol. 2, pp. 569–601]); see also the second volume of the *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* (→ 250,*20*) as the "absolute religion" (*Hegel's Werke* vol. 12, pp. 191–356 [*Jub.* vol. 16, pp. 191–356]). Only in this kind of religion, Hegel claims, is God revealed in a manner appropriate to his divinity, i.e., as spiritual. Hegel further claims that the historical revelation of God occurs exclusively on the basis of the Christian revelation of God in the God-man, Jesus Christ.

30 **herewith, religion . . . reflection**] See *SdcD*, pp. 346–350.

32 **the prohibition . . . image of God**] See Ex 20:4.

32 **1) the Jewish religion**] See *SdcD*, pp. 346–350.

35 **Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob**] According to the Bible, the three patriarchs of the nation of Israel, to whom God revealed himself (see Ex 6:2).

3 272 **an unhappy God-consciousness**] The term "unhappy consciousness" is from Hegel's *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (→ 271,*21*); in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 2, pp. 158–173 (*Jub.* vol. 2, pp. 166–181). Marheineke applies the term to the Israelite/Jewish people on the basis of their experience of the world as shaped by national humiliation and exile, and their focus on the hope of a future reign of God. See *SdcD*, p. 349.

4 **2) the Xn religion**] See *SdcD*, pp. 350–353.

5 **Jesus Xt . . . is annulled**] See *SdcD*, p. 350.

11 **3) . . . through Xt**] See *SdcD*, pp. 353–360.

12 **a) . . . true religion**] See *SdcD*, pp. 354–356.

16 **an eternal consciousness . . . nor end**] See *SdcD*, p. 354.

18 **contains . . . als seine Negationen an ihm**] See *SdcD*, p. 354. The idea is that the Christian religion contains all previous religions by having negated them in such a way that it has preserved their essential content.

25 **b) Faith**] See *SdcD*, pp. 356–359.

29 **believing and incorporating . . . clothed in it**] i.e., believing in and incorporating into itself the Spirit of Christ and carrying out the works appropriate to the Spirit. See *SdcD*, p. 358, which refers to Col 2:6 and Gal 3:27.

38 **Insofar as faith . . . it is speculative**] See *SdcD*, pp. 359–360.

4 273 **The High Priest**] See *SdcD*, pp. 360–386. The interpretation of Christ as "High Priest" (→ 271,*12*) rests especially on the "Letter to the Hebrews" (see esp. Heb 2:17, 4:14–5:10, 7:26–8:13; 9:11–28).

6 **Strauss interprets it . . . from each other**] In *SdcD*, pp. 360–361, Marheineke summarizes Strauss's argument, but for Strauss's own view, see D. F. Strauss (→ 247,*14*), *Die christliche Glaubenslehre* (→ 248,*37*), vol. 2, §§ 71–72, pp. 291–342. — **interprets it**: "it" being the doctrine of atonement.

8 **necessity**] See *SdcD*, pp. 361–365.

8 **attention has been drawn**] See *SdcD*, p. 361, and the discussion of the supernaturalist point of view.

10 **it was nec.**] i.e., atonement. See *SdcD*, p. 361.

13 **Pharisees**] One of the important religious groups at the time of Jesus, often reported as being in conflict with him.

Werder's Lectures on "Logik und Metaphysik" [Logic and Metaphysics]

Karl Werder (1806–1893), German philosopher and poet, privatdocent at Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin beginning in 1834, and extraordinary professor there beginning in 1838.

According to the "Program of Lectures to be Held at Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin during Winter Semester 1841–42, Commencing October 17," Werder held lectures on "Logik und Metaphysik mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die bedeutendsten älteren und neueren Systeme" [Logic and Metaphysics, with Particular Regard to the Most Significant Ancient and Modern Systems], every Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, from 11:00 A.M. to noon. The lectures are partly based on his *Logik. Als Commentar und Ergänzung zu Hegels Wissenschaft der Logik. 1. Abteilung* [Logic: As Commentary on and Completion of Hegel's Science of Logic. Part 1] (Berlin, 1841; ASKB 867; abbreviated hereafter as *Logik*). Kierkegaard owned this book and seems to have used it in connection with his attendance at the lectures, which might be one reason why his notes on Werder's lectures are much less thorough than those on the lectures by Marheineke.

Werder studied philosophy under Hegel in the 1820s and was heavily influenced by him, which is reflected both in Werder's published *Logik* and in his lectures. The lectures appear to have covered only the first two parts of Hegel's *Science of Logic*, namely, "Die Lehre vom Seyn" [The Doctrine of Being] and "Die lehre vom Wesen" [The Doctrine of Essence], but not the third, "Die Lehre vom Begriff" [The Doctrine of the Concept]. Werder's book is even shorter, however, and contains only the section on "Quality," corresponding to the first third of Hegel's "Die Lehre vom Seyn," which in its entirety consists of subdivisions titled "Quality," "Quantity," and "Volume." The second part of Werder's book never appeared.

Kierkegaard's notes appear as a series of individual entries that deal with various categories and conclude with a fragmentary overview of the categories. He seems not to have attempted to take a systematic set of notes. Even though they are somewhat sporadic,

however, they do give an impression of the material covered by Werder in his lectures. Werder continued his lectures in the summer semester of 1842.

The following schematic overview indicates the relationship between Hegel's *Logik*, Werder's lectures, and Werder's book:

Hegel's *Science of Logic*	Werder's Lectures	Werder's *Logik*
Book 1: Being	Book 1: Being	Book 1: Being
Section 1: Quality	Section 1: Quality	Section 1: Quality
Section 2: Quantity	Section 2: Quantity	
Section 3: Volume	Section 3: Volume	
Book 2: Essence	Book 2: Essence	
Section 1: Essence as Reflection in Itself	Section 1: Essence as Reflection in Itself	
Section 2: Appearance	Section 2: Appearance	
Section 3: Actuality	Section 3: Actuality	
Book 3: The Concept		
Section 1: Subjectivity		
Section 2: Objectivity		
Section 3: the Idea		

274 1 **Werden becomes Selbstbestimmung ... movement, Uebergehen**] See Werder's *Logik*, pp. 97ff.

5 **Uebergreifen**] See *Logik*, p. 107.

10 **Etwas is Anders nicht ... (it has Anders in itself)**] See *Logik*, pp. 127–128.

12 **Uendliches ist Daseyn ... sein eignes Daseyn ist**] See *Logik*, pp.154–155. Kierkegaard misspells *Unendliches* in its first occurrence in the sentence, giving a cross between the German and Danish spellings.

19 **The Atomists ... το κενον**] Werder here employs Hegel's idea of atomism. See *Wissenschaft der Logik* [Science of Logic], ed. L. v. Henning, 2 vols. (Berlin 1833–1834 [1812–1816]; ASKB 552–554), vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 3, p. 184 (*Jub.* vol. 4, p. 194). See Werder's *Logik*, pp. 217–218.

274 23 **The point about Quality ... no boundary**] This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 3, p. 209 (*Jub.* vol. 4, p. 219).

275 2 **The boundary is ... c) ausschließende**] This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 3, p. 231 (*Jub.* vol. 4, p. 241).

275 5 **Quantum is ... external to it**] This passage does not occur in *Logik*.

275 11 **Goal is a Quantity ... determinateness is**] This passage does not occur in *Logik*.

275 15 **Identity ... Identity**] This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 4, p. 32 (*Jub.* vol. 4, p. 510).

275 17 **Actuality ... die Bedingungen**] This passage does not occur in *Logik*.

276 5 **Seyn. Nichts. Werden**] German, "Being. Nothing. Becoming." See *Logik*, pp. 29–96. See also Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 3, pp. 77–79 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 87–89).

2 **Entstehen. Vergehen. Daseyn**] German, "Coming to be. Ceasing to be. Being." See *Logik*, pp. 91–111. See also Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 3, pp. 108–109 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 118–119).

Reality. Negation. Etwas] Etwas (German, "Something"). See *Logik*, pp. 116–126. See also Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 3, pp. 115–121 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 125–131). 3

Anderes] German, "Other." See *Logik*, pp. 127ff. See also Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 3, pp. 122–129 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 132–139). 4

Seyn an sich. Seyn für Anderes Boundary] German, "Being in itself. Being for other." See *Logik*, pp. 131–133. See also Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 3, pp. 122–137 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 132–147). 5

Andersseyn Veränderung Unalterability] German, "Different-being Change." See *Logik*, pp. 136–150. There is no corresponding section in Hegel. 7

Finitude—Infinitude] See *Logik*, pp. 151–164. See also Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 3, pp. 137–173 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 147–183). 9

Reality—Negation ... Ideality] See *Logik*, pp. 191–197. See also Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 3, p. 164 (*Jub.* vol. 4, p. 174). 10

Für sich Seyn—Für sich Seyendes—Eins] German, "Being for itself—Entity for itself—The One." See *Logik*, pp. 197–211. See also Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 3, pp. 173–182 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 183–192). 12

Eins—Nicht Anderes—Einheit. Ein Eins] German, "The One—Not other—Unity. One Identity" See *Logik*, pp. 211–216. See also Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 3, pp. 182–208 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 192–218). 13

Quantity] This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 3, pp. 212–232 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 222–242). 15

Continuity—Discretion ... (Repulsion)] This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 3, pp. 212–213 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 222–223). 16

continuous discrete magnitude] i.e., "continuous magnitude" and "discrete magnitude." See Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* 18

(→ 244,27), vol. 3, pp. 229–231 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 239–241).

19 **Quantum**] This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 3, pp. 232–379 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 242–389).

20 **Number**] This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 3, pp. 232–235 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 242–245).

21 **extensive—intensive magnitude. Degree**] i.e., "extensive magnitude" and "intensive magnitude." This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 3, pp. 252–283 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 262–293).

23 **Quantitative infinity—Sollen**] Sollen (German, "Ought"). This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 3, pp. 263–283 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 273–293).

24 **Quantitative relationship**] This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 3, p. 282 (*Jub.* vol. 4, p. 292).

25 **Goal**] This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 3, pp. 395–468 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 405–478).

278 1 **Essence**] This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 4, pp. 1–243 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 479–721).

2 **Identity**] This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 4, pp. 30–37 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 508–515).

2 **Unterschied**] German, "Difference." This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 4, pp. 37–56 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 515–534).

3 **Verschiedenheit, Gleichheit, Ungleichheit**] German, "Diversity, Likeness, Unlikeness." This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 4, pp. 39–47 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 517–525).

3 **Gegensatz**] German, "Opposite." This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 4, pp. 47–56 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 525–534).

Widerspruch. Positive—Negative] German, "Contradiction." This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 4, pp. 57–73 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 535–551). 4

Ground] This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 4, pp. 73–118 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 551–596). 6

Existence] This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 4, pp. 120–144 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 598–622). 7

Gesetz—Erscheinung] German, "Law—Appearance." This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 4, pp. 146–152 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 624–630). 8

Verhaltniß] German, "Relation." Kierkegaard omits the umlaut over the "a." This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 4, pp. 161–183 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 639–661). 9

Ganze—Theile] German, "Whole—Part." This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 4, pp. 163–170 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 641–648). 10

Kraft—Außerung] German, "Force—Expression." This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 4, pp. 170–177 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 648–655). 14

Actuality] This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 4, pp. 199–218 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 677–696). 15

Possibility—Accidentality] This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 4, pp. 202–207 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 680–685). 16

Die Sache] German, "Thing." This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 4, p. 210 (*Jub.* vol. 4, p. 688). 19

Bedingung] German, "Condition." This passage does not occur in *Logik*, but see Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.2; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,27), vol. 4, p. 209 (*Jub.* vol. 4, p. 687). 19

Die Wirklichkeit ... Nothwendigkeit] German, "Actuality as opposite is neccessity." 21

Explanatory Notes

281 1 **Hegel's Aesthetics 3rd Volume**] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik* [Lectures on Aesthetics], ed. H. G. Hotho, 3 vols. (Berlin 1835–1838; ASKB 1384–1386; abbreviated hereafter as *Aesthetik*); in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 244,*27*), vol. 10, 1–3 (*Jub.* vols. 12–14), vol. 10.3 (in this case *Jub.* vol. 14 has the same pagination). For an English translation, see *Hegel's Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, vol. 2, trans. T. M. Knox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975; hereafter abbreviated *Hegel's Aesthetics*, vol. 2).

2 **The Types of Poetry**] See pt. 3, § 3, chap. 3, "Die Gattungsunderschiede der Poesie" [The Different Genres of Poetry] in Hegel, *Aesthetik*, vol. 3, pp. 319–581. All references in Not10:1 are to this section of Hegel's *Aesthetik*.

3 **A.) Epic Poetry**] See *Aesthetik,* pp. 326–418.

4 **The relationship betw. dramatic and epic collision**] See *Aesthetik,* pp. 350–352.

4 **The latter leads . . . inwardness of character**] Kierkegaard's summary of *Aesthetik,* pp. 351–352.

8 **In the epic . . . own fate**] Kierkegaard's summary of *Aesthetik,* p. 366.

9 **The relationship . . . das Geschehen**] This theme is introduced in *Aesthetik*, pp. 356–357, where Hegel argues that the events of an epic poem are both actions initiated by the character and occurrences, i.e., events happening independently of human volition.

12 **This in-between situation . . . the occasion**] Kierkegaard's summary of *Aesthetik,* pp. 363–366.

15 **Subtypes of epic . . . novel**] These are discussed by Hegel on pp. 393, 393–394, and 395–396, respectively. The German term *Roman*, translated here as "novel," was a key term in Romantic aesthetics and did not necessarily carry the connotations of the later 19th-century realist novel with linear narrative action.

15 **The last of these presupposes . . . epic proper**] Kierkegaard's summary of *Aesthetik,* p. 395.

18 **B) Lyric Poetry**] See *Aesthetik,* pp. 419–478.

19 **Epigram; romance; ballad**] Discussed by Hegel on pp. 426–428.

occasional poetry] See *Aesthetik*, p. 428. 19

hymn, dithyramb, paean, psalm] See *Aesthetik*, p. 455. 19

ode] See *Aesthetik*, p. 458. 20

song] See *Aesthetik*, p. 460. 20

Volkslieder] See *Aesthetik*, p. 462. 20

gesellige Lieder] See *Aesthetik*, p. 463. 20

sonnets, sestinas, elegies, epistles, etc.] See *Aesthetik*, p. 464. — **sestinas**: a Provençal, Spanish, and Italian poetic form consisting of six stanzas of six lines each, in which the words ending the lines of the first stanza recur, though in a different order, as the last words of the last lines of the succeeding five stanzas. The poem is concluded with a seventh stanza of three lines in which all six words are used, half in the middle of each line, half at the end. 20

the oriental lyric] See *Aesthetik,* pp. 467–469. 21

the classical] See *Aesthetik,* pp. 469–473. 21

the hymn] See *Aesthetik,* p. 470. 22

the elegiac meter] See *Aesthetik,* pp. 470–471. 22

the melic lyric] See *Aesthetik,* p. 471. 22

the iambic] See *Aesthetik,* p. 471. 22

the choral lyric] See *Aesthetik,* pp. 471–472. 23

the romantic] See *Aesthetik,* pp. 473–478. This is seen by Hegel as the third main phase of the historical development of the lyric, following after the oriental and the classical. 23

the pagan lyrics . . . Protestantism] See *Aesthetik,* pp. 474–475, where Hegel identifies these as the chief moments in the development of the romantic lyric among the Germanic, Slavic, and, especially, Romance nations. 23

C)) Dramatic Poetry] See *Aesthetik,* pp. 479–581. 26

p. 493. It could seem . . . the collision] See *Aesthetik,* p. 493. 27

The natural number of acts is 3] See *Aesthetik,* pp. 493–495, where Hegel follows Aristotle's *Poetics*, chap. 4. The three acts correspond to the requirement of a beginning, a middle, and an end. 32

which the Spanish] See *Aesthetik,* p. 495. 32

the English, French, and Germans have 5] See *Aesthetik,* p. 495. 33

33 **in Tieck's Phantasus . . . great artistry**] A reference to *Phantasus. Eine Sammlung von Märchen, Erzählungen, Schauspielen und Novellen* [Phantasus: A Collection of Fairy Tales, Stories, Plays, and Novels], 3 vols. (Berlin, 1812–1816), reprinted in *Ludwig Tieck's sämmtliche Werke* [Ludwig Tieck's Complete Works], 2 vols. (Paris, 1837; ASKB 1848–1849), vol. 1, pp. 330–559. Among these stories are "Blaubart" [Bluebeard] (1796), a tale in five acts, pp. 436–464, and *Die Verkehrte Welt* [The Inverted World] (1798), a historical play in five acts, pp. 490–519. — **Tieck**: Johann Ludwig Tieck (1773–1853), German poet, publisher, and translator; best known for his romantic reworking of medieval tales and legends such as Bluebeard and Puss-in-Boots and for his translations, with Friedrich Schlegel, of the plays of Shakespeare.

36 **The chorus . . . action and situation**] See *Aesthetik,* pp. 498–499. — **H.**: Hegel.

282 3 **p. 506. "In diesem . . . mit einbegriffen."**] With variations in the orthography of Greek terms, Kierkegaard substantially quotes *Aesthetik*, pp. 506–507. See also *Hegel's Aesthetics*, vol. 2, p. 1178. — **Aristoteles . . . Poet. chap. 6**: See Aristotle, *Poetics*, chap. 6 (1449b 21–1450b 20). —**δυο αιτια**: Greek (dúo aítia), "two principles" or "causes." See Aristotle, *Poetics* (1450a 1). — **διανοια και ηθος**: Greek (dianoía kaì ēthos), "thought and character." See Aristotle, *Poetics* (1449b 38). — **τελος**: Greek (télos), "goal." See Aristotle, *Poetics* (1450a 22).

9 **p. 531. As Aristotle says . . . in suffering**] Kierkegaard's summary of *Aesthetik,* p. 531. — **Aristotle . . . fear and pity**: See Aristotle, *Poetics*, chap. 6 (1449b 27–28).

14 **bemitleidet und bedauert . . . des Leidenden**] See *Aesthetik*, pp. 531–532. See also *Hegel's Aesthetics*, vol. 2, p. 1198.

19 **The main collision . . . state, etc.**] See *Aesthetik,* pp. 550–551.

20 **in part a more formal . . . him to do**] Kierkegaard's summary of *Aesthetik*, p. 551. — **Oedipus rex and Oed. at Col.**: Tragedies by Sophocles (→ 282,*26*). *Oedipus Rex* tells the story of Oedipus, who becomes king of Thebes by solving the riddle of the Sphinx but who also suffers a tragic downfall through his unwitting parricide and incestuous marriage to his mother. *Oedipus at Colonus* portrays his death in exile. Although these events had been predicted by the oracle of the god Apollo, they are still interpreted as a divine punishment for Oedipus's transgressions. This tragic dynamic continues in the third play of the Theban trilogy, *Antigone,* which deals with the fate of Oedipus's daughter Antigone.

Greek heroes . . . upon themselves] See *Aesthetik,* 24 pp. 552–553.

Sophokles von J. J. C. Donner . . . Ismenes Haupt] 26 282 Kierkegaard's several minor inaccuracies have been corrected in this otherwise word-for-word transcription from *Oedipus at Colonus*, lines 308–318, in *Sophokles*, trans. J. J. C. Donner (Heidelberg, 1839; ASKB 1202), p. 83. — **Sophokles**: Sophocles (ca. 496–406 B.C.), Greek playwright; 7 of his 123 plays now survive, including the trilogy dealing with Oedipus and his family. — **J. J. C. Donner**: Johann Jakob Christian Donner (1799–1875), German philologist. — **Oedipos Kolonæus**: → 282,*20*.

Antigone. v. 844 . . . noch im Tode] Apart from 11 283 minor errors, this is a direct quote from *Antigone*, lines 844–845, in *Sophokles*, p. 186. — **Antigone**: The eponymous heroine of the third play in the Theban trilogy; daughter of Oedipus and Jocasta (also Oedipus's mother). Antigone insists on burying her brother Polyneices in accordance with the customary rites after he died while attacking Thebes. She thus incurs the wrath of the Theban tyrant, which leads to her death.

the family of Labdacus] Through his father Laius 14 283 (whom he inadvertently killed), Oedipus is the grandson of Labdacus.

Philoktetes. v. 96 . . . und nicht die That] Apart 25 283 from minor errors, this is a word-for-word transcription from Donner's translation of Sophocles' *Philoktetes*, lines 96–99, in *Sophokles*, p. 218.

In Philoktetes . . . vv. 878, 879] See Neoptolemus's 31 283 reply in *Philoktetes*, lines 878–879, in *Sophokles*, p. 246: "What am I doing, O gods, Am I witnessing against myself, Hiding the truth and proclaiming falsehood?"

of being interesting] "The interesting" became a 2 284 fashionable concept in German idealist aesthetics

and criticism beginning ca. 1830. The idea was originally introduced by Friedrich Schlegel in his *Ueber das Studium der griechischen Poesie* [On the Study of Greek Poetry] (1795–1796), where he made it a criterion for distinguishing between the aesthetic values of antiquity and modernity. Schlegel's essay placed emphasis on the reflectiveness appealed to by modern aesthetic productions and made the claim that self-reflectiveness was a distinctive feature of modernity. See *Schlegels sämmtliche Werke* [Schlegel's Complete Works], 10 vols. (Vienna, 1822–1825; ASKB 1816–1825), vol. 5 (1823), pp. 5–332.

2 **Philoctetes' increasing bitterness . . . behavior**] As a consequence of his unendurable screams of pain after a snakebite, Philoctetes, inheritor of the unerring bow of Hercules, was abandoned on the island of Lemnos by the Greek fleet when it was bound for Troy. However, as it later became clear that the Greeks would not be able to take Troy without Hercules' bow, Odysseus and Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, were sent to Lemnos to retrieve the bow. Embittered by his abandonment, Philoctetes was reluctant to surrender the bow, and Odysseus and Neoptolemus resorted to deceit, before a supernatural appearance of Hercules himself brought about a denouement.

285 1 **Marheinecke**] i.e., Philipp Konrad Marheineke; see the introduction to the explanatory notes for *Notebooks 9* and *10*, pp. 627–629 in this volume.

2 **Atonement**] See *SdcD,* pp. 361–365; see also the introduction to the explanatory notes for *Notebooks 9* and *10*, pp. 627–629 in this volume.

2 **that it is for all**] Kierkegaard here resumes his notes on Marheineke's lectures, continuing the sentence "but scripture teaches. . ." The "it" refers to Christ's atoning death. See *System der christlichen Dogmatik* (abbreviated hereafter as *SdcD*), p. 362.

7 **Einzelnes, Besonderes, Allgemeines**] These three categories refer to the three principles of individuality, particularity, and universality that constitute the "concept" in the technical sense of the term found in Hegel. See Hegel, *Encyclopädie* (→ 245,11), § 163, vol. 1; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 247,27), vol. 6, p. 320 (*Jub.* vol. 8, p. 358).

8 **Corruption shows itself . . . utterance**] See *SdcD,* pp. 362–363.

10 **Corruption shows itself as . . . Schmerz**] See *SdcD,* p. 363.

12 **Corruption is . . . Leiden**] See *SdcD,* pp. 363–364.

20 **fiat justitia . . . pereat mundus**] The saying, "Let justice be done even if the world should perish" is attributed to the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I.

30 **Possibility**] See *SdcD,* pp. 365–369.

30 **That which sets a distance . . . to God**] See *SdcD,* p. 365.

34 **in thrall to sin**] See, e.g., Jn 8:34 and Rom 6:16,20.

1 286 **Faith in God**] See *SdcD,* pp. 366–376.

11 **Widerspruch**] i.e., being in dissent against or in contradiction to God. See *SdcD,* p. 366.

18 **the fullness of time**] See Gal 4:4.

19 **aton.**] atonement.

19 **The object . . . atonement**] See *SdcD,* pp. 367–369.

32 **Actuality**] See *SdcD,* pp. 369–386.

32 **1) The concept**] See *SdcD,* pp. 369–374.

34 **God becoming hum. . . . the atonement**] See *SdcD,* pp. 369–371.

39 **Xt bears . . . of the world**] See, e.g., Jn 1:29 and 1 Jn 3:5.

5 287 **In the N. T. . . . priest and victim**] See Heb 4:14–5:10, 7:1–8:13, 9:11–10:18.

17 **The individual and the universal**] See *SdcD,* pp. 371–373.

18 **coactive**] See *SdcD,* p. 371.

28 **analogous to Adam . . . Adam**] A reference to the analogy between Christ and Adam in Rom 5:12–21.

29 **What really atones in Xt**] See *SdcD,* pp. 373–374.

34 **infinite freedom**] *SdcD,* p. 373, has "Friede" (German, "peace"), not "Freiheit" (German, "freedom").

1 288 **Xt's participation . . . resurrection**] See *SdcD,* p. 374.

3 **The Moments**] See *SdcD,* pp. 374–381.

6 **Ein Thun**] See *SdcD,* pp. 374–375.

6 **opposed to the world's . . . not egoistic**] See *SdcD,* pp. 374–375.

15 **Leiden**] See *SdcD,* pp. 375–378.

23 **The one thief . . . the penitent thief**] See Lk 23:39–43.

31 **The unity of Thun and suffering is obedience**] See *SdcD,* pp. 378–381.

35 **activa and passiva**] In Lutheran Orthodoxy, Christ's obedience is subdivided into active and passive obedience: his active obedience is shown in his actively doing the works commanded by the Father (e.g., his fulfilling the commandments of the

Law, healing, preaching), while his passive obedience is shown in his vicarious suffering on behalf of humanity.

289 9 **Supernaturalism . . . ceased to be nec.**] See *SdcD*, p. 379.

17 **He has annulled the law**] See Rom 10:4.

17 **Obedience is . . . posited itself**] See *SdcD*, p. 380.

24 **atonement is accomplished**] An allusion to Jesus' word from the cross: "it is accomplished" ("finished" in the NRSV and King James version; "ended" in some other translations). See Jn 19:30.

25 **Der Zweck der Versöhnung**] See *SdcD*, pp. 381–386.

26 **By positing the idea . . . historical process**] See Strauss, *Die christliche Glaubenslehre* (→ 247,14), vol. 2, § 72, pp. 327–336. — **Strauss**: .

290 6 **Obedience is dearer . . . sacrifice**] See 1 Sam 15:22.

8 **Be reconciled to God**] See 2 Cor 5:20 (see also *SdcD*, p. 383).

10 **Strauss sees this . . . mystical**] See Strauss, *Die christliche Glaubenslehre* (→ 247,14) vol. 2, § 72, pp. 329ff.

31 **3. Xt's Royal Office**] See *SdcD*, pp. 386–388.

33 **All power has been given to me**] See Mt 28:18.

291 1 **III The Doctrine of the Spirit**] See *SdcD*, pp. 389–593.

3 **1. The Trinity**] See *SdcD*, pp. 389–418.

4 **The biblical teaching**] See *SdcD*, pp. 389–390.

4 **in the O. T. dark and hidden**] See *SdcD*, pp. 389–390.

6 **Calixtus said . . . O. T.**] Calixtus's argument is developed in his *Dissertatio de trinitate* [Treatise on the Trinity] (1645), and in *Dissertatio de mysterio trinitatis, an ex solius Veteris Testamenti libris possit demonstrari* [Treatise on the Mystery of the Trinity: Whether It Can Be Demonstrated from the Books of the Old Testament Alone] (1649). — **Calixtus**: Georgius Calixtus (1586–1656), German theologian of the Lutheran Orthodoxy, professor in Helmstedt from 1614 until his death.

12 **Ψ 33**] According to *SdcD*, p. 390, Marheineke is referring to Ps 33:6. — **Ψ**: Greek Psi (letter of the alphabet), used as an abbreviation for "Psalms."

13 **The high-priestly threefold Holy**] According to *SdcD*, p. 390, Marheineke is referring to the threefold high-priestly blessing of Num 6:24.

13 **in the N. T.**] See *SdcD*, pp. 390–392.

15 **Paraclete**] From the Greek, παράκλητος (paráklētos), "spokesperson, advocate, helper." See Jn 14:16,26, 15:26, and 16:7.

21 **1 Cor 2**] According to *SdcD*, p. 391, Marheineke is referring to 1 Cor 2:9–13.

23 **Jn 3**] According to *SdcD*, p. 391, Marheineke is referring to Jn 3:5.

23 **The apostle swears . . . as by X**] In *SdcD*, p. 391, Marheineke refers to Rom 9:1.

24 **Mt 12**] In *SdcD*, p. 391, Marheineke refers to Mt 12:31.

26 **Bretschneider . . . dogmatic significance**] According to *SdcD*, p. 392, Marheineke is referring to "S. 479," i.e., to K. G. Bretschneider, *Handbuch der Dogmatik der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* [Handbook of the Dogmatics of the Evangelical Lutheran Church], 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1814; ASKB 437–438; abbreviated hereafter as *Handbuch der Dogmatik*), vol. 1, § 83, pp. 419ff. (Presumably, the difference in page numbers is attributable to a slip by Marheineke or by those who published his lectures.) — **Bretschneider**: Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider (1776–1848), German Lutheran theologian; superintendent in Annaberg beginning in 1808 and general superintendent in Gotha starting in 1816. The *Handbuch der Dogmatik* is his main work and draws on both reason and revelation as sources of doctrine.

27 ————] Kierkegaard has no notes corresponding to the section "c. *Die Auslegung*" [Exposition], found in *SdcD*, pp. 392–394.

27 **The Church's idea**] See *SdcD*, pp. 394–399.

27 **this appropriates . . . in the world**] See *SdcD*, pp. 394–395.

31 **In Plato . . . world-soul**] See *SdcD*, p. 395.

33 **In the Timaeus . . . div. essences**] See *SdcD*, p. 395. — **hypostatized**: made into self-subsistent entities or persons. — **the Timaeus**: Plato's dialogue *Timaeus*.

34 **Neoplatonism**] The Neoplatonists, a broad designation for a number of philosophers of the 3rd century A.D. who systematized Plato's dialogically presented teaching and who, despite their own pagan world view, were much used by several of the Church Fathers, e.g., Augustine.

36 **The Alexandrian Jews . . . Philo**] Philo (ca. 25 B.C.–A.D. 50) was the preeminent figure in the Jewish adoption of Platonic ideas in the Alexandrian Jewish community, and his work was also a source for

the Church Fathers' later use of Platonic and Neoplatonic sources.

38 **1) the highest God . . . 3) πνευμα**] See *SdcD,* p. 395.

38 **The Kabalists**] Kabalism is an esoteric Jewish mystical and theosophical movement that developed in southern Europe in the 12th century and has been seen as influenced by both Neoplatonism and Gnosticism. From the Renaissance on, Christian scholars have found adumbrations of Christian doctrine in Kabalistic teachings.

39 **had it**] i.e., the differentiation between the three persons of the Trinity. See *SdcD,* p. 395.

40 **Symbolum apostolicum**] See *SdcD,* pp. 395–396. The three articles of the Apostles' Creed set out Christian beliefs regarding the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, respectively.

40 **formulae**] *SdcD,* pp. 395–396, refers to the variety among the ancient *regulae fidei* (Latin, "rules of faith"), that preceded the finalization of doctrine in the creeds promulgated at the ecumenical councils.

292 3 **Paul of Samosata and Sabellius**] See *SdcD,* pp. 396–397. — **Paul of Samosata**: 3rd-century bishop of Antioch who taught a kind of Adoptionism, according to which there was only one God and that Jesus was a human being who received the divine Spirit in such a way as to unite him to God. — **Sabellius**: 3rd century, generally believed to have been a bishop in Libya or the Pentapolis in North Africa, and who asserted that the three persons of the Trinity are merely three forms in which the one divine person appears or is made manifest.

3 **absolute identity**] i.e., of the three persons of the Trinity.

4 **Photinus and Arius**] See *SdcD,* p. 397. — **Photinus**: 4th century bishop of Sirmium in Pannonia (ca. 344), developed a form of Sabellianism that, according to Augustine, denied the preexistence of Christ. — **Arius**: a leading figure of the Alexandrian Church (d. 336), regarded as a heresiarch on account of his view that the Son was "created" and not "begotten" by the Father, a teaching condemned by the Nicene Creed.

5 **they do not . . . spirituality**] See *SdcD,* pp. 397–398.

6 **Macedonius**] Bishop of Constantinople (d. ca. 362), who is traditionally (though possibly falsely) regarded as the originator of unorthodox views about the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

6 **The Council of Nicaea**] This resulted in the promulgation of the Nicene Creed (325), which defined the relationships between Father, Son, and Spirit more closely than in the Apostles' Creed and other rules of faith previously current in the Church.

Constantinople] In the second ecumenical council 7
at Constantinople (381), the Nicene Creed was reaffirmed and further developed in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, which is actually the version generally known as the Nicene Creed and used as such in Western liturgies. This emphasizes the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father (and, in the Western version, also from the Son [→ 292,*13*]), thus affirming the Spirit's divinity.

nicænoconstantinopolitanum] See preceding note. 7

The evangelical Church] See *SdcD,* pp. 398–399. 7

the Roman symbols] *SdcD,* p. 398, refers to the 8
creeds adopted by the three ecumenical councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, and Chalcedon, and draws attention to the fact that these are affirmed equally by the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches.

Condemn all . . . Socinians] See the Augsburg Con- 8
fession or *Confessio Augustana* (1530), the first Lutheran confessional statement, art. 1.2. See also *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche. Herausgegeben im Gedenkjahr der Augsburgischen Konfession 1930* [The Confessional Writings of the Evangelical Lutheran Church: Published on the Anniversary of the Augsburg Confession, 1930], 11th ed. [German and Latin] (Göttingen, 1992; abbreviated hereafter as *Die Bekenntnisschriften*), p. 51. — **old and new Samosatians**: the old Samosatians were the original followers of Paul of Samosata (→ 292,*3*), whereas the new Samosatians could be, e.g., followers of the German Lutheran theologian Johann Campanus, who (ca. 1530) asserted that the Holy Spirit was not a person and that Christ was not of the same essence or substance as the Father. Hans Denck, a German anti-Trinitarian Anabaptist, might be another possible target. — **Socinians**: An anti-Trinitarian movement named after Lelio Sozzini (b. 1525) and, especially, his nephew, Fausto Sozzini (ca. 1537–1604), whose radical critique of dogma anticipated later rationalist theology. The latter, in particular, propagated unorthodox views, specifically relating to the divinity of Christ, original sin, and the Trinity. He was active in eastern Europe and spread moderate Unitarian doctrines there beginning in 1579. Socinians rejected those dogmas that were opposed to reason. The move-

ment was formally banned in Poland in 1658. They are not discussed in the *Confessio Augustana,* but see *SdcD,* p. 398, where a connection is made.

13 **The addition filioque**] The clause "filioque" (Latin, "and from the Son") was added to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed in the 8th century in the Latin Church, but was never accepted in the East, which continues to maintain that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

15 **The Concept of the Dogma**] See *SdcD,* pp. 399–418.

16 **The relation of faith to the doctrine**] See *SdcD,* pp. 399–404.

19 **The task of speculative knowledge . . . back into unity**] See *SdcD,* p. 400.

29 **they are not the Son in the same sense as other hum. beings**] This may represent an error on Kierkegaard's part. The parallel passage in *SdcD* reads: "Sie sind nicht Kinder Gottes von Natur, wie er" ("They are not children of God by nature, as he [is]"); see *SdcD,* p. 402.

35 **Objections to this doctrine**] See *SdcD,* pp. 404–410.

39 **polytheism**] This refers to the charge of polytheism sometimes brought against the Christian concept of the Trinity.

293 1 **no religion has been so bad as not to have had a God**] Kierkegaard omits the "not," but Marheineke includes it; see *SdcD,* pp. 404–405.

11 **Augustine . . . in se invicem**] *De trinitate* [On the Trinity], where the expression is used several times with respect to the relationship between the persons in the Trinity. — **Augustine**: Aurelius Augustinus (354–430), rhetorician, philosopher, and theologian; born in North Africa and from 383 active in Italy; from 395 bishop of Hippo. One of the four Fathers of the Latin Church and a foundational figure in Western intellectual as well as religious history.

17 **The Dogma Itself**] See *SdcD,* pp. 410–418.

20 **Lessing says . . . most perf.**] See *SdcD,* p. 411, where Marheineke refers, although without specific references, to Lessing's ideas on the Trinity in his posthumously published essay "Das Christenthum der Vernunft" [The Christianity of Reason], § 1. See *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's sämmtliche Schriften* [Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's Complete Works], 32 vols. (Berlin 1825–1828; ASKB 1747–1762; abbreviated hereafter as *Lessing's sämmtliche Schriften*), vol. 7 (1825), no. 23, p. 161. — **Lessing**: Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), German writer, dramatist, critic, and philosopher. — **most perf.**: See *SdcD,* p. 411.

26 **Continuing, he says . . . he himself had**] See *SdcD,* p. 411 and preceding note. See also "Das Christenthum der Vernunft," § 5, in *Lessing's sämmtliche Schriften*, vol. 7 (1825), no. 23, p. 161.

28 **This being . . . harmony**] See *SdcD,* p. 411 and → 293,*20*; Marheineke, without citing a specific reference, is clearly referring to *Lessing's sämmtliche Schriften*, vol. 7 (1825), no. 23, pp. 162–163.

32 **Schelling brought . . . philosophy**] See *SdcD,* p. 412. For Schelling's own statement of his views see, e.g., *Vorlesungen über die Methode des academischen Studiums* (→ 250,*19*), lecture 8, p. 184; and lecture 9, p. 192. — **Schelling**: → 250,*19*.

32 **The absolute . . . becomes objective**] Quoted by Marheineke without reference. See *SdcD,* p. 412. The quotation is from Schelling, *Philosophie und Religion,* (Tübingen, 1804), pp. 28–29.

35 **Hegel**] See *SdcD,* p. 412, where Marheineke clearly ranks Hegel above Schelling, with particular reference to the coherence between Hegel's treatment of Christian doctrine and his overall philosophy of nature and Spirit. Marheineke mentions that Hegel assigned Christianity a central position in his philosophy and that he regarded the Trinity as the highest expression of the philosophical "concept" (*der Begriff* [→ 285,*7*]), with God the Father representing "universality," God the Son "particularity," and the Holy Spirit "individuality." Whereas Christianity understands the tripartite truth in the form of the Holy Trinity, philosophy understands it as the fundamental conceptual structure underlying all actuality.

38 **1) God is absolute substance**] See *SdcD,* pp. 412–414.

40 **causa sui**] → 243,*12*.

41 **Spinoza identifies substance with nature**] In his *Ethica* (→ 243,*11*), Spinoza criticizes theological dualism and argues for there only being one substance, namely God, manifest in the different modes called "consciousness" and "extension" (→ 243,*8*). This can be understood as implying the identity of God, qua extended substance, with nature. See *Ethica,* pt. 1, "De Deo" [On God] in *Spinoza opera* (→ 243,*8*), pp. 287–310.

2 294 **2) the Absolute Subject**] See *SdcD,* pp. 414–415.

9 **hypostatized**] → 291,*33*.

11 **3) The relationship ... a negative one**] See *SdcD*, pp. 415–418.

16 **He is the identity**] "He," i.e., the Holy Spirit. See *SdcD*, p. 416.

24 **2. The Doctrine of Grace**] See *SdcD*, pp. 419–488.

25 **1. Calling**] See *SdcD*, pp. 419–444.

25 **Election**] See *SdcD*, p. 420, where Marheineke speaks of the identity of calling and election.

25 **Predestination**] See *SdcD*, p. 420.

25 **Augustine**] → 293,*11*; see *SdcD*, p. 421.

25 **Modern dogmatics**] See *SdcD*, pp. 422–424.

26 **universalists**] i.e., those who believe that God will save all.

26 **particularists**] i.e., those who believe that God will save only some, not all, of fallen humanity.

27 **Bretschneider ... twofold teaching**] i.e., that scripture teaches about God's gracious election to salvation in two distinct ways. See Bretschneider, *Handbuch der Dogmatik* (→ 291,*26*), vol. 2, § 181, pp. 522–530.

29 **Knapp ... philological means**] In *SdcD* Marheineke refers to "Knapp ... in seiner Dogmatik," i.e., G. C. Knapp, *Vorlesungen über die christliche Glaubenslehre nach dem Lehrbegriff der evangelischen Kirche* [Lectures on the Christian Faith According to the Teaching of the Evangelical Church], ed. C. Thilo, 2 vols. (Halle, 1836 [1827]), vol. 1, § 32, "II. Ueber die Lehre der Bibel von den göttlichen Rathschlüssen, und von den Irrthümern und falschen Vorstellungen, welche aus Mißdeutung einiger biblischen Stellen in dieser Lehre entstanden sind" [On the Teaching of the Bible concerning the Divine Decrees, and on the Errors and False Ideas in This Doctrine Which Have Arisen from a Misinterpretation of Some Biblical Passages], pp. 197–201. — **Knapp**: → 251,*8*.

31 **The Concept of the Dogma**] See *SdcD*, pp. 424–444.

33 **Calling ... destiny of hum. beings**] See *SdcD*, pp. 424–429; see especially p. 426: *die Berufung ... ist die göttliche Bestimmung über den Menschen* (German, "the calling ... is the divine destiny of human beings").

295 11 **Thus hum. beings ... der selische**] See, e.g., 1 Cor 2:14.

13 **Werden für Gott**] There is no heading in *SdcD* corresponding to this.

16 **1) It is ... gracious work**] See *SdcD*, pp. 426–427.

gratia præveniens] i.e., grace that precedes and prepares the way for human action. See *SdcD*, p. 426. 18

2) hum. beings ... this relationship] See *SdcD*, pp. 427–428. 19

3) The unity ... grace] See *SdcD*, pp. 428–429. 28

The div. decree ... lack of blessedness] See *SdcD*, p. 429, where Marheineke speaks of "false solutions" to the problem. 30

The Pelagians too ... only possibility] A corresponding passage is not found in the section on "false solutions" (see preceding note), but see *SdcD*, pp. 427–428, 439. 33

It does not help ... foreknowledge] See *SdcD*, p. 432, where Marheineke speaks of "false solutions" to the problem. 36

Calvin is right] See bk. 3, chap. 21 of *Ioannis Calvini Institutio christianae religionis* [John Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion], "De electione aeterna, qua Deus alios ad salutem, alios ad interitum praedestinavit" [On the Eternal Election by which God Has Predestined Some to Salvation and Others to Perdition], ed. A. Tholuck, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1834–1835; ASKB 454–455), vol. 2, p. 133. 2 296

The div. decree ... eternal decree] See *SdcD*, pp. 433ff., where Marheineke speaks of "false solutions" to the problem. 3

The contradiction is annulled] See *SdcD*, pp. 438–444. Marheineke's term is *Auflösung* (German, "dissolution") and not the characteristically Hegelian *Aufhebung* (German, "nullification," "sublation," "cancellation") that Kierkegaard's cognate Danish term (*hæves*) suggests. 7

est homo a deo creatus prædestinatus] There is no corresponding passage in *SdcD*. 10

Conversion] See *SdcD*, pp. 444–470. 32

The biblical teaching] See *SdcD*, pp. 444–448. 33

Church's teaching] See *SdcD*, pp. 448–450. 33

in the 16th century ... scripture] See *SdcD*, pp. 449–450. 33

Faith sola justificans ... 3) salvifica] See *SdcD*, p. 470. 36

The concept of the dogma] See *SdcD*, pp. 450–470. 38

must be mediated] See *SdcD*, p. 451. 7 297

illumination, sanctification, and Begnadigung] *SdcD* has "Wiedergeburt" (German, "rebirth") instead of "Begnadigung." See p. 451. 9

both moments] i.e., the divine and human acts of will. See *SdcD*, p. 451. 10

11 ***Die Erleuchtung*. 1) Wahrheit als Wesenheit Gottes**] See *SdcD,* pp. 451–459.

11 **God is light . . . unapproachable light**] See, e.g., 1 Jn 1:5 and 1 Tim 6:16.

15 **1) Die Wahrheit Gottes**] See *SdcD,* pp. 451–452.

18 **"I"ness has . . . from itself**] There is no corresponding passage in *SdcD.*

20 **God's understanding is an infinitive**] This statement is not found in *SdcD.* — **infinitive**: Here in the sense of lacking or being beyond definition.

25 **2) Darkness . . . presupposed**] See *SdcD,* pp. 452–454.

25 **The subject becomes conscious . . . merely hum. thought**] There is no corresponding passage in *SdcD.*

36 **3) hum. illumination . . . truth**] See *SdcD,* pp. 454–459.

36 **This truth . . . God himself**] There is no corresponding passage in *SdcD.*

39 **Sanctification**] See *SdcD,* pp. 459–470.

40 **1.) Gott als die Heiligkeit**] See *SdcD,* pp. 459–460.

298 5 **2) Hum. beings' . . . holiness**] See *SdcD,* pp. 460–462.

8 **Hum. beings feel . . . sanctification**] There is no corresponding passage in *SdcD.*

10 **3) Hum. beings' sanctification by God**] See *SdcD,* pp. 462–464.

12 **the Holy is not the natural . . . heiligen Ursprung**] There is no corresponding passage in *SdcD.*

29 **3) Die Begnadigung**] Probably corresponds to *SdcD,* pp. 470–488, where, however, Marheineke speaks of "Rechtfertigung" (German, "justification").

In the O. T. . . . nec. consequence] There is no corresponding passage in *SdcD.* 30

III. Freedom . . . universal] There is no corresponding passage in *SdcD.* 35

The Stoics' four categories] See Simplicius, *Categoriae,* 16b; see also Poul Martin Møller, "Udkast til Forelæsninger over den ældre Philosophies Historie" [Draft of Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy], in *Efterladte Skrifter af Poul M. Møller* [Posthumous Writings of Poul M. Møller], ed. F. C. Olsen, 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1839–1843; ASKB 1574–1576), vol. 2 (1842), p. 517. 2 299

Tennemann] Wilhelm Gottlieb Tennemann (1761–1819), German historian of philosophy, professor at Marburg. The likely reference here is to his *Geschichte der Philosophie* [History of Philosophy], 11 vols. (Leipzig 1798–1819; ASKB 815–826), although the Stoics' teaching on the categories is not treated in this work. 3

Quantity . . . necessity, contingency] This is the table of categories given by Kant in the *Critique of Pure Reason.* See *Critik der reinen Vernunft,* 4th ed. (Riga 1794 [1781]; ASKB 595), p. 106 (English trans., *Immanuel Kant's Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. N. Kemp Smith [London: Macmillan, 1929], p. 113). 5

Judgments . . . apodictic] This is Kant's overview of the various kinds of judgments corresponding to the table of categories. See *Critik der reinen Vernunft*, p. 95 (English trans., p. 107). 15

Conclusions . . . disjunctive] There is no corresponding passage in *Critik der reinen Vernunft*, and no other source has been identified. 20

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NOTES FOR NOTEBOOK 11

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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of Manuscript

Notebook 11 is a large bound book in quarto format. It is in the Kierkegaard Archive (KA) of the Royal Library in Copenhagen. The book consists of three groups of bound pages, with the first and second such groups of pages bearing the headings, "**Schelling. No. 1**" and "**Schelling No. 2.**," respectively.[1] Even before he made fair copies of these notes, Kierkegaard apparently affixed these headings in order to separate the first two groups of pages from each other.

II. Dating and Chronology

Notebook 11 contains Kierkegaard's notes on F. W.J. Schelling's lectures on "*Philosophie der Offenbarung*" [Philosophy of Revelation], which were written down during the period from late November 1841 through February 3, 1842.

Twenty-five of the forty entries that constitute *Notebook 11* are dated. The first dated entry in the notebook, Not11:3, is dated "Nov. 22," and the last dated entry, Not11:40, is dated "Feb. 4." Schelling began his lecture series on November 15, 1841. The dated entries fall into three coherent groups: the first group, Not11:3–5, were written down during the period November 22–24, 1841; the second group, Not11:12–14, were written down during the period December 8–13, 1841; and the third and largest group, Not11: 22–40, were written down during the period January 3–February 4, 1842.

The undated entries can also be assigned approximate periods of composition. Thus, the first two undated entries (Not11:1–2) must have been written down after Schelling's first lecture on November 15, 1841; furthermore, because the first *dated* entry (Not11:3) is from November 22, 1841—and November 21, 1841, was a Sunday, a day on which Schelling did not hold lectures—entries Not11:1–2 must have been written down no later than November 20, 1841. Similarly,

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[1]) See, e.g., illustration on p. 663.

undated entries Not11:6–11 must have been written down during the period November 25–December 7, 1841, and undated entries Not11:15–21 must have been written down during the period December 14, 1841–January 1, 1842. (January 2, 1842 was a Sunday.)[1]

The notes can be arranged in the following schematic form:[2]

Entry no.	Date	Entry no.	Date
1	*not dated*	2	*not dated*
3	Monday, November 22, 1841	4	Tuesday, November 23, 1841
5	Wednesday, November 24, 1841	6	*not dated*
7	*not dated*	8	*not dated*
9	*not dated*	10	*not dated*
11	*not dated*	12	Wednesday, December 8, 1841
13	Friday, December 10, 1841	14	Monday, December 13, 1841
15	*not dated*	16	*not dated*
17	*not dated*	18	*not dated*
19	*not dated*	20	*not dated*
21	*not dated*	22	Monday, January 3, 1842
23	Wednesday, January 5, 1842	24	Friday, January 7, 1842
25	Monday, January 10, 1842	26	Thursday, January 13, 1842
27	Friday, January 14, 1842	28	Monday, January 17, 1842
29	Tuesday, January 18, 1842	30	Thursday, January 20, 1842
31	Monday, January 24, 1842	32	Tuesday, January 25, 1842

1) See the calendar at the back of the present volume.

2) Up to and including entry 36, the entry numbers and the numbers assigned to Schelling's lectures are identical.

Entry no.	Date	Entry no.	Date
33	Wednesday, January 26, 1842	34	Friday, January 28, 1842
35	Saturday, January 29, 1842	36	Monday, January 31, 1842
37	Tuesday, February 1, 1842	38	Wednesday, February 2, 1842
39	Thursday, February 3, 1842	40	Friday, February 4, 1842

In entry Not8:33 Kierkegaard expresses his enthusiasm for Schelling's lectures:

> I'm so glad to have heard *Schelling*'s 2nd lecture—indescribable. But then I have been sighing and the thoughts within me have been groaning long enough. . . . I remember almost every word he said. Perhaps here there can be clarity. . . . Now I have put all my hope in Schelling. . . .[1]

It is thus rather surprising that, a bit over two months later, Kierkegaard abruptly abandoned the lectures. The final entry, Not11:40, consists only of the date of the lecture, "Feb. 4," plus the heading for that lecture, i.e., "42." In a letter to his brother, P. C. Kierkegaard, he explained why he was no longer following Schelling's lectures:

> Schelling spouts the most insufferable nonsense. . . . To make matters worse, he has now got the idea of lecturing longer than usual, which has given me the idea that I do not want to listen to him for as long as I might otherwise have listened. The question is: Whose idea is best.—So I have nothing left to do in Berlin.[2]

This may not be much of an explanation, but it is clear that Kierkegaard had heard what he needed to hear, which is why *Notebook 11* concludes so abruptly.

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[1]) See pp. 229–230 in the present volume.

[2]) *LD*, 141; *B&A* 1, 107.

Notebook 11 is a fair copy and a reworking of the notes Kierkegaard took during Schelling's lectures; according to his own testimony, Kierkegaard edited these notes shortly after he originally wrote them down.[1] Kierkegaard's original notes must have been written in a sort of German-Danish, which emerges in a number of places where it can be seen beneath the otherwise carefully edited Danish summary of the lectures. For example, entry Not11:4 reads "for the concept is potency, whereas possibility is *begrifflos, macht- und sinnlos, schrankenlos* [conceptless, powerless and meaningless, unbounded]." Entry Not11:7 contains the formulation "what is *ausser der Vernunft* [outside reason]," and in entry Not11:11 it is noted that philosophy has been made into "a *behauptende* [assertive] dogmatic system."

A number of genuine Germanisms also occur when Kierkegaard has been inspired to coin new Danish words.

A detailed account of the contents of the lectures and of Kierkegaard's relation to Schelling can be found in the next section, the introduction to the Explanatory Notes for *Notebook 11*.

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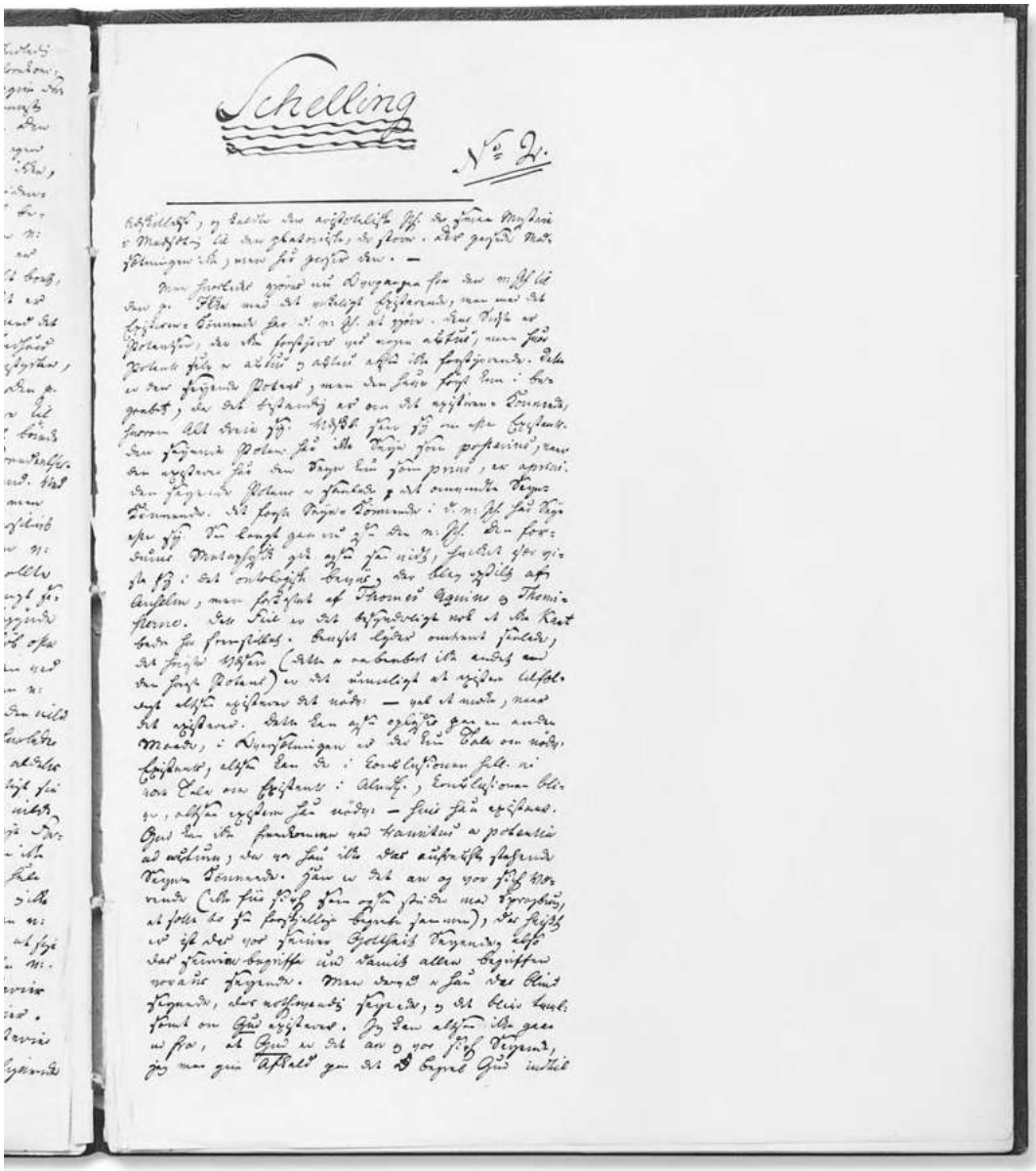
[1]) See *LD*, 138; *B&A* 1, 107: "When you consider that I have attended three or four hours of lectures every day, that I have had an hour's language lesson daily, and that I have nonetheless got so much written (and this despite the fact that at the start I had to spend so much time writing out Schelling's lectures, of which I have made fair copies), [and] have done some reading, I cannot complain."



Notebook 11:20. Kierkegaard's title recorded on the first page of the second group of bound pages.

F.W.J. Schelling's Lectures on "Philosophie der Offenbarung" [Philosophy of Revelation]

The Occasion

In 1840, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling was appointed professor of philosophy at the University of Berlin, and in November of the following year he began his lectures on "The Philosophy of Revelation." In so doing, Schelling returned to the academic stage: it had been forty years since his first pioneering work in philosophy—"the philosophy of identity"—and he had not published a philosophical work since 1812. With his new teachings—"positive philosophy"—Schelling wanted to present a philosophy that was superior to that of G.W.F. Hegel and to do so at the very university where for many years Hegel had been the absolutely dominant intellectual figure. In fact, as early as 1833, two years after Hegel's death, the Prussian crown prince had attempted to convince Schelling to succeed Hegel as professor of philosophy at Berlin, but only in 1840, after he had ascended the throne as King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, was he successful in bringing Schelling to Berlin. Schelling's appointment was not only an academic and intellectual-historical event, it was also a political—and ecclesiastical/political—event, which was made clear, for example, by the king's famous and notorious pronouncement that the purpose of Schelling's appointment was "to eradicate the dragon's seed of Hegelian pantheism, the shallow omniscience, and the legalized abolition of domestic discipline that is being reaped in these times."[1]

Owing to the political character of Schelling's appointment, the expectations were quite varied. On the one hand, conservative ecclesiastical figures and conservative theologians expected Schelling to initiate a theological restoration and to issue a rejoinder to the critique of religion mounted by the young Hegelians. On the other side stood the Young Hegelians and the Left Hegelians—C. L.

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[1]) See the letter of appointment addressed to Schelling and dated August 1, 1840, in Fr. von Bunsen, *Christian Carl Josias Freiherr von Bunsen Aus seinem Briefen und nach eigener Erinnerungen geschildert von seiner Witwe* [Christian Carl Josias, Baron von Bunsen, Sketched by His Widow from His Letters and His Own Memoirs], 3 vols., ed. Fr. Nippold (Leipzig, 1868–1871), vol. 2 (1869), p. 133.

Michelet, Mikhail Bakunin, Friedrich Engels, and Arnold Ruge—who were zealous defenders of Hegel's legacy and expected a confirmation of the superiority of Hegelian philosophy as precisely what the times required. At the same time, however, the Young Hegelians could also praise Schelling's philosophical accomplishments, provided he did not have any pretensions of presenting new teachings that deviated from those of Hegel.

The introductory lecture on the philosophy of revelation makes it clear that Schelling was conscious of these very divergent expectations. Addressing those who expected a theological restoration, Schelling made it clear that the title of the lectures "Philosophy of Revelation," was not to be understood as referring to a philosophy of biblical revelation, and this philosophy was not to be seen as one built on the authority of such revelation. With respect to the Left Hegelians the tone is more accommodating, which can be explained by the circumstance that prior to taking up his new appointment, Schelling had had positive contacts with leading representatives of that group. Schelling had arranged for the end of censorship of the Left Hegelians' principal journal, *Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst* [Halle Yearbooks of German Scholarship and Art], and it was also known that he had had conflicts with the Catholic authorities in Munich and with the Bavarian government in matters concerning religious toleration. Still, no cooperative relationship developed between Schelling and the Hegelians, and in fact a series of strongly polemical pieces were directed against Schelling's new teachings.

The reports of many of Schelling's auditors, including Kierkegaard, testify to the great stir created by his inaugural lectures.[1] One of the auditors thus reported that the first of Schelling's lectures, held on November 15, 1841, filled every seat in the university's largest lecture hall, which could seat 290 people.[2] In addition to this, tickets were issued for 140 standing-room places; during the distri-

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1) See Kierkegaard's letter to P. J. Spang, dated November 18, 1841, *LD*, 97–98; *B&A* 1, 77.

2) Adolf Hilgenfeld in a letter to his father dated November 15, 1841, in Helmut Pölcher, *Schellings Auftreten in Berlin (1841) nach Hörerberichten* [Schelling's Assumption of His Position in Berlin (1841), As Reported by Members of the Audience], in *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* [Journal of Religious and Intellectual History], vol. 6, 1954, pp. 193–215.

bution of these tickets violence ensued, with doors pushed in and windows smashed. Despite the presence of university officers at the entry doors of the auditorium, it was not possible to hold back the storming mass of people, whose loud cheers burst open the closed doors, and when Schelling finally arrived at the lecture hall, not only were the side aisles packed, but even the lecturer's chair had been occupied by the crowd. In addition to many enthusiastic university students, the mass of auditors included a good number of prominent professors from the other faculties of the university (Jacob Burkhardt, Friedrich Karl von Savigny, Henrik Steffens, A. Trendelenburg, and Alexander von Humboldt), as well as a number of people who would subsequently become famous (Engels, Bakunin, and Kierkegaard).

The inaugural lectures in Berlin, which lasted from November 15, 1841, until March 18, 1842, were characterized both by something new and by something more traditional. As early as 1831, four years after his assumption of his post as professor of philosophy at the newly established university in Munich, Schelling had for the first time given a series of lectures titled "Philosophy of Revelation." Thereafter these lectures became part of a cycle of lectures, consisting of a portion that dealt with the history of philosophy, that is, the history of modern philosophy from Descartes to Hegel, which served as an introduction to the subsequent groups of lectures, which bore the titles "System der Weltalter" [System of the Ages of the World], "Philosophie der Mythologie" [Philosophy of Mythology], and "Philosophy of Revelation." What was special about the lectures of 1841–1842 was that they contained all four divisions of the earlier lecture series. Schelling had compressed four series of lectures into one series, which explains the extremely compact character of these lectures.

Overview of the Lecture Series "Philosophy of Revelation" Berlin, 1841–1842

The lectures can be divided into the following groups:

1. The introduction, which has no number in the published account of the lectures, *Die endlich offenbar gewordene positive Philosophie der Offenbarung oder Entstehungsgeschichte, wörtlicher Text, Beurtheilung und Berichtigung der v. Schellingschen Entdeckungen über Philosophie überhaupt, Mythologie und Offenbarung des dogmatischen*

Christenthums im Berliner Wintercursus von 1841–42. Der allgemeinen Prüfung vorgelegt von Dr. H.E.G. Paulus [The Final, Published Positive Philosophy of Revelation or Genesis: Verbatim Text, Review, and Amendment of Schelling's Discoveries in Philosophy in General, in Mythology, and in the Revelation of Dogmatic Christianity, in the Course Given in Berlin, Winter 1841–1842, Submitted for General Examination by Dr. H.E.G. Paulus], ed. H.E.G. Paulus (Darmstadt, 1843; abbreviated hereafter as *Philosophie der Offenbarung*).

2. Fundamental definition of philosophy (lectures I–III in *Philosophie der Offenbarung*).
3. Section dealing with the history of philosophy (lectures IV–IX in *Philosophie der Offenbarung*).
4. Transition to positive philosophy, "System of the Ages of the World" (lectures X–XIII in *Philosophie der Offenbarung*).
5. "Philosophy of Mythology" (lectures XIX–XXII in *Philosophie der Offenbarung*).
6. "Philosophy of Revelation" (lectures XXIII–XXXV in *Philosophie der Offenbarung*).

1. Introduction

In the first lecture Schelling sets forth the overall intentions and motives underlying his philosophy. He has accepted the appointment as professor of philosophy at Berlin both in order to fulfill his life's mission and to surmount the present difficulties in which philosophy finds itself. This is to be accomplished by developing not merely another philosophy but an entirely *new* philosophy. In this context Schelling points out that he has come to Berlin to make peace, to reconcile, and to edify.

2. Fundamental Definition of Philosophy

The fundamental definition of philosophy begins with a definition of the relation between Christianity and philosophy. The question is not whether Christianity is to be replaced by something else, but whether Christianity has been understood at all. Perhaps only philosophy is capable of understanding the profundities of Christianity. In this context it is expressly denied that the title "Philosophy of Revelation" is an advertisement for a philosophy based on the authority of the Bible and the Church. Revelation is something that transcends reason but that nonetheless can only be possessed by virtue of reason. Next, the lecture defines the new and current problem of philosophy, namely the question of the relation between

philosophy and actuality, or the relationship between *essence* (Latin, *quid sit*, "what it is") and *existence* (Latin, *quod sit*, "that it is"). The object of philosophy is given a priori only to reason, and thus the relation between knowing and being is only a logical relation, that is, it is given only in thought. In this sense, philosophy is a *science of reason*. The fundamental definition of philosophy is concluded with a definition of the intellectual concept that designates the idea of a point of finality or conclusion, namely, the idea of God. God's being or existence is not a consequence of potency, which means that God's being is a freedom from being. In this sense, philosophy describes a movement from potency to being and from being to potency (the so-called *Überseiende* [beyond-being]). The concluding point and boundary of the science of reason has been reached with the idea of God. Reason cannot substantiate God's being as a freedom from being. To do this, another philosophy is required.

3. Section Dealing with the History of Philosophy

The lectures dealing with the history of philosophy begin with a retrospective look at Schelling's earlier philosophy, the philosophy of identity, which is claimed to be fundamentally a science of reason. As such, it cannot take its point of departure from any principle or certainty. To the extent that the philosophy of identity possesses a principle, it can only be a concluding principle. Its beginning is an uncertainty or an *indifference* between subject and object; its conclusion is an absolute identity of subject and object. In this context it is emphasized that the philosophy of identity is a purely logical science, and here the concept of a negative philosophy is introduced as the designation of a logical and purely immanent philosophy. This is followed by a lengthy description and critique of Hegel's philosophy, in which Hegel is described as the person who inherited and brought to completion Schelling's own philosophy of identity. The difference between Schelling and Hegel is merely that Hegel made the philosophy of identity—as a purely negative science—into a positive science. While the philosophy of identity takes its beginning with a being-able-to-be (potency), Hegel begins from being (*actus*, "actuality," "activity"). The fact that Hegel's philosophy is a positive philosophy is clear, not least, from the fact that he wants to prove the existence of the Absolute. Next, the lectures treat the relations among art, religion, and philosophy, which—Schelling emphasizes, in polemical contradistinction to Hegel—are to be understood as different forms through which "the beyond-being" actualizes itself. The section on Hegel concludes with some general

observations on the relation between negative and positive philosophy. It is true that philosophy is only consummated in a philosophy that is simultaneously both negative and positive, but the result and concluding point of negative philosophy is not the beginning point of the positive; negative philosophy only puts forth its end result as a task or as a demand for a new science.

4. Transition to Positive Philosophy, "System of the Ages of the World"

This portion, in which Schelling defines more precisely the relation between negative and positive philosophy, has the character of a transition to positive philosophy. The concluding point of negative philosophy is the notion of God as pure potency. The metaphysical tradition formulates this as the notion of God as the highest being, who is necessarily existent. While Schelling rejects the ontological proof of the existence of God—*that* God exists is not proven—at the same time, he adheres to the notion of a necessary existent (the so-called *Blindseiende* [blind-being]). He then makes this concept the point of departure for positive philosophy. The necessary existent is that which precedes all thinking and as such is the principle of positive philosophy. The principle of negative philosophy is thinking that precedes being—the positive philosophy's principle is being that precedes thinking. In this context the notion of *das unvordenkliche Sein* [un-prethinkable being, being absolutely antecedent to thought] is introduced. This being is the a priori inconceivable that philosophy must convey a posteriori in the conceptual realm. In contrast to necessary being, God liberates himself from his blind and immobile being. God is freedom from blind and necessary being. God is otherwise-being. The divine principle is a being-able-to-be ("the beyond-being"). As a being-able-to-be, God saturates his blind, "un-prethinkable" being by means of which he becomes the seeing or divine necessity. God as being-able-to-be does not stand in opposition God as necessity: the necessity to act has been enjoined upon God. Schelling calls this *Sein-Sollen* ("ought-being" or "that which ought to be").

5. "Philosophy of Mythology"

Schelling's idea of a philosophy of mythology seeks to define a systematic, negative philosophy of reason as a highly developed form of myth, that is, as a concrete, handed-down ("received") account of creation. Negative philosophy should be seen as a modern form of monotheism that has arisen through the continued histori-

cal formation of myths. Every one of these myths has helped give sharper focus to the notion of the one, omnipotent God. Schelling sketches the transition from nonreligious notions of nature, to pre-Christian polytheistic notions, to inadequate forms of monotheism. Both mythic notions and negative philosophy are nonetheless expressions of the free spirit's regression into the realm of necessity. The object, therefore, is to free monotheism from the pantheistic notion of the necessary character of the god's earthly presence, a notion that, according to Schelling, is precisely what characterized negative philosophy.

6. "Philosophy of Revelation"

The term "philosophy of revelation" is an attempt to express a nonpantheistic idea of God's actualization in the earthly. Jesus is to be viewed as a person who reveals God's will and essence, but in himself Jesus is not defined by that will, just as a human being's essence is not defined, but merely subjected to a claim, by Jesus' existence. God wills that a human being exists as a possibility for freedom, as opposed to existing by virtue of a particular form of necessity. When positive philosophy states this, it also states the truth of Christianity.

Elucidation of the Principal Characteristics of Schelling's Later Philosophy

1. Philosophy and Actuality

The principal theme of Schelling's lectures on the philosophy of revelation is the relation between philosophy and actuality. Schelling wants to break with the traditional view of philosophy, dominant since antiquity, namely, of philosophy as "a thinking observation of being." Schelling's critique is directed, most of all, at the many attempts, not least that of Hegel, to tie philosophy to a logic of being. Hegel's logic, according to Schelling, is a systematic development of "all possible" determinations of being. But the weakness in Hegel's philosophy is that the logic of being does not contain an answer to the question of how the possible determinations of being can be actualized. In Hegel's *Enzyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse* [Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences in Outline] the transition from logic to the philosophy of nature consists of an account of how the entire *system* of possible determinations of being can be actualized. Nature is thus given through the

actualization of the Absolute *Idea*. For Hegel, philosophy is precisely a science of the existing idea. To this extent, the Absolute has no need to become anything more. This is the principal difficulty with Hegel's philosophical system. Hegel reduces nature to that which is capable of being conceptualized by systematic reason. According to Schelling, for Hegel reason is "an infinite potency of knowing." Hegel elucidates the structure and extent of this potency. But, Schelling asserts, this leaves unanswered philosophy's decisive questions, because the goal of philosophy is to elucidate *being's* infinite potency.

2. Being, Will, and Potency

As logic, philosophy concerns itself only with the possible. Referring to this definition, Schelling then differentiates between three possibilities or *potencies*: the first potency is "the mere being-able-to-be," which designates that which is simply fundamental, mere indifference; the second potency is "the mere not-being-able-to-be," which designates the merely being or the necessarily being; the third potency is "the conscious capability" or *spirit*, which designates a freedom from being.

Whereas Hegel takes his systematic point of departure in the concept of the determinations of being, Schelling goes a step further. Schelling finds that it is not being as such, but a unity of being and *will* that forms the basis for all creation. In this respect, the concept of being-able-to-be corresponds to three ways in which the unity of being and will actualizes itself as potency. This becomes the key to elucidating the "infinite potency of being." Schelling raises the question of how every being can in principle become the object of a *will*. He wants to show that the emergence of particular beings always establishes a basis for the tendencies and concerns that can be assumed by the human will.

According to Schelling, the first form of potency is expressed in the metaphysical idea of matter as something that is immediately capable of "taking up space." In itself, matter is pure potency, "an immediate being-able-to-be." On the one hand, matter can always be worked upon and become the object of all possible influences and interests, but on the other hand, how the matter may possibly be influenced or processed is without significance for the matter's materiality as such.

According to Schelling, the second form of potency is expressed in the metaphysical idea of an object with certain inherent properties. With this idea boundaries are posited for how something can

be. An object is defined by being *exclusively* what it is. This is a case of "an immediate not-being-able-to-be." For behind all its qualities, an object, as not-being, has the property of being able to continue not being that which the object is, in fact, not. As such, the idea of definite, fixed qualities of a thing expresses the concept of a "pure being."

The attempt is now made to express the third form of potency in the metaphysical idea that possibility and actuality can be united as *freedom*. We must learn to view that which has been actualized not as something that posits limits, but on the contrary, as something that posits possibility, namely the possibility of being subjected to various sorts of demands. Schelling designates freedom's characteristic of making demands—this special potency of the actual—as "ought-being."

Every being can be understood as a potency for the will in these three different ways *at the same time*. This implies that there are a multitude of ways in which—for any given being—these three potencies can be mutually connected, and thus also a multitude of ways in which the will can be *oriented*. Against this background it becomes clear that it is not only the question of *how* a being is constituted (*quid sit*) that is of fundamental importance. There is already something of fundamental importance in the very circumstance *that* a being is there (*quod sit*). By the very circumstance that something is there, the will is subjected to demands in various ways. Thus there is, for example, something of fundamental importance in the very circumstance *that* there is something divine and something earthly, *that* there is something good and something evil, and *that* there is something moral and something barbaric. Being is something of fundamental importance—merely through its very existence and not only by its essence (its determinations of being).

3. Negative and Positive Philosophy

The purpose of using these fundamental metaphysical figures is not merely to express an alternative to the fundamental terms in Hegel's logic of being. These figures are also intended to express how this logic can be understood as a restriction and limitation on the will, inasmuch as, in being "the infinite potency of knowing," the Reason that Hegel presents is restricted in comparison to the multiplicity of potency sketched by Schelling. The same holds for all philosophical systems that reduce philosophy to a "thinking observation of being," that is, all the philosophy that Schelling characterizes as *negative philosophy*. Philosophy must instead be understood

as *positive philosophy*, inasmuch as philosophy appears as an expression of certain concrete, historical ways in which demands are placed on the will. Positive philosophy must express an "ought-being," a genuinely grounded vision of how, concretely, one ought to take hold of the future in certain respects. That this vision must be genuinely grounded means that what comes to expression here is not only the third potency—freedom's potency, which expresses itself abstractly and intrepidly—but also that philosophy must take all three forms of potency into consideration.

As a pure science of reason negative philosophy is really an elimination of reason, because it never attains actual or experiential knowledge. In comparison to this, positive philosophy resurrects reason. If, despite this, the negative science is not without importance, it is because it demands a second, a positive science. As knowledge of actuality, positive science is beyond all philosophy of feeling (Friedrich Jacobi) just as it is beyond all rational philosophy (Hegel).

4. Nature and Existence

As was also the case with his early philosophy, Schelling's late philosophy was an attempt to connect the central problem posed in Kant's philosophy (i.e., that concerning the relation between theoretical and practical reason) with the problem-complex concerning pantheism posed by philosophy of religion. Schelling asserts the primacy of practical over theoretical reason. This means that "nature"—in the sense that theoretical reason has the possibility of grasping things—is relative and conditional in relation to the posture and interests of practical reason. A critique of the limitations of theoretical reason thus expresses a way in which practical reason can think of itself. But—and, if there is any characteristic trait that runs through the whole of Schelling's philosophical writings, it is this—one must demand that the consideration of the limitations of theoretical reason by practical reason produce an alternative and encompassing concept of nature. The emancipation of practical reason must never be seen as a "second nature" but as a way in which Nature *as such* is developed.

In Schelling's early philosophy it is this demand that leads to the understanding of nature as "spirit that has not yet been made conscious." Here spirit is, so to speak, the absolute connection between nature and consciousness. Self-conscious and certain of itself, consciousness is united with nature, for example, as works of art and as religious traditions. In Schelling's essay on freedom from 1809, *Philo-*

sophische Untersuchungen über das Wesen der menschlichen Freiheit und die damit zusammenhängenden Gegenstände [Philosophical Investigations of the Essence of Human Freedom and of Related Matters], this concept of spirit is connected more systematically to a concept of God, namely, the concept of the "not yet completed God" who is sustained and developed by a human being's actions, actions that are situationally determined and for which a human being bears personal responsibility.[1] The God, who is the ground of everything, has his essence in the circumstance that he *wills* and can guarantee that another essence, *the essence of existence*, is actualized through human action.

In all phases of Schelling's written work, philosophical consideration of the concept of nature is linked to an ambition to formulate a sort of postpantheism in connection with the question of the essential aspects of the concrete, earthly actualization of the Absolute (God). This is Schelling's most important idea, that only by answering this question can philosophy be said to have developed a concept of *real* freedom, which exists—and can only exist—through the concrete relations of nature.

5. The Concept of God

For Schelling, the Absolute (God) is not merely the creator of all things, but, even more, is the eternal basis for a continuing creation. The God is living in and with the fact that the possibility of everything that happens is given by God's will. God wills that nature is and that human beings "exist." Here, "existence" means the capacity to live and to develop oneself in relation to the possibilities that are given by the power and will of God. The real question is, How it is possible to get beyond necessary existence, beyond that which exists as pure being (*actus*)? How can anything new and unexpected happen? This is given in the possibility of something accidental, something different from that which exists necessarily. Thereby there arises an antithesis to that which exists necessarily, and thus motion and dynamism enter into immobile and necessary being.

What is the status and justification of this concept of God? First and foremost it expresses a critique of previous concepts of God, which place God's own existence on the same plane as the existence of other beings. Schelling emphasizes, with respect to the latter, that

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[1]) In F. W. J. Schelling, *Philosophische Schriften* [Philosophical Writings] (Landshut, 1809; ASKB 763), vol. 1, 397–511.

their existence is *necessary* in relation to their respective forms of actuality. If A does not exist, A has no effect or influence on other circumstances. Schelling wants to show that God's existence is not necessary in this sense. God's will and activity do not presuppose the circumstance that God exists.

Schelling's philosophy of revelation—which, as mentioned above, is the further development of his work on the history of philosophy and the philosophy of mythology—is constructed in accordance with the following framework: Schelling wants to show how the dialectic of the world, which unites and binds together the three potencies of the will, has three decisive phases, which correspond to the following:

- God's creation of the world
- God's rebirth in earthly circumstances
- The human being's self-emancipation from earthly circumstances

The intention of this view is to construct a counterimage to that of negative philosophy, in which human freedom emerges only as something "relatively transcendent," that is, as going beyond a particular conception of reason or actuality. Human freedom must thus emerge in the light of the "absolutely transcendent" in which the existence suitable to a human being includes the actualization of a transcendent power. By its own efforts the human being can only sustain necessity, not freedom.

Schelling expands on his point as follows: God is not a part of the world. God is absolutely transcendent, that is, he is "behind" the world, the existence of which God wills. God is absolutely free to create a world. But it must be emphasized that it is not God's will in itself that creates the world. God's being, absolute being, is more than the totality of being that Hegelian Reason was able in principle to conceive and grasp as an idea. On the contrary, God's being is being that cannot be abolished by any thinking and that no thinking can reach. God's being is "un-prethinkable" being, but God wills that this being *be suspended*. God has the power to set aside this being that is inaccessible to human beings. God enables an otherwise-being that corresponds to God's will. In so doing, God can be said to be *freed from his own being*. Now it is the human being's task to learn, in similar fashion, to be able to free itself from its own being, that is, not to lose itself in the being that is of *this* world and that is in principle accessible to and conceivable by a human being.

The human being must learn to see the divine in the earthly without reducing the actualized divinity to its earthly manifestation.
For example, what is divine about Jesus is not that God has been actualized as a human being. Rather, what is divine about Jesus is the fact that there is anything at all outside of God himself that expresses God's will. God has created Jesus because he *wills* that human beings exist (i.e., exist as the earthly possibility of freedom). Jesus is not in himself an expression of God's will, but is (merely) an expression of the very circumstance *that* God's will saturates the world. As such, Jesus is the "precondition" for the existence of human beings. Jesus is the manifestation of God's rebirth in his otherwise-being. As such, Jesus reveals the possibility for human beings to be reborn, liberated from their own earthly being.

Schelling and Kierkegaard

Søren Kierkegaard was among the many auditors attending Schelling's inaugural lectures. It is difficult to determine what expectations Kierkegaard had and what particular scholarly issues motivated him to follow Schelling's lectures, but they were certainly different from the expectations and motivations prevalent in Berlin. On the other hand, Kierkegaard had not come to Berlin without preconceptions. He was an enthusiastic reader of Fichte the younger's *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und speculative Theologie* [Journal for Philosophy and Speculative Theology] (see ASKB 877–911), where Schelling's later philosophy played a central role. From this journal Kierkegaard was familiar both with Schelling's critique of Hegel and with his views on philosophy of religion. It is nonetheless interesting that Kierkegaard's reactions to Schelling's lectures followed the same pattern as that typical of many other auditors: an enthusiasm that almost bordered on euphoria was gradually replaced by disappointment and disapproval. The following remarks from Kierkegaard's journals illustrate the polar extremes of his evaluations of Schelling. In a journal entry dated November 22, 1841, he wrote: "I'm so glad to have heard *Schelling*'s 2nd lecture—indescribable. But then I have been sighing and the thoughts within me have been groaning long enough; when he mentioned the word '*actuality*' concerning philosophy's relation to the actual, the child of

thought leaped for joy within me as in Elizabeth."[1] A bit more than two months later, in a letter to his brother, P. C. Kierkegaard, dated February 27, 1842, Kierkegaard wrote: "Schelling spouts the most insufferable nonsense ... I am too old to listen to lectures, just as Schelling is too old to give them. His entire doctrine of potencies reveals the highest degree of impotence ... I think I could have become completely stupid if I had continued to listen to Schelling."[2]

Kierkegaard listened to the lectures and took detailed notes on them from November 15, 1841, until February 4, 1842, that is, up to the beginning of the group of lectures that dealt with the "Philosophy of Mythology." Apparently, as seems clear from a letter to Emil Boesen dated February 6, 1842, Kierkegaard made fair copies of the lectures.[3] If one compares Kierkegaard's notes with those of other auditors—the most complete and accurate of which is the *Nachschrift* ("transcript") published by Schelling's diehard opponent Paulus in 1843 (see above)—it is clear that Kierkegaard grasped the general tendency, the principal arguments, and the most important systematic points made in the lectures.[4] The care and concentration that characterize Kierkegaard's summaries testify to a serious scholarly interest and to a sense for what was at issue in Schelling's philosophy.

It might nonetheless seem surprising that Kierkegaard appears to have abandoned Schelling's auditorium at the point where the lectures might have been most relevant to his own interests, namely when Schelling turned to the portions that dealt in particular with philosophy of religion and theology, the "Philosophy of Mythology" and the "Philosophy of Revelation." One explanation might be that from his reading of the *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und speculative Theologie* Kierkegaard was already familiar with Schelling's ideas concerning philosophy of religion and theology. Furthermore, it may well have been the case that at the point when he left Schelling's lectures Kierkegaard had already heard all he had come to

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1) Not8:33, see pp. 229–230 in the present volume.

2) *LD*, 141–142; *B&A* 1, 109–110.

3) *LD*, 138; *B&A* 1, 107.

4) See *Schelling. Philosophie der Offenbarung 1841/42* [Schelling: Philosophy of Revelation, 1841–1842], ed. with intro. by Manfred Frank (Frankfurt am Main, 1993), pp. 329–467.

hear. He had been there for the portion of the lectures that dealt with the history of philosophy, structured in accordance with the distinction between negative and positive philosophy, and he had also heard Schelling's critique of Hegel's philosophy and his presentation of his alternative, the so-called positive philosophy. In this way Kierkegaard obtained an overview and a diagnosis of the philosophical and intellectual landscape after Hegel's death. This is probably where Schelling's Berlin lectures were of the greatest importance for Kierkegaard.

It is difficult to point to any direct influence on Kierkegaard from Schelling's later philosophy; at any rate, it did not leave any visible traces in the book of which Kierkegaard wrote large portions during his stay in Berlin, namely, *Either/Or*. But in Schelling's later philosophy, with its strong emphasis on the notions of freedom and actuality, Kierkegaard could see reflections of his own theological and philosophical concerns, just as Schelling's critique of Hegel may have clarified the conceptual basis that underlay Kierkegaard's own dawning disapproval and skepticism with respect to Hegel's speculative philosophy. It is worth noting that both Kierkegaard's description of Hegel and his criticisms of Hegel employ terminology close to that used by Schelling. Thus Kierkegaard's consistent characterization of Hegel's philosophy as a system of thought that dissolves all actuality into possibility can be traced back to Schelling's description of Hegelian philosophy as the epitome of negative philosophy. The later Schelling's modal-ontological reflections on actuality, possibility, and necessity were generally involved in staking out the boundaries within which Kierkegaard would both develop his critique of Hegel and give form to his own concerns, which would find clear expression in *Philosophical Fragments* and in *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*. Schelling's influence made itself most directly felt in *The Concept of Anxiety*, where there are frequent references to his philosophy. These references, however, are not to Schelling's later philosophy but to his early essay from 1809, *Philosophische Untersuchungen über das Wesen der menschlichen Freiheit und die damit zusammenhängenden Gegenstände* (see above).

Explanatory Notes

The lectures Schelling delivered during the winter semester 1841–1842 were never published, and his manuscript is long since missing. At the time, several auditors' accounts of the lectures, similar to Kierkegaard's, were published, of which the most exhaustive is *Die endlich offenbar gewordene positive Philosophie der Offenbarung oder Entstehungsgeschichte, wörtlicher Text, Beurtheilung und Berichtigung der v. Schellingschen Entdeckungen über Philosophie überhaupt, Mythologie und Offenbarung des dogmatischen Christenthums im Berliner Wintercursus von 1841–42. Der allgemeinen Prüfung vorgelegt von Dr. H.E G. Paulus* [The Final, Published Positive Philosophy of Revelation or Genesis: Verbatim Text, Review, and Amendment of Schelling's Discoveries in Philosophy in General, in Mythology, and in the Revelation of Dogmatic Christianity, in the Course Given in Berlin, Winter 1841–1842, Submitted for General Examination by Dr. H. E.G. Paulus], ed. H. E.G. Paulus (Darmstadt, 1843; hereafter abbreviated *Philosophie der Offenbarung*). Subsequent references in the notes are to this edition; a later edition of these same lecture notes has been published as F. W.J. Schelling, *Philosophie der Offenbarung 1841/42* [Philosophy of Revelation, 1841–1842], ed. with intro. by Manfred Frank (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1977; 3rd printing, 1993), with an accompanying concordance.

In *F. W.J. von Schellings sämmtliche Werke* [F. W.J. Schelling's Complete Works], ed. Karl Friedrich Schelling (Stuttgart, 1856–1861; hereafter abbreviated *SW*, followed by part, volume, and page number), four volumes of the second part deal with the same material as the lectures of 1841–1842. The third volume of this group—i.e., "*SW*, II, 3"—is of particular interest in this connection, and a number of lengthy passages in this volume are believed to be identical to the missing portions of Schelling's lost lecture manuscript; these passages are therefore included in the concordance that appears below. A more detailed account of Schelling's influence on Kierkegard can be found in Tonny Aagaard Olesen's essay, "Kierkegaards Schelling. Eine historische Einführung" [Kierkegaard's Schelling: A Historical Introduction] in *Kierkegaard und Schelling: Freiheit, Angst und Wirklichkeit* [Kierkegaard and Schelling: Freedom, Anxiety, and Actuality], ed. Joachim Hennigfeld and Jon Stewart, vol. 7 of the Søren Kierkegaard Research Centre's *Kierkegaard Studies: Monograph Series* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), pp. 1–102.

Page numbers in the concordance below are approximate.

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21	433–440	155–159
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35	546–552	376–382
36	552–558	381–384
37	558–570	385–402
38	570–582	403–421
39	582–585	421–430

Explanatory Notes

303 1 **Schelling. No 1**] See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 11*," p. 659 in the present volume.

4 **he wished to be regarded as . . . dead**] Schelling himself published his first lecture under the title *Schelling's erste Vorlesung in Berlin, 15. November 1841* [Schelling's First Lecture in Berlin, November 15, 1841] (Stuttgart, 1841), but the above remark is not to be found there. Another auditor, Franz von Tschudi, does relate the following: "He suggested somewhat enigmatically that he wanted to leave his pupils as Socrates did (in the *Phaedo*), appearing to each wisdom-seeking youth who came to Athens in the days following his death," *Schelling im Spiegel seiner Zeitgenossen* [Schelling in the Mirror of His Contemporaries], ed. X. Tilliette, 3 vols. (Turin, 1974–1997), vol. 1, p. 443. In Plato's dialogue *Phaedo*, Socrates argues that the genuine philosopher must learn to die (*Phaedo* 64a), which means that during one's life one must strive to turn away from immediate desires and needs. See Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns, eds., *Plato: The Collected Dialogues, Including the Letters* (New York: Random House, 1961; hereafter abbreviated as *Plato: The Collected Dialogues*), p. 46.

303 8 **As Kanne had said . . . everyday things**] Johann Arnold Kanne (1773–1824), German writer, mythologist, and linguist, familiar to Kierkegaard (see ASKB 584, 588–592). The quotation is unverified.

15 **Philosophy and Actuality**] See Not8:33 in this volume, where Kierkegaard writes: "I am so glad to have heard *Schelling's* 2nd lecture—indescribable. I have been sighing and the thoughts within me have been groaning long enough; when he mentioned the word 'actuality' concerning philosophy's relation to the actual, the child of thought leaped for joy within me as in Elizabeth. After that I remember almost every word he said. Perhaps here there can be clarity. This one word, it reminded me of all my philosophical pains and agonies."

16 **quid sit . . . quod sit**] Expressions commonly used in scholastic philosophy, meaning "essence" and "existence," respectively. See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 217; *SW*, II, 3, pp. 57–58.

επιστημη του οντος] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 218; *SW*, II, 3, p. 76: both passages refer to this as the oldest definition of philosophy. 27 303

The question . . . only one] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 219: "Since, according to the preceding, Being (τὸ ὄν) appears in [two] different ways, the question becomes whether philosophy pertains to both [*quid* and *quod sit*], comprehending the two in a single science, or whether it, taken as a whole, pertains only to one." 29

Objections of a Kantian . . . an Accidens] Refers to the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), whose "critical" philosophy is directed against traditional dogmatic metaphysics. Kant understood the task of philosophy to be that of determining the conditions for the possibility of human knowledge and experience. In the *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), Kant's claim to the effect that "being" is not a predicate undermines the traditional understanding of philosophy as the science of being. — **Accidens**: that which "happens," i.e., that which modifies a substance, a characteristic. 3 304

quodditas . . . quidditas] Scholastic expressions. See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 224; *SW*, II, 3, p. 65: "Transition is *simpliciter* [simply] a becoming-other; in place of pure potency, which as such is not being [*das nicht Seyende*], a being [*ein Seyendes*] appears, but the term '*ein Seyendes*' is a mere quiddditative, not quodditative . . . : for me it concerns only the *quid* and not the *quod*." 8

In consequence, philosophy . . . more recent thinkers said] Presumably a reference to the distinction between *rationalism*, which had its roots in Plato (→ 303,*4*) and Aristotle (→ 308,*18*) and, subsequently, included Descartes (→ 308,*31*), Spinoza (→ 311,*11*), Leibniz, and Wolff (→ 304,*27*), all of whom claim that the proper object of philosophy is the essence of things), and *empiricism*, which argues either that the essence of things is unknowable (Locke [→ 323,*32*]), or that the attempt to rep- 8

resent it is meaningless (Berkeley, Hume [→ 323,*32*]); from the standpoint of empiricism, the proper function of philosophy is the examination of what is given in experience.

13 **sublations**] In Danish, *Ophævelser*, which can also mean "a fuss."

17 **potency**] Inherent possibility, capacity, ability, or power to actualize something. Schelling develops the point in *SW*, II, 3, pp. 62–63.

19 **"eingebornene, a priori content."**] Cited from Schelling. See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 22: "That which is in it [reason], without any assistance on its part, is its innate content [*an–oder ein–geborner Inhalt*]; it is posited together with its essence, prior to any actual knowledge—*its a priori content*." See *SW*, II, 3, p. 63.

23 **the old scholastic ens omnimode indeterminatum**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 64, where Schelling writes: "Through the plasticity of its highest concepts, present-day philosophy distinguishes itself from scholastic philosophy, which might appear to have had a similar starting point. In the former, infinite *Potency* of being corresponds to [scholasticism's] *Ens omnimodo indeterminatum*, from which it originated: the expression signifies not something which already exists in some manner, but, as it says, that which exists, taken generally."

26 **aptitudo ad existendum**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 64: "In Wolffian philosophy the *Ens*, which the scholastics explained as *aptitudo ad existendum*, would even be declared a mere *non repugnantia ad existendum*, through which immediate potency is altogether degraded and diminished to sheer passive possibility, with which it can no longer achieve anything" (see following note).

26 **the scholastic ens**] Scholastic term meaning "being" or "a being"; it corresponds to the Greek "*to on*."

27 **In Wolf ... "non repugnantia ad existendum"**] → 304,*26*. — **Wolf**: Christian von Wolff (1679–1754), German philosopher whose brand of rationalism was the leading philosophy in the period preceding Kant (→ 304,*3*). His principal work is *Philosophia Prima sive Ontologia* [First Philosophy, or Ontology] (1730).

35 **We thus have an ... infinite potency of knowledge**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 224–225: "*Kant's Critique* laid the groundwork [for philosophy]; doubtless, in him [Kant], it came to have an orientation that was overly empirical and overly subjective. But without it [the *Critique*], philosophy is unsure of its object, a science seeking its object, and in this sense [is] philosophy, *philosophia prima*, ontology. In this [philosophy], thought follows the movement of the infinite potency of being [*Seyn*], whose entire content it also possesses as the infinite potency of appearance. It is this which has occupied German philosophy since Kant, and the next question which now arises is whether it is *the* philosophy or not." — **philosophia prima**: the expression originates in Aristotle's distinction between a "first" and a "second" philosophy (→ 308,*18*) and appears again in scholastic thought (→ 323,*20*), as well as in 18th-century German rationalism (e.g., A. G. Baumgarten and Christian Wolff), where the designation becomes synonymous with "metaphysics" and "ontology." — **Ontologia**: theory of being. — **Kant's Critique**: → 304,*3*.

εφισταμενον] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 225. → 345,*20*. 13 305

As its derivation ... is Alles-Vernehmen] The German *Vernunft* is derived from the word *Vernehmen*, i.e., "examine" or "interrogate." See *SW*, II, 1, p. 320, where Schelling writes: "in the great hearing [*Verhör*] or examination [*Vernehmen*], from which reason [*Vernunft*] has its name." 22 305

begrifflos ... schrankenlos] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 225. 29

υποκειμενον] Since the time of Aristotle (→ 308,*18*) the concept of "substrate," has been central to the philosophic tradition. See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 227; *SW*, II, 2, p. 29. 31

contradictoria] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 226. 33

excludere pullos] The wordplay to which Kierkegaard alludes is presumably based on a relation between "excluding" and "producing": the Danish verb "to exclude," namely *at udelukke*, is closely related to the infinitive construction, *at lukke ud*, "to let (someone or something) out." 22 306

exclusum tertium] A fundamental principle formulated by Aristotle (→ 308,*18*), which states that there can be no "third" between contradictory propositions (A and not-A). 22

instar omnium] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 227. 27

27 **just as much . . . opposing]** The English translation does not capture the playful pairing of the concepts in Kierkegaard's Danish: "just as much *Forestaaende* [impending] as *Modstaaende* [opposing]."

36 **ex actu in potentiam]** See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 228.

307 3 **first potency . . . 2nd potency]** See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 228.

9 **a potentia ad actum]** See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 226; *SW*, II, 3, p. 68.

14 **tertium exclusum]** → 306,*22*.

307 28 **existentiæ obnoxium]** See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 254: "It can no longer externalize itself but rather remains in itself; it may be called *essence* [*das Wesen*], *which is not*, as all the preceding, *subjugated to being* [*Seyn*], existentiae obnoxium, *but is rather above being* [*Seyn*]."

31 **potency and Aktus]** See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 254.

36 **Kant's Critique]** See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 256.

308 6 **system of emanation]** Theory elaborated by the Greek philosopher Plotinus (ca. 205–270), who claimed an essential continuity between the basis of the world (namely God) and the created world itself. All beings proceed from God through successive stages of emanation.

18 **philosophia secunda . . . designate physics)]** Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) distinguishes between first philosophy (πρώτη φιλοσοφία), which seeks to determine first principles and causes, i.e., unchangeable being, addressed primarily in the text that later came to be known as the *Metaphysics*; and second philosophy (δευτέρα φιλοσοφία), which investigates those things that are subject to movement and change, addressed principally in the *Physics*. See Bk. 6 (1026a 8–32) and Bk. 7 (1037a 10–20) of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. See *SW*, II, 1, p. 337.

308 27 **the philosophy of identity, whose . . . subject and object]** Schelling's so-called philosophy of identity comprises his philosophical writings from 1801 (→ 312,*27*) to 1806 and signals a decisive break with Fichte (see following note). Prior to this point, Schelling's philosophy had echoed Fichte's in significant respects, as both claimed a common ground for spirit and nature; in Schelling's thought this common ground (the Absolute) is presented as the identity of subject and object.

Fichte and his Wissenschaftslehre . . . from itself] 30 The German philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), professor at Jena, 1794–1799, and at Berlin, 1810–1814, attempted in his principal work, *Grundlage der gesammten Wissenschaftslehre* [Foundation of the Entire Doctrine of Scientific Knowledge] (1794), to develop a philosophical system similar to that of Descartes (→ 308,*31*), a system that would have its starting point in the "I" or subject. In opposition to Descartes, however, Fichte asserted that the first principle of knowledge, the "I," could not be something given, a "fact" (German, *Tatsache*), but must instead be an activity or "action" (German, *Tathandlung*). The first principle of the science of knowledge is, accordingly, that the active subject posits or produces a not-I (object), and all the concepts that contribute to our knowledge of actuality are derived from this opposition between I and not-I.

by means of subjective reflection . . . in Descartes] 31 See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 345. In his *Meditationes de prima philosophia* [Meditations on First Philosophy] (1641) and *Principia philosophiae* [Principles of Philosophy] (1644), the French philosopher René Descartes (1596–1650) sought to find a first principle that would be self-evident and immune to all doubt. By methodically doubting all forms of knowledge, he arrived at the conviction that consciousness of the existence of the "I" or subject is a reliable basis for knowledge: *Cogito, ergo sum* ("I think, therefore I am"). His philosophy, which set itself in opposition to earlier scholastic philosophy, was the point of departure for later forms of rationalism.

System des transcendentalen Idealismus] 39 Schelling's earlier work, *System des transzendentalen Idealismus* [System of Transcendental Idealism] (Tübingen, 1800), argues for a unity of transcendental philosophy (in the Kantian sense) and philosophy of spirit; it represents an extension of Schelling's earlier philosophy of nature, according to which nature is brought to consciousness of itself as spirit through the practical activity of human beings in art, philosophy, and religion. The book opens with

the assertion of the unity of "certainty" and "will" in the "I," whereby the "I" is recognized as the potency of being and can thus be the object of rational knowledge and rational will.

309 4 **το μη ον**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 345.

5 **the distinction . . . ουκ ον og μη ον**] The reference is to the distinction drawn in Plato's *Sophist* (237a–b, 241d, 256d–e, 258a–c) between "*ouk on*," i.e., "not-being" (absolute not-being) and "*mē on*" (relative not-being). See *Plato: The Collected Dialogues*, pp. 979–980, 985, 1003, 1004–1005.

7 **Plutarch shed light . . . and μη ον ειναι**] Plutarch, Greek philosopher and historian (ca. 50–125), makes the distinction between *mē eínai*, i.e., "is not" (in Schelling, *nicht seyn*), and *mē on eínai*, i.e., "is not-being" (in Schelling, *nicht das seyende Seyn*) in the treatise *Adversus Colotem* [Response to Colotes] in *Moralia* 1115d–f. See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 345.

9 **Plato's Sophist was directed . . . nonexistent**] See Plato's *Sophist* (e.g., 240d–e, 260b–261b), in which "the stranger," who leads the investigation, discusses this with Theaetetus. See *Plato: The Collected Dialogues*, pp. 984, 1007–1008.

14 **But non-being . . . the nicht-Ich**] → 308,*30*.

309*m* 3 **Doubt must indeed . . . it is movement**] Presumably an allusion to Hegel, for whom doubt, denial, and negation signal the dynamic power of experience and the movement of "the system." See, e.g., *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, ed. J. Schulze (Berlin, 1832 [1807]; ASKB 550); in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 311,*27*), vol. 2, pp. 63–64 (*Jub.* vol. 2, pp. 71–72).

309 33 **ascending . . . descending**] Concerning this scholastic terminology, Schelling remarks as follows: "Negative philosophy is merely *philosophia ascendens* (ascending from below), from which it is immediately evident that it can have only logical significance, [as opposed to] positive philosophy, *philosophia descendens* (descending from above). Thus, only *together* do they complete the entire circle of philosophy; and, indeed, their duality, if it were to require further explanation and elucidation, could quite easily be traced back to the customary introduction in the academy to theoretical philosophy, through logic and metaphysics, and, as the former [negative philosophy] is really only logic (logic of becoming), everything genuinely metaphysical devolves wholly upon the other (positive philosophy)." *SW*, II, 3, p. 151n. See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 349.

everything is einerlei in the voltaic pile] The voltaic pile was constructed by the Italian physicist Alessandro Volta (1745–1827) ca. 1800. The first source of electrical current, it consists of a series of alternating zinc and copper disks separated by paper (or similar material) soaked in acidic or saline solution and forming a column in which an electrochemical process is generated and, in consequence, a difference in electrical potential between the two endpoints. 3 310

Kant declared everything . . . known from existence] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 350f: "*Kant* applied the designation *a priori* to knowledge which arises solely from the nature of the faculty of knowledge. With still greater justification, *we call 'a priori' all knowledge which proceeds from the nature of the infinite potency of being [Seyn] 'a priori.' By pure reason, the consequences of the nature of every given thing may be educed, and in this way the science of pure reason follows from the universal Prius. A priori knowledge applies to knowledge which does not arise from experience and thus does not presuppose the existence of its object*." The reference to Kant (→ 304,*3*) is to the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* [Critique of Pure Reason], A57/B81, where the issue in question is the definition of "transcendental logic." 6

Kant says . . . one in his view] See Kant's (→ 304,*3*) *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* B303, where the a priori is said to delineate the various forms of possible experience without itself constituting experience. 9

that all progress . . . was existence] The reference is to Kant's (→ 304,*3*) distinction (*Critique of Pure Reason*, A7–8/B11–12) between analytic and synthetic judgments; in analytic judgments the predicate is contained within the subject, whereas this is not the case with synthetic judgments. Kant describes analytic statements as judgments that illuminate the subject and expand knowledge of it. Synthetic judgments are further divided into a priori and a posteriori judgments. Kant describes reason's synthetic function (A77/B103), its unifying of the manifold of sensible intuition, as positing the structure that lies at the basis all knowledge, possible, actual, or necessary. But the degree and the extent of the imposition of this structure in the case of any given object in nature remains undetermined. 13

22 **this science contained only species**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 352: "*The philosophy of nature does not attempt to deduce any actual plant; every actually existing plant is a here and now*. But, just as everything in the ideal realm should be included only γενικῶς, *according to its species*, so, too, pure science contains only species and types. *All sensible objects* exist in it only *as possibilities of being outside thought* [*als ausser dem Denken seyn könnende*], not being. It thus has the latter only as something that is in no way capable of emerging from thought [*als ein aus dem Denken gar nicht Herauskönnendes*]. And, as it never and in no way exceeds the bounds of thought, this science is a thoroughly *immanent and in no way transcendent science*, so purely a priori that it would be true even if nothing existed, just as geometry is true in the absence of the existence of any triangle."

311 4 **Kant was accused . . . a defense**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 355: "*Kant* let himself be seduced by the common accusation that his philosophy was *idealism— i.e., [by] the assertion that things did not actually exist apart from us!*—into inserting in the second edition of his critique *a refutation of idealism*." Kant's response to the charge of idealism is found in his "Refutation of Idealism" (B275) in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, where he formulates and defends the proposition that the contents of consciousness are empirically determined, thereby refuting an idealism that declares all existence to be the contents of consciousness.

11 **Spinoza; for him . . . by logical necessity**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 356–357. In his *Ethica* [Ethics] (1677), Dutch philosopher Baruch de Spinoza (1632–1677) formulates a philosophical system that, like geometry, is composed of a system of definitions, axioms, and proofs. Its fundamental concept is "substance" or the Absolute, i.e., God. Though all beings are effects of God, God himself is independent and self-caused (*causa sui*). Substance contains infinite determinations, "attributes," but human reason is capable of knowing only two: thought and extension. All psychic and physical phenomena are "modes" of these two attributes. They proceed from substance with the same logical necessity as the characteristics of a triangle follow from a triangle's nature. Spinoza's philosophy thus posits a pantheistic understanding of God as being one with nature, and he used the expression *Deus sive natura* ("God or nature").

27 **Hegel . . . made . . . the only philosophy**] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), German philosopher, privatdocent (extraordinary professor) at Jena 1801–1806, professor at Heidelberg 1816–1818, and professor at Berlin from 1818 until his death. In his library, Kierkegaard had a number of separate works from the series *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe* [Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Works: Complete Edition], 18 vols. (Berlin, 1832–1845; hereafter abbreviated as *Hegel's Werke*). — **the only philosophy**: Hegel's philosophy is here described as a continuation of the philosophy of identity that had originally been presented by Schelling himself (→ 308,27), a philosophy that the latter now considers to be "negative philosophy." Hegel, who regarded his philosophy as *the* philosophy, claims in the first preface to the *Wissenschaft der Logik*, ed. L. v. Henning, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1833–1834 [1812–1816]; ASKB 552–554), vol. 1 (in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 3), pp. 3–9 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 13–19), that his philosophy is both positive and negative. For an English translation, see *Hegel's Science of Logic*, trans. A. V. Miller (Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 1998), pp. 25–29, esp. p. 28. On the other hand, in § 81, note 2 in *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse* [Encyclopedia of the Philosophic Sciences in Outline], ed. L. v. Henning, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1840–1845 [1817]; ASKB 561–563; hereafter abbreviated as *Encyclopädie*), vol. 1 (in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 6), p. 157 (*Jub.* vol. 8, p. 195), Hegel calls his speculative dialectic "positively rational." For an English translation see G. W. F. Hegel, *The Encyclopedia Logic (with the Zusätze): Part I of the Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences with the Zusätze*, trans. T. F. Geraets, W. A. Suchting, and H. S. Harris (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1991), pp. 130–131.

29 **Hegel's definition of phil. . . . as all being**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 359–360, where the following is recorded: "*The Hegelian definition of philosophy* has my full agreement: it is *the science of reason* and is so indeed *to the extent that it becomes conscious of all being*. This explanation cannot, however, be applied unconditionally to positive and negative philosophy, but *it expresses the essence of the science of reason completely*. Reason becomes conscious of all being *provided that being is understood*

not as the actual, as current, but rather, that in the science of reason, reason, in accordance with its material, appears as all being. *That reason, through philosophy, becomes conscious of its content as* ***the content*** *of all being—this is the claim of the science of reason*. This distinction must of course be maintained! Whether *Hegel* merely kept his silence in this regard, or whether he was ignorant of it, will become apparent in the course [of these lectures]." Presumably Schelling is not referring to a particular passage in Hegel, but rather to Hegel's overall conception of his philosophy.

311 37 **Hegel remarks . . . achieve it scientifically**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 360–361: "Intellectual intuition" (→ 312,30) is in Schelling's view the condition for any (human) representation of the Absolute, as for example, in art. The allusion is to Hegel's (→ 310,22) account of Schelling's philosophy in *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie* [Lectures on the History of Philosophy], ed. C. L. Michelet, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1836; ASKB 557–559), vol. 3 (in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 311,27), vol. 15 of vols. 13–15), pp. 646–683 (*Jub.* vol. 19, pp. 646–683).

312 7 **Everything lay concealed . . . the transition**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 361: "This infinite potency was *a kind of orphic unity, in which everything that was to emerge still lay concealed*; next, the immediate potency for being [*Seynkönnende*], and, more generally, every potency which does not make the transition but remains in itself. Only the latter could be determined as *the Absolute* because it was that which *was absolved from the necessity of the transition to being* [*Seyn*], [and] *which persists, in eternal freedom, in opposition to being* [*Seyn*]."

11 **omnibus numeris absolutum**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 361. In *SW*, II, 2, p. 43, Schelling refers to the expression in its relation to "the Absolute": "But the Latin word *absolutum* refers to nothing other than the *fully completed* [*voll-Endete*], and thus not to that which remains unfinished [*was kein Ende in sich hat*], not to the simply unending, but to that which is complete in itself [*in sich selbst Geendete*] and rounded off [*Beschlossene*], as the Latin language fully articulates with the expression: id quod omnibus numeris absolutum est; in every act, in every movement there are only three *essential* moments or stages—beginning, middle, and end; that which has these in itself is *wholly* complete, or omnibus numeris absolutum."

What then . . . awkward medium for this] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 362: "After this discussion, the question arises: *of which Absolute did Hegel speak*? The Absolute defined *as end* could also be willed by the philosophy of identity only as result. Evidently Hegel believed the philosophy of identity to have *the true Absolute as its outcome, and this as regards not only the thing* [*die Sache*] (as the pure content of reason), *but also as regards existence*; to that end, it [the philosophy of identity] presupposed the indifferent as existing, but an existence proven only 'in the wrong way,' *through intellectual intuition*." See, e.g., bk. 1 of Hegel's *Die Wissenschaft der Logik* (→ 311,27); in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 3, pp. 456–466 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 466–476). 15

presentation of the phil. of identity . . . in Zeitschrift für Physik 2d B.] See *SW*, I, 10, p. 147, where it becomes clear that Schelling is alluding to the treatise "Darstellung meines Systems der Philosophie" [Presentation of My System of Philosophy], published in *Zeitschrift für spekulative Physik* [Journal of Speculative Physics], ed. F. W. J. Schelling, 2 vols. (Jena, 1800–1801), vol. 2, notebook 2, pp. iii–xiv, 1–127. 27

in an earlier treatise . . . the same journal] See *SW*, I, 10, p. 147, where Schelling refers to his essay "Anhang zu dem Aufsatz des Herrn Eschenmayer betreffend den wahren Begriff der Naturphilosophie, und die richtige Art ihre Probleme aufzulösen" [Supplement to Mr. Eschenmayer's Essay Concerning the True Concept of the Philosophy of Nature, and the Correct Manner of Resolving Its Problems], in *Zeitschrift für spekulative Physik* (→ 312,27), vol. 2, notebook 1, pp. 111–146. Here (e.g., p. 122), "intellectual intuition" is discussed, with reference to J. G. Fichte (→ 308,30). 29

This expression belongs . . . was: Ich bin] In the work of J. G. Fichte (→ 308,30), "intellectual intuition," i.e., the immediate consciousness of oneself in relation to one's actions, is a concept that stands in opposition to Kant's "sensible intuition." It was introduced in order to justify the fundamental principles of his science of knowledge. See § 5 in the "Zweite Einleitung in die Wissenschaftslehre" [Second Introduction to the Science of Knowledge] (1797), in *Johann Gottlieb Fichte's sämmtliche Werke* [Johann Gottlieb Fichte's Complete Works], ed. I. 30

H. Fichte, 11 vols. (Berlin, 1834–1846; ASKB 489–499), vol. 1, p. 463: "I call this intuition of itself in the carrying out of its actions, discerned by the philosopher, 'intellectual intuition.' Through it, the I comes into being for him [the philosopher]. It is the immediate consciousness that I act and how I act: it is that whereby I know something in the act of doing it."

39 **νοουμενον**] In Plato's thought (→ 303,*4*), the term designates the realm of ideas, which is apprehended by reason, in opposition to the phenomenal realm, which is experienced through sense.

40 **Hegel impelled . . . existential system**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 368.

313 13 **Therefore Hegel . . . intell. intuition**] See Hegel's presentation of Schelling's philosophy in his *Geschichte der Philosophie* [History of Philosophy] (→ 311,*37*), particularly the chapter's conclusion.

14 **logic as . . . existence of the Absolute**] See, e.g., bk. 1 of Hegel's *Wissenschaft der Logik*; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 311,*27*), vol. 3, pp. 35, 59–66 (*Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 49–50, 59–66).

16 **this science . . . science in its entirety**] In Hegel, logic, which sets forth the fundamental categories, itself appears as the first part of the system as a whole.

313 21 **Perhaps Hegel's Seyn . . . farthest from itself**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 372–373: "*Hegel's das Seyn* is to be understood as *actus*, that is, as the *opposite* of *potency*. He refers to das Seyn as something immediately certain; and this can only be *actus*, *not potency*. He defines das Seyn itself as that which is farthest from the concept, as the opposite of everything subjective, [the opposite of] all concepts. But where no concept and nothing of the subject is preserved, there is also no potency. Pure Seyn encompasses all Seyn, is actus purus." See bk. 1 of Hegel's *Encyclopädie* (→ 311,*27*); in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 4, pp. 165–169 (*Jub.* vol. 8, pp. 203–207). — **purus actus**: in scholastic philosophy, the expression refers to God's perfection as that actuality which has realized all the possibilities contained within it (→ 336,*26*).

314 3 **Hegel himself says: . . . without any concretion**] See, e.g., § 19 and § 24 (note 2) in Hegel's *Encyclopädie* (→ 311,*27*); in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 6, pp. 28–34, 49–53 (*Jub.* vol. 8, pp. 66–72, 87–91).

The metaphysics of pre-Kantian . . . qua concepts] 15
See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 374; *SW*, II, 3, p. 110. The reference is to the claim advanced by rationalism (represented by Descartes [→ 308,*31*], Spinoza [→ 311,*11*], and Leibniz), to the effect that actuality coincides with the content of pure reason; thus knowledge of actuality is acquired not through experience or the senses but through reason itself.

ontology] Theory of being; the science of essential 17
being.

Bacon's falling away from ontology] In his work, 17
Novum organum scientiarum [New Instrument of Science] (1620), the English philosopher and statesman Francis Bacon (1561–1626) breaks with the metaphysical tradition of his time, both with scholastic Aristotelianism and with various forms of Renaissance philosophy. Bacon claims that the aim of science is practical; the empirical sciences thus constitute the instrument, or organ, of genuine knowledge. The task of scientists is not to gain insight into nature but to achieve control and mastery; such mastery is to be gained through knowledge of nature's laws, which is possible by means of controlled experiments. Bacon is often regarded as the founder of empiricism.

Hegel excluded nature from logic] In §§ 14–18 in 22
bk. 1 of *Encyclopädie*; in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 6, pp. 22–27 (*Jub.*, vol. 8, pp. 60–65), logic (of being) is distinguished from the many particular forms of philosophical science, such as philosophy of nature and philosophy of spirit (e.g., rational physics, biology, and physiology; and aesthetics, philosophy of law, and philosophy of religion). Logic is pure (formal) thought about being; the remaining philosophical sciences account for how certain kinds of being correspond to given, a priori principles of being. Because each of the philosophical sciences is regarded as a "closed circle," the whole of philosophy is a "circle of circles." Logic expresses this, i.e., the structure of the entire encyclopedia of philosophical sciences.

impressa vestigia] Expression used by, among oth- 27
ers, Cicero in *Orator*, § 12.

as Spinoza . . . modo æterno] An expression corre- 16 315
sponding to "sub specie aeternitatis," an expression commonly used in *Ethica*, particularly in propositions 22–36 of part 5, where Spinoza (→ 311,*11*)

prescribes that in order to perfect its knowledge of God and the self, the understanding must comprehend both the spiritual and the physical from the point of view of eternity.

17 **emanation**] To flow forth (→ 308,6). See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 381–383: "When Hegel (see § 244 in the third edition of his *Encyclopedia*), says that the idea *releases itself* [*entlässt sich*] in its infinite freedom, this could be merely a somewhat vague expression for the idea's positing of itself in the form of otherness [*Andersseyn*]. (*Entlassen*is an expression of passive emanation.)"

27 **In the first edition . . . is omitted**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 383–384: "One looks at the final §§ of the first edition of the *Encyclopedia*. But already in these §§, he has characterized *nature* as *a falling-away from the idea* [*Abfall von der Idee*]. This expression occurs nowhere in my [work], except in the piece 'Religion and Philosophy,' 1804, which articulates a conviction different from that stated in *Bruno* (1802). A third dialogue was then to have canceled the contradiction between the two. *But it was never forthcoming!* It was in the fact, in the opposition of positive and negative philosophy, which had begun to make itself felt at that time . . ." See "Die Philosophie der Natur" [The Philosophy of Nature], § 193, in the first edition of Hegel's *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse* (Heidelberg, 1817), in *Jub.*, vol. 6, pp. 147–149. The second edition was published in Heidelberg in 1827; the third edition in Heidelberg in 1830; see *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 7, p. 29 (*Jub.* vol. 9, p. 55). The remark to which Schelling refers was omitted in the third edition.

35 **Religion und Philosophie . . . (Bruno 1802)**] F. W. J. v. Schelling, *Philosophie und Religion* [Philosophy and Religion] (Tübingen, 1804), and *Bruno oder über das göttliche und natürliche Prinzip der Dinge. Ein Gespräch* [Bruno, or On the Divine and Natural Principle of Things: A Dialogue] (Berlin, 1802 [2nd ed., Berlin, 1842; ASKB 765]) (→ 315,27).

316 2 **the earlier phil. . . . not as spirit**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 385: "Here, too, what is characteristic of Hegel cannot be more sharply delineated than through comparison with the *earlier* philosophy. This is formulated as a *reproach*: *In it* [the earlier philosophy], *God is defined not as spirit, but as substance*."

ὁ εαυτον νοουμενον] Aristotelian expression. See 7
Philosophie der Offenbarung, p. 385: "As concerns this matter, it was sufficient that *God be the enduring subject-object*; for he was then also that which thinks itself ὁ ἑαυτὸν νοῶν, *essence as spirit*, not substance as blind-being."

The idea is thus . . . essence] See *Philosophie der* 11
Offenbarung, p. 386: "The God who is *only an end*, who has no future and cannot say: I will be! who is only *a final cause and not a principle*—this God is only nature, only the essence of spirit [*Geist*], only substantial spirit [*substantieller Geist*]."

Such a God arrives . . . not the principle] See *SW*, 13
II, 3, p. 91, where this Hegelian problematic is discussed.

Now, one may . . . außernhafte series of manifes- 23 316
tations] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 386: "One is obliged to say: What ultimately comes forth is, at the same time, already *a*, or *the* beginning. *But God must, in the beginning, be a different being* [*ein Anderes seyn*] *than at the end*. As beginning, he is only the beginning, at the conclusion [he is] his own end, and *the whole constitutes the process of his self-realization; for he is, in the earlier condition, simply incomplete and subject to an external* [process of] *development*." See also *SW*, II, 3, p. 73.

in the 2nd ed. of his . . . all the preceding now 29
proceeds] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 386: "Meanwhile, *in the second edition of his Logic*, *Hegel* conceives the ultimate [*das Lezte*], into which everything is subsumed, as in the foundation, or rather as 'The' assertion, from which everything issues—and thus Absolute Spirit, too, as that which surrenders itself, the most concrete and highest truth of being, as freely externalizing itself at the end of its development, resolving upon the creation of a world which contains everything that was lacking in the development." Presumably the allusion is to the chapter, "Die absolute Idee" [The Absolute Idea] in *Die Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 2; in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 5, pp. 327–353, esp. pp. 352–353 (*Jub.* vol. 5, pp. 327–353, esp. 352–353). Hegel himself lived long enough to write the preface to the second edition, which was subsequently published by L. v. Henning (→ 311,27).

that this is not seen im Ende, but am Ende] See 6 317
Philosophie der Offenbarung, p. 387.

8 **final cause**] →342,40. See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 387.

22 **It is not the idea . . . a cycle**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 387.

28 **Aristotle, who . . . himself ακινητος**] The reference is to Aristotle's (→308,18) definition of the prime mover in *Metaphysics*, bk. 12, chaps. 7–8 (1072a 19–1073a 14), and in *Physics*, bk. 8, chap. 5 (258b 4–5); see esp. *Metaphysics* 1072a 25–26, where God is described as "a mover which moves without being moved, being eternal, substance, and actuality." English translation from *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984; hereafter abbreviated as *The Complete Works of Aristotle*), vol. 2, p. 1694. See *SW*, II, 3, p. 105.

30 **God is certainly . . . is his self-consciousness**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 388: "*In the final version*, this theory tends to be elaborated in this way: Already at the outset, God is surely, in himself, the Absolute, but, to become conscious of himself, he externalizes himself, thinks of the world as other, ascends from the deepest level of externalization to the human being, in whose god-consciousness he achieves knowledge of himself."

35 **God must reveal . . . the Holy Spirit**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 388–390.

318 3 **The phil. of ident. was accused . . . art and philosophy**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 390, where it is noted that Schelling's allusion is to Hegel's critique of the former's *System des transzendentalen Idealismus* of 1800 (→308,39), in which art is posited as the ultimate horizon of experience.

319 8 **Hegel thus gives . . . (c) philosophy**] In *Encyclopädie* (→311,27), Hegel outlines the development of the Absolute Spirit through the following stages: "Die Religion der Kunst" [The Religion of Art] (§§ 456–464), "Die geoffenbarte Religion" [Revealed Religion] (§§ 465–471), and "Die Philosophie" [Philosophy] (§§ 472–477), pp. 279–288 (*Jub.* vol. 6, pp. 301–310).

9 **In the second . . . to "art" alone**] In the 2nd ed. of the *Encyclopädie*(→311,27) (Heidelberg, 1827) the wording is "Die Kunst" [Art]; the 3rd ed. from 1830 is the same in this respect. See *Hegel's Werke* (→315,27), vol. 7, p. 441 (*Jub.* vol. 10, p. 447).

32 **In the Kantian . . . "dogmatism" was used**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 394, from which it appears that Schelling's reference is to his own early treatise, *Philosophische Briefen über Dogmatismus und Kritizismus* [Philosophical Letters on Dogmatism and Criticism] (1795). There he asserted the necessity of true dogmatism; this was an early indication of what would be the source of his later positive philosophy. Kant's (→304,3) *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* marked a break with precritical metaphysics ("dogmatism") because of the failure of the latter to investigate the presuppositions of human knowledge.

The older metaphysics . . . should be presented] 34
See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 394–395: "The old metaphysics was *dogmatic*, and it was destroyed once and for all by Kant. But Kant did not attain to true dogmatic philosophy. The old metaphysics was positive rationalism; Kant destroyed this by his critique. With the dissolution of positive rationalism, a purer, not a negative rationalism (for that [negative rationalism] appears only in opposition to the positive) came into view, the substance of which was already contained in *Kant's Critique*. This *restricts reason to the concept of God* and makes no exceptions for the concept of God, so that it, too, contains only the "what" [*das Was*]. *The effort to surpass existence through its conclusions was in vain*. . . . Every pure rationalism was only indirectly contained in Kant's *Critique*, surrounded by too much of what was accidental." This is followed by a reference to Schelling's presentation of his positive philosophy in various writings, including *F. W. J. Schelling's Denkmal der Schrift von den göttlichen Dingen etc. des Herrn Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi und der ihm in derselben gemachten Beschuldigung eines absichtlich täuschenden, Lüge redenden Atheismus,* [F. W. J. Schelling's Memorial to the Pamphlet on Divine Things etc. by Mr. Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi and to the Accusations Made by Him in the Same of an Intentionally Deceptive, and Falsehood-propagating Atheism] (Tübingen, 1812). — **The older metaphysics**: →304,8. — **Kant**: →304,3.

Aristotle makes mention . . . oracles, etc.] See *Philo-* 38 320
sophie der Offenbarung, pp. 397–401; *SW*, II, 3, pp. 95–98, where this and subsequent passages are developed in greater detail. The reference is to the discussion in Aristotle's (→308,18) *Metaphysics*, esp. bk. 3, chap. 4 (1000a 5–1001b 27). Included under the heading of theologians are those whose

perspectives are dictated by mythology. Aristotle mentions Hesiod and his adherents, to which Schelling, following the same line of argument, adds the mythico-religious movement, Orphism.

40 **But when he also ... positive philosophers**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 96, where Schelling refers to bk. 13 of Aristotle's (→ 308,*18*) *Metaphysics*.

321 3 **the Ionian physicists ... και μενει ουδεν**] The best known of the Ionian philosophers of nature (6th century B.C.) were Thales of Miletus and his student Anaximander. The phrase quoted is attributed to Heraclitus of Ephesus (ca. 500 B.C.), whose philosophy can be understood as a reaction to the Ionian philosophy of nature; the line appears also in Plato's dialogue *Cratylus* (402a). See *Plato: The Collected Dialogues* (→ 303,*4*), p. 439.

6 **the Eleatics, whom ... uninterrupted movement**] Aristotle's (→ 308,*18*) critique of the Eleatic philosophers is found in bks. 1 of both the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics*, as well as in *De generatione et corruptione* [On Generation and Corruption], 325a 16. The Eleatic School (from the Ionian colony of Elea, today known as Velia, on the southwestern coast of Italy) was founded ca. 540 B.C. by the philosopher Xenophanes of Colophon, who questioned the validity of human knowledge. Eleatic skepticism was further developed by Parmenides and his followers Zeno and Melissus, who formulated paradoxical claims regarding the indivisibility of being and the impossibility of movement. — **Swindle**: from the German, *Schwindel*, dizziness.

9 **Socrates' dialectic was ... back upon them**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 402; *SW*, II, 3, p. 97. See also *SW*, II, 2, p. 6 n. 3, where Schelling attributes the expression to Plutarch (→ 309,*7*).

321 15 **If Socrates had called himself ignorant**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 98, where Schelling elaborates on the subsequent passage. — **Socrates**: ca. 470–399 B.C., is often depicted in the Platonic dialogues as calling attention to his own ignorance; in the *Apology* his character claims to know only that he knows nothing, in contrast to the many who believe themselves to be in possession of knowledge.

19 **Lawyers say ... probatur contrarium**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 98.

21 **philosophers say ... insciens, donec etc.**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 98.

docta ignorantia] Quote from St. Augustine's *Epistulae* [Letters], no. 130, § 28. See *SW*, II, 3, p. 98, where Schelling adds: "Not-Knowing must be a*docta ignorantia*, a knowing ignorance [*ignorance savante*], as Pascal already expressed it." 22

Not every thought ... Eleatic philosophers] See *SW*, II, 3, pp. 98–99, where Schelling writes: "*Thinking* [*Denken*] is in no way knowledge [*Wissen*]; thus we could call 'not-knowing knowledge' [*das nichtwissende Wissen*] 'thinking [or theoretical] knowledge' [*das denkende Wissen*], and 'not-knowing science' [*die nicht wissende Wissenschaft*] 'merely thinking [or purely theoretical] science' [*Denkwissenschaft*]. One such science is, for example, geometry, which Plato, in the famous classification of sciences (*Republic*, VI) indisputably assigned not to *epistēmē*, but to *diánoia*; thus the knowledge [*das Wissen*] which Socrates, by his own assertion, had in common with the others, but which *he* nonetheless regarded as not-knowing, would like to be the very science of pure reason, which he [Socrates] knew as well, indeed better, than the Eleatics." See also *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 403. — **6th book of Plato's Republic**: See bk. 6 of Plato's *Republic* (511c–d), in *Plato: The Collected Dialogues* (→ 303,*4*), pp. 746–747. 24

suggests the uberschwengliche] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 99. 34

cloaks his account in myth] See *SW*, II, 3, pp. 99–100, where Schelling adds: "Still another veil covers his inner glory, and it is not fully drawn, but certain particulars are at hand which allow one to infer that his spirit hovers precisely here at the boundary between the purely logical and the positive. A noteworthy intimation of this is not solely the mythical, that is historical, turns of phrase, which he makes sure to bestow upon every teaching of his or everything which deserves the name *teaching* (e.g., existence after death); averse to common mythology, he seeks instead a *higher* historical context, as if actual knowledge were to be found first, and exclusively, in *this*." 35

His disciple Plato ... in his final work ... more prophetic stance] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 403, and *SW*, II, 3, p. 100, where Schelling writes: "And, witnessing to this most decisively, that the most gifted of his pupils, Plato—the entire terrain of whose remaining works is dialectical throughout, but in the pinnacle and point of transfiguration for the whole (at least this is how Schleier- 37

macher sees the *Timaeus*, or would this perhaps be a work to which poetic philosophers are drawn by youthful vehemence?)—in the *Timaeus*, whatever the case may be with regard to it, Plato becomes historical and breaks through to the positive, freely but forcibly, and so much so that the path of the scholarly development is difficult or next to impossible to follow; it is more a break with all that has gone before (namely the dialectical) than a transition to the positive. Socrates and Plato, both relate themselves to this positive as to something purely futural; they relate themselves to it prophetically." The discussion is of the Platonic dialogue, *Timaeus* (→ 303,*4*).

39 **Aristotle . . . daß es ist . . . the second**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 100, where Schelling writes: "In Aristotle, philosophy has purified itself of all prophetic and mythical elements; Aristotle, however, shows himself to be, precisely in this respect, the student of both, in that he turns away from the *purely* logical and, in so doing, turns toward the positive, insofar as it was attainable by *him*, [turning to] the empirical in the broadest sense of the word, to that in which the *that* [*das Daß*] (that it exists) is first, and the what [*das Was*] (what it is) is second and secondary." Schelling refers to an Aristotelian (→ 308,*18*) distinction in accordance with which the "that" of existence precedes the "what" of essence and, analogously, experience precedes scientific knowledge; see, e.g., *Analytica posteriora* [Posterior Analytics], 89b 23ff.

322 3 **He censures those . . . εν τοις λογοις**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 100, where Schelling writes: "Aristotle turned away from the logical insofar as it wants to be *explanatory* and hence positive: λογικῶς, διαλεκτικῶς (logical, dialectical) and κενῶς (empty) are in his view, and as regards this issue, equivalent expressions. He criticizes all such terms, which, while existing only in the logical (ἐν τοῖς λόγοις) [realm], nevertheless wish to comprehend actuality. He even extends this [critique] to Plato's *Timaeus* and also to the peculiar doctrine of μέθεξις, i.e., the participation of things in the idea, which offers a valid insight if it is understood logically, that is, only in a logical sense: i.e., that something beautiful, or something good, for example (which occurs only in experience) is not the Good or the Beautiful itself, but is instead only beautiful and good through participation in the Beautiful and the Good itself. But if μέθεξις is now made to serve as an explanation of becoming, of the actual generation of things; if it is considered or used as adequate for this, then, of course, errors arise, errors of attempting to use something which has purely logical signification as a real explanation. In this sense, Aristotle is right to reproach Plato with being unable to utter a single intelligible word about [the problem of] how the idea can communicate itself to concrete things. It is only with regard to this intended *explanation*, and in view of its inadequacy, that Aristotle calls this entire Platonic doctrine of μέθεξις [participation] empty, [going so far as to] use even the word κενολογεῖν." (See the next explanatory note and the translator's footnote on p. 322 in the present volume.)

He criticizes Plato's . . . calling it κενολογειν] Aristotle (→ 308,*18*) criticizes Plato's theory of ideas (→ 344,*11*) in bk. 1 of the *Metaphysics*, remarking in chap. 9 (992a 28) that "our account . . . is empty talk." 4

Negative philosophy . . . into the empirical] See *SW*, II, 3, pp. 101–102, where Schelling writes: "I note, then, that that [form of] rationalism or negative philosophy, to the extent that it really is a pure a priori [philosophy], is not at all logical in *the* sense that Aristotle understood the word. For the a priori is not, as Hegel took it, something empty and [mere] logic, a thought that only brings thought to an end, as poetry comes to an end with poetry about poetry. The *truly* logical, the logical [as it is present] in actual thought, has a necessary connection to being; it becomes the content of being and develops necessarily into the empirical." 10

Aristotle . . . first science, or first philosophy . . . πρωτη επιστημη, πρωτη φιλοσοφια] See *Metaphysics* (→ 308,*18*). See *SW*, II, 3, p. 102. 20

His system is an . . . as does the last] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 405; *SW*, II, 3, p. 104. — **analysis**: Greek, "division into parts," as opposed to synthesis. — **final cause**: → 342,*40*. 22

The series . . . in infinity] See bk. 2, chap. 2 of Aristotle's (→ 308,*18*) *Metaphysics* (994a 1–994b 32). 26

ὑλη, matter . . . as an existent] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 104. 27

τελος ποιητικον] → 342,*40*. 34

This final end . . . ακινητον] → 317,*28*. 34

He says that . . . actus must be thought] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 406; *SW*, II, 3, pp. 105–106. See, e.g., bk. 6, chap. 7 of Aristotle's (→ 308,*18*) 37

Metaphysics (1072b 15–35), and bk. 10, chap. 8 of *Nicomachean Ethics* (1178b). — **actus**: → 313,*21*.

323 *1* **Neoplatonists**] Philosophical school of thought from late antiquity, established by Ammonius Saccas (ca. A.D. 200) and shaped principally by Plotinus (ca. 205–270). It unites Plato's philosophy with Aristotelian, Stoic, and Oriental elements and is markedly mystical in its orientation. See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 406; *SW*, II, 3, p. 107.

4 **mythology . . . Aristotle could not . . . of an Urwissen**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 107, where Schelling writes: "For, in Aristotle's view, mythical religion, too, represented only an incomplete appearance; he could see nothing original in mythology, nothing that would have been worthy of his observation or that could count as a source of knowledge"; see also *SW*, II, 1, pp. 256–257. The allusion is to Aristotle's (→ 308,*18*) critical presentation of mythical thought in bk. 12, chap. 8 of *Metaphysics* (1074b 1–15).

7 **The question has . . . his schola palatina**] See *SW*, II, 3, pp. 107–108, where Schelling writes: "The question has already on occasion been raised as to why Charlemagne wanted, or at least allowed, the texts of Aristotle to be introduced and to serve as the foundation of the academy established by him—texts, that is, by a philosopher who could only be regarded as an atheist." — **Charlemagne** (768–814) founded the Palatine School, i.e., the school of the imperial palace in Paris in 781, led by the philosopher Alcuin. — **Aristotle**: → 308,*18*.

12 **A writer in . . . hum. invention**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 108. The author has not been identified.

323 *20* **scholastic philosophy**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 407; *SW*, II, 3, pp. 108–109. "Scholastic philosophy" refers to the medieval synthesis of philosophical metaphysics and Christian theology. In the early Middle Ages, scholasticism was dominated by Platonic and Neoplatonic thought, whereas, in the high Middle Ages (ca. 1200), Aristotelianism was most prevalent.

21 **Kant**] → 304,*3*.

23 **κοινας εννοιας**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 407: "*Scholastic metaphysics* appeared in place of Aristotelian philosophy. By all accounts, it contained *understanding*. It posited three sources of knowledge: 1. *Experience*; 2. the κοιναι ἐννοίαι, which included, *on the one hand*, innate concepts, of which the highest was *the ens Universale*, and, on the other hand, *the principles* that possessed the qualities of universality and necessity; of these causality was the most necessary and most important; 3. *the syllogism*." See also Schelling's explanation in *SW*, II, 3, pp. 108–109 (also II, 1, pp. 261–262).

Locke] John Locke (1632–1704), English philosopher who, in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689), laid the foundation for empirical epistemology, which denies that the "ideas" presupposed by rationalism as the necessary condition of knowledge are in fact innate; Locke's empiricism also rejects the speculative search for the essences of things. *32*

Hume . . . through long practice] David Hume (1711–1776), Scottish philosopher and historian. The allusion is to *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748), vol. 5, pt. 1. *32*

Bacon] → 314,*17*. *2* 324

divinatory] Concerning the interpretation of signs believed to have a divine source. See *SW*, II, 3, p. 119, where Schelling claims that empiricists' embrace of diverse facts must nevertheless presuppose a cohesive system, even if only in the form of an obscure intimation. *3*

But the concept . . . only to such] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 113, where Schelling refers to Hegel's faulty conception of empiricism. *14*

sensual empiricism] The philosophic position which maintains that all knowledge stems from sense perception, e.g., Locke (→ 323,*32*), Hume (→ 323,*32*) and the French philosopher Condillac. *21*

a theory that . . . reason is atheistic] See *SW*, II, 3, pp. 115–116. *24*

theosophy, mysticism] Refers to a variety of mystical movements (e.g., gnosticism and the writings of Jacob Böhme [→ 330,*33*]), which claim that human beings can acquire insight into the divine. See *SW*, II, 3, pp. 119–127, where Schelling makes reference to Böhme and F. Baader. *28*

Positive phil. is based . . . does not follow by necess.] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 127. *41*

constructions] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 128. *22* 325

not the absolute . . . a free Fortgang] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 414: "Certainly the absolute Prius needs no proof; rather, derivative effects require factual evidence and proof." See also *SW*, II, 3, p. 129. *27*

29 **This, then ... pure apriorism**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 414, where the same appears: "*Positive philosophy is a priori empiricism*. The experience which it arrives at is experience as totality." By contrast, Schelling writes, in *SW*, II, 3, p. 130: "To express the distinction as briefly and clearly as possible: negative philosophy is a priori *empiricism*; it is the aprioricity of the empirical, though, even as such, it is not empiricism. On the other hand, positive philosophy is empirical *aprioricity*, or it is the empiricism of the a priori, to the extent that it proves itself the prius *per posterius* as God."

39 **philosophy in the sense ... seeks wisdom**] Refers to the derivation of the word "philosophy" from the Greek *philosophia* ("love of wisdom").

326 1 **proof of God's existence ... is nichts behauptende**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 414; *SW*, II, 3, p. 133.

24 **Never would philosophy ... without Xnty**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 135.

31 **As is known ... through a telescope**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 137, where Schelling gives a more detailed account: "I first became acquainted with this through Zimmermann's book *On Experience*. Since then, I have often had the opportunity to observe it myself." The reference is to the German writer, J. G. Zimmermann, and his *Von der Erfahrung in der Arzneykunst* [On Experience in the Art of Medicine] (1764).

36 **In recent times, Xnity ... becomes conspicuous**] See *SW*, II, 3, pp. 137–138. — **Xnity**: It is likely that the word intended here is "philosophy" rather than "Xnity." See *SW*, II, 3, p. 138: "*Actually*, in recent times Christianity has been assimilated into the subject matter of philosophical concepts."

327 2 **Kant ... in his ... in the antinomies**] See *SW*, II, 3, pp. 145–146. The reference is to Kant's (→ 304,*3*) account of the antinomies in the Second Division ("Transcendental Dialectic"), bk. 2 ("The Dialectical Inferences of Pure Reason"), chap. 2 ("The Antinomies of Pure Reason") of the *Critique of Pure Reason*.

19 **psychology and theology**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 416–417. In Kant's (→ 304,*3*) "transcendental dialectic," "psychology" corresponds to the so-called paralogisms, whereas "theology" corresponds to the "trancendental ideal."

prima scientia] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 420: "This is a very important point, that the *duality of philosophy is sublated* [*aufheben wird*]. Negative philosophy, over against positive philosophy, contents itself with the name of πρώτη ἐπιστήμη [first knowledge], which it itself already is as the science of sciences, yes, as the science of philosophy; and the title of highest science is bestowed on positive philosophy. Negative philosophy has the *primum* cogitabile as its point of departure; the other [positive philosophy] commences with the *summum* cogitabile. All sciences are to be found in the middle, between the two philosophies, in such a way that philosophy, which started out as the negative, concludes everything as the positive." See also *SW*, II, 3, p. 151. 8 328

Negative philosophy is ... hinwegschaffende] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 421: "*It is negative because it is only concerned with clearing away*." 18 328

It bestows upon ... "science of reason."] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 152. 28

humiliation ... exaltation] An allusion to Christ's humiliation and exaltation. 33

Pos. phil. is ... gewollte philosophy] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 153, where Schelling writes: "Positive philosophy is that which is always and originally desired, but, because it fails or is sought along false paths, it calls forth *critique*, from which in turn, in the ways I have shown, the negative was set in motion; the latter has its worth and significance precisely *as* the negative, that is, to the extent that it itself does not want to be positive, but rather posits the positive as outside itself." 36

Kant calls his philosophy critique] → 304,*3*. See *SW*, II, 3, p. 154. 4 329

justified claims ... and nothing more] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 422; *SW*, II, 3, p. 154. 6

the lesser mysteries ... the Eleusinian Mysteries] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 422–423; *SW*, II, 3, p. 155. — **Eleusinian Mysteries**: A reference to a secret cult associated with the temple at Eleusis, outside Athens, and linked to the goddesses Demeter and Persephone. The "mysteries" gained in popularity during the period of Athenian ascendancy in the 5th century B.C. and survived until the 4th century A.D. Little is known regarding them because of the vow of silence imposed on devotees, but the purpose of the mysteries seems to have 12

been more a matter of awakening religious sentiment than of cultivating a particular religion. Death and rebirth appear to have been central to the cult. The cult was open to all Greeks: both slaves and free could be initiated through participation in a series of festivals and ceremonies.

14 **Neoplatonists made ... Platonic, the Greater**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 422–423; *SW*, II, 3, p. 155. The reference is presumably to late Neoplatonism (→ 323,*1*) and its three main representatives: Porphyry of Syria (ca. 233–305), his pupil Iamblichus (ca. 250–325), and Proclus of Athens (412–485). They sought to create a synthesis of Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy, with Aristotle's writings, particularly the logical tracts, serving as an introduction to the study of philosophy, and with Plato's metaphysical dialogues, particularly *Parmenides* and *Timaeus* (→ 321,*37*), forming the culmination and conclusion.

15 **Schelling No 2**] See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 11*," p. 659 in the present volume.

23 **actus**] → 360,*27*. See *SW*, II, 3, pp. 155–156.

31 **the ontological proof ... and the Thomists**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 157. The expression "the ontological proof" is Kant's designation for the attempt to derive God's existence from the concept of God, namely, as one who is perfect and complete in all respects: a God with existence must be more perfect than a God who lacks existence. In scholastic thought the proof was formulated concisely by the philosopher and theologian Anselm of Canterbury (ca. 1033–1109), whereas Italian theologian and philosopher Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), in his *Summa theologiae* (1265–1272), argued from the existence of individual beings to the existence of God as the final cause, a form of demonstration referred to by Kant as the cosmological proof of God's existence.

32 **It is curious ... defects better**] The reference is to Kant's (→ 304,*3*) *Critique of Pure Reason* (A584/B612–A642/B670), where three different types of proof for the existence of God are discussed, namely, the physico-theological, also called the teleological, the cosmological, and the ontological. Kant shows that all these proofs rest on an illusion of reason.

330 3 **transitus a potentia ad actum**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 158, where Schelling writes: "That God can do nothing accidental means: he cannot exist in the transition from potency to act; otherwise he would fail to be the potency of *being* [*die seyende Potenz*], the proper potency of being [*aufrechtstehende Seynkönnen*], as we might also say."

7 **das heißt er ist ... voraus Seyende**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 158.

9 **das blind seyende, das nothwendig seyende**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 427.

19 **Spinoza's principle ... voraus Existirende**] See, e.g., Spinoza's *Ethica* (→ 311,*11*) pt. 2, prop. 11. See *SW*, II, 3, pp. 156–157.

23 **Descartes's question ... but about Seyn**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 428–430; *SW*, II, 3, pp. 157–158. Descartes expresses this in his well-known response to skepticism: "I think, therefore I am" (→ 308,*31*).

24 **"I am" became his point of departure**] → 308,*31*.

25 **The truth of the ... apparent in Spinoza**] → 311,*11*.

32 **Jacobi himself struggles ... Spinoza hurls him**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 432. In *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza in Briefen an den Herrn Moses Mendelsohn* [On the Teachings of Spinoza, in Letters to Mr. Moses Mendelsohn] (1781, 2nd ed., 1789), in *Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi's Werke* [Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi's Works], 6 vols. in 8 tomes (Leipzig, 1812–1825; ASKB 1722–1728; hereafter abbreviated as *Jacobi's Werke*), vol. 4.1 (1819), a work that greatly influenced the course of German idealism, the German philosopher Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1743–1819) formulates a powerful attack against Spinoza's rationalist philosophy. Jacobi attempted to defend God's transcendence and freedom against Spinoza's pantheism and fatalism. In opposition to the science of reason, he argues for a philosophy of life, or a philosophy of immediacy, whose main concepts are faith and feeling. The concept of faith has both an epistemological and religious character. According to Jacobi, actuality is immediately given in the form of feeling and faith, whereby faith acquires a decisive epistemological significance. Religious faith is said to involve an immediate certainty regarding God's existence, which reason is unable to grasp. Jacobi carried on far-reaching discussions with many of his contemporaries; his writing was known for its barbed polemic; e.g., he accused both Fichte (→ 308,*30*) and Schelling of atheism. — **Spinoza**: → 311,*11*.

33 **The relationship ... and Aristotelianism**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 433: "Not least those

deep, visionary teachings of *Böhme.* It [this abyss] is the beginning of the *reaction of Orientalism* against Occidentialism in our still-always-essentially-Aristotelian philosophy." See also Schelling's account of Böhme's theosophy in *SW*, II, 3, pp. 121–126. — **Jacob Böhme**: German shoemaker, philosopher, and Christian mystic (1575–1624), who claimed that everything must be understood by means of its contrary, and that all oppositions are united in the absolute divine unity. God, understood in himself, is *Ungrund*, i.e. non-ground, abyss, an undifferentiated nothing that reveals itself and comes to consciousness of itself by a movement through absolute oppositions.

331 2 **Das geradezu Seiende**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 433.

12 **the highest being**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 159.

17 **The nothwendig Seyende . . . Wesens Seyn-Konnen**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 433.

18 **the old proposition: in deo nil potentiale**] See, e.g., Thomas Aquinas's *Summa*, I, 3, 4. See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 434; *SW*, II, 3, p. 160, where the proposition is examined.

20 **according to his nature, God is sheer actuality**] → 336,*26*.

22 **purus actus**] → 313,*21*.

25 **justification**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 434: "But *even in the case of blind-being* [*blindseyenden*], *philosophy is the product of that which needs no justification*."

28 **Spinoza began with infinite existence**] → 311,*11*.

34 **it is οντως το ον . . . attributively of it**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 435; *SW*, II, 3, p. 162.

36 **the ancient Indian . . . nicht ist**] The source has not been identified.

37 **quid . . . quod**] → 303,*16*.

38 **der nicht sich Seyn vorsetzt, sondern Seyn sich**] Kierkegaard's omission of the German definite articles makes his text ambiguous, but a comparison of his version to that of Paulus, who includes the definite articles—"*Es ist der Begriff der Vernunft, die* nicht sich *dem Seyn, sondern das Seyn* sich *Vorsetzt*" (*Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 435)—supports the reading as translated here.

332 1 **ecstatic**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 435: "*It exists in it absolutely* 'ec*statically*.' (Hence the ecstatic in Spinoza and in all doctrines that take their point of departure in necessary existence.)" See also *SW*, II, 3, p. 163.

3 **sich laßt**] Although here translated as "lets itself," the passive construction can also be understood actively, in the sense that reason "leaves itself" (i.e., takes leave of itself). See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 435–436 and *SW*, II, 3, pp. 162–164, where there is both passivity and activity.

6 **Kant said that . . . was an impossibility**] See, e.g., Kant's (→ 304,*3*) presentation of the fourth antinomy (→ 327,*2*).

15 **mere being**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 170, where he writes of *bloss Seyende* ("mere being").

37 **The introduction is herewith complete**] i.e., the introduction to the "Philosophie der Offenbarung" [Philosophy of Revelation]. See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 440; *SW*, II, 3, p. 174.

10 333 **Pythagoreans distinguished . . . and μοναϛ . . . monas . . . düas**] The Greek expressions mean (dyás) "twoness," "duality," and (monás) "unity." — **Pythagoreans**: Followers of the Greek philosopher Pythagoras (6th century B.C.), who established a philosophico-religious community in Crotona in southern Italy. The teachings of Pythagoras are known only through the writings of others, and, according to Fr. Creuzer (→ 357,*31*), who was Schelling's source, the main locus for Pythagorean doctrine was the Byzantine scholar Photius, whose *Bibliotheca* [Library] contains an excerpt from the neo-Pythagorean mathematician Nicomachus of Gerasa's *Arithmetic*. See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 447.

17 **Here, one might . . . is unthinkable**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 449–450.

22 **primum quod se objicit cogitationi**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 450.

29 **Aristotle's dictum . . . est admiratio**] See Aristotle's (→ 308,*18*) *Metaphysics*, bk. 1, chap. 2 (982b 12–13): "For it is owing to their wonder that men both now begin and at first began to philosophize." English translation from *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, vol. 2, p. 1554.

30 **Plato's . . . εστι το θαυμαζειν**] See Plato's dialogue *Theaetetus* (155d) in *Plato: The Collected Dialogues* (→ 303,*4*), p. 860, where Socrates remarks: "This sense of wonder is the mark of the philosopher. Philosophy indeed has no other origin."

33 **in actu puro**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 451: "*The main thing*, however, is that this pure being is to be understood only as being in the literal sense, as the existing, as existing in pure act, and that its essence is precisely this: to be pure existence. It has no essence apart from being."

37 **est ipse suum esse**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 451.

334 1 **in deo . . . quod est**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 271, where Schelling refers to this as "an old saying," adding: "It means that the *true* being of God is just this, that he, he himself, is."

3 **a se esse**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*: "Furthermore, the expression *a se esse* indicates being [on the basis] of *itself*, ultro, sponte, without anything preceding, without preceding potency, simply being." Concerning this and the following expressions, see also *SW*, II, 2, p. 65, where Schelling writes: "The expression a se esse (and the barbaric aseitas imagined on the basis of this) is thus untrue and actually expresses the opposite of that which it wants to express. Sponte, ultra, natura sua esse would be the correct [expression], without, however, it being permissible to speak in the same sense of spontaneity, as this word is used with an entirely different meaning, at least in modern philosophical language."

4 **ultro esse**] See preceding explanatory note.

5 **Aseitas**] In scholastic philosophy, the word refers to God's independent existence, which, in contrast to all created being, contains its own cause.

5 **Spinoza made it . . . nisi existens**] The reference is to Spinoza's (→ 311,*11*) *Ethica*, pt. 1, prop. 11.

10 **starrt**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 452–453: "*The actus purus cannot initiate anything; it is rigid and immobile; without potency, nothing is forthcoming, and yet we must come away from it*."

15 **post actum**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 453, where the meaning of the passage is explained as follows: "that being [*das Seyn*] does not arrive by and by, post actum (properly speaking) *after it is*, and thus a posteriori, *though being-able-to-be* [*das Seynkönnende*] may."

25 **though it appears . . . von Ewigkeit her**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 454.

27 **Eternity is among . . . call negative**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 454. Scholastic philosophy distinguished those qualities ("attributes") of God that could be arrived at "via negationis" from those that could be known "via eminentiæ." The former "way" arrived at the divine attributes in a negative fashion, by ruling out all qualities associated with finitude and imperfection, whereas the second way attributes to God those goods known from human existence, but conceived in their preeminent form.

Spinoza's substance] → 311,*11*. 30

actus purus] → 313,*21*. 7 335

Being is . . . understand the word] In rhetoric, this device is also referred to as "opposition," e.g., "humans are born free but are everywhere in chains." 39 335

der actus des . . . selbst zuvor . . . wo vor es nicht kann] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 459: "What is more, the actuality of existence precedes itself; *it is being, prior to thinking itself*, [and] is thus *being in an un-prethinkable manner*; Seyn is thus indeed necessary ineluctable existence, existentia ineluctabilis, on the basis of which it can do nothing." 18 336

the concept causa sui . . . himself as actus] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 459–460. — **causa sui**: A common philosophical expression that, in the writings of Descartes (→ 308,*31*) and Spinoza (→ 311,*11*) designates a being whose essence implies its existence (by implying that the opposite is unthinkable). — **δυναμις**: An expression that refers to the Aristotelian distinction between *dynamis* ("capability," "possibility") and *energeia* ("activity," "actuality"), used in the explanation of motion and change, with the actual conceived as a continual emergence from possibility. God is conceived, accordingly, as fully actualized possibility, i.e., as pure actuality. 26

ultro, sponte] → 334,*3*. 32

Das unvordenkliche Seyn . . . is itself an idea] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 460. 3 337

the accidental in Aristotle's Metaphysics] See bk. 5, chap. 30 of Aristotle's (→ 308,*18*) *Metaphysics* (1025a 14–25); Schelling may have in the mind the lengthy excursus on the accidental in bk. 2, chaps. 4–9 of the *Physics*. 15

Plato calls . . . royal art] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 462. The expression has not been identified as Plato's (→ 303,*4*). 36

Starre] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 463: "Because it is only on the basis of this contingency that the possibility of progress, the possibility of turn- 41

ing away from motionless [*starre*] being, rests." → 334,*10*.

338 *10* **The more and more ... of all education**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 464–465.

14 **one ends either**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 465: "Thus (according to Spinoza) things must emanate from God (simple pantheism); or one must assert, by presupposing a free intelligent originator of the world, that Creation is incomprehensible! (vapid theism)."

14 **pantheism**] A theory that, in opposition to theism (→ 338,*14*), asserts the unity of all beings (i.e., the world) and God. A variant of this (e.g., Spinoza [→ 311,*11*]) claims that God is the actual, and the world is merely a manifestation of God; this can be reconciled with a theistic perspective insofar as God, as source of the world, is regarded as encompassing all "created" beings while remaining nonetheless distinct from the world. See following note.

14 **theism**] A theory that affirms the existence of a personal God who creates, sustains, and directs (i.e., is active in) the world. See preceding note.

338 *28* **natura**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 469.

339 *12* **Newton says ... includens dominationem**] An altered quotation from the English physicist, astronomer, and mathematician Isaac Newton (1642–1727), who in *Philosophiæ naturalis principia mathematica* [Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy] (3rd ed. [London, 1726], p. 528) writes: "Nam deus est vox relativa & ad servos refertur: & deitas est dominatio dei, non in corpus proprium, uti sentiunt quibus deus est anima mundi, sed in servos." [For "God" is a word that expresses a relation and refers to his servants. And divinity consists in God's sovereignty, not over his own body—this belief is to be found among those who believe that God is the world's soul—but over his servants.] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 470.

340 *11* **dogmaticians early on ... is υπερουσια**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 474; *SW*, II, 2, p. 100 n. 2, where mention is made of Dionysius the Areopagite (→ 350,*28*), *De divinis Nominibus* [On the Divine Names], chap. 5.

20 **in deo essentia ... est idemque**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 451: "I recall the old formula: *In Deo essentia et existentia unum idemque sunt* [in God, essence and existence are one and the same], i.e., from the current standpoint (in the following, where one no longer speaks of God in and for himself, it acquires a different meaning!): The essence and thus also the concept of God consist precisely in this: that he *is*; this is its only concept."

presented earlier ... non different, etc] → 340,*20*. *20*

negative attributes] → 334,*27*. *22*

Aristotle ... happiness precisely in this] → 322,*37*. *2* 341
See *SW*, II, 4, p. 352.

Joh v. Muller says ... is productive] See *SW*, II, 3, *6*
p. 352, where Schelling writes that the German historian Johannes von Müller (1752–1809) said this in "one of his letters."

ex improviso] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. *27*
479.

ex actu] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 480: "For *5* 342
un-prethinkable being [*das unvordenkliche Seyn*] is posited ex actu through the contrary being; but it can in no way be annulled..."

actus purus] → 313,*21*. *8*

υποκειμενον] → 305,*31*. See *Philosophie der Offen- 8*
barung, p. 481: "... is seen in the common teaching on creation as πρῶτον ὑποκείμενον."

expression of Plato ... persuasion] See *Philosophie* *15*
der Offenbarung, p. 482: "The overcoming could occur suddenly; but, since being has made way for the contrary potency, it can only be displaced by degrees. The gentle *Plato*, in referring to the contrary principle, used the expression: *it must be persuaded*." The passage in Plato (→ 303,*4*) has not been located.

the old classification ... causa in quam] See *Philo-* *40*
sophie der Offenbarung, p. 485. The allusion is to Aristotle's (→ 308,*18*) discussion of the four causes, of which the last is commonly regarded as the most important: the efficient cause (Latin, *causa efficiens*), the material cause (Latin, *causa materialis*), the formal cause (Latin, *causa formalis*), and the final cause (Latin, *causa finalis*). See also *SW*, II, 3, p. 342, where Schelling refers to the classification as "Pythagorean" (→ 333,*10*).

He commanded and it was there] The reference is *1* 343
to Ps 33:9: "For he spoke, and it came to be; he commanded, and it stood firm." See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 485. See also *SW*, II, 3, pp. 341–342, where Schelling develops his account. Schelling alters the usual German translation of the verse in

Psalms from "er gebietet und es stehet da," to "er gebeut und es steht."

343 16 **God always works ... as a Greek ... το ἐναντιον**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 486; the reference is presumably to Heraclitus (→ 321,*3*).

18 **One could go ... at that moment**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 486: "Thus the opposed being [*das entgegengesezte Seyn*] is now actually ought-to-be being [*das Seynsollende*], but only in order to be negated as ought-not-to-be being [*Nichtseynsollende*] in the following moment."

21 **the Wieder-Göttliche**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 486: "If it is declared to be such from then on, so the standpoint is changed; if it were again to flare up in opposition to the divine will, *then it would be the evil*."

34 **causa causarum**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 487: "Also according to us the world arose through a divine process, but he stands above them [the warring potencies] as absolute primal cause, as causa causarum, positing the potencies in tension; he himself stands above the process and external to the mutual exclusion of unyielding primal causes."

39 **emanation**] → 308,*6*, → 315,*17*.

344 3 **Urmoglichkeit**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 488.

11 **theory of ideas ... of the Greeks**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 488. The reference is to Plato's (→ 303,*4*) theory of ideas, according to which the eternal and unchanging ideas define the essence of things, and everything appearing in space and time participates in these ideas.

12 **The idea signifies ... becoming actual**] The Greek ἰδέα (idéa) means "form" or "appearance"; the word is related to the verb "to see" (aorist, ἰδεῖν). See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 488; *SW*, II, 3, pp. 293–294, where Schelling argues that the Greek expression corresponds to the German *Gesicht* ("face," "appearance," "sight") and this in both senses, "so that it means both seeing [*das Sehen*] and appearance [*den Blick*] itself, as that which passes by the face [*dem Gesicht*]."

15 **It is that ... Zeus lies**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 488; *SW*, II, 3, p. 294, where Schelling writes: "It was that *Fortuna primigenia* of the Romans, celebrated in Präneste, surrounded by holy awe, in whose arms the future world ruler Zeus rested as a child." — **fortuna primigenia**: The Roman goddess of happiness, Fortuna (corresponding to the Greek Tyche), worshiped by the Romans under several names, among them *primigenia* (Latin, "firstborn"). In the ancient sanctuary of Praeneste (3rd–1st century B.C.) she was believed to be the daughter of Zeus (Jupiter). — **Praeneste**: Praeneste, one of the oldest cities in ancient Latium, ca. twenty miles east of Rome (today, Palestrina). The city was famous for its temple to Fortuna Primigenia and the oracle associated with it. —**Zeus**: in Greek mythology, the son of Chronos (→ 359,*24*) and Rhea (→ 363,*15*); he became the highest of the Olympian gods by killing his father.

mater and materia ... to one another] *Materia* (Latin, "wood") derived from *mater* (Latin, "mother"). 16

the primordial potency is υποκειμενον] → 305,*31*. 17

the world's nurse is also a well-known conception] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 489; *SW*, II, 3, p. 294. 18

Maya of the Indians ... him to create] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 489: "It is *Maya* (related to power, possibility, potency), which stretches the nets of (mere) appearance before the creator, in order to catch him for actual creation." See also *SW*, II, 2, pp. 149–150, where Schelling, in the course of a similar account, refers to A. W. Schlegel's Latin translation of the Sanskrit *Bhagavad Gita* and to a treatise by Wilhelm von Humboldt. 19

In Solomon's proverbs ... called wisdom] The Book of Proverbs is attributed in Church tradition to King Solomon and is therefore referred to as "Solomon's Proverbs"; see *Biblia, det er: den ganske Hellige Skrifts Bøger* [Biblia, That Is, Books of the Entire Holy Scripture] (Copenhagen, 1830; ASKB 7). Wisdom is an overarching theme of the proverbs, but the reference here is to chap. 8; see *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 489. 21

it is said ... of madness] Refers to the Roman philosopher and writer Seneca's (ca. 4 B.C.–A.D. 65) *De tranquillitate animi* [On Tranquillity of Mind] 17. 10: "nullum magnum ingenium fuit sine mixtura dementiae fuit" (Latin, "no great genius has ever existed without some touch of madness"). English translation from *Seneca: Moral Essays*, trans. John W. Basore, Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1932), vol. 2, p. 285. See Kierkegaard's edition, *L. Annaei Senecae opera* [The Works of L. Annaei Senecae], 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1832; ASKB 2 345

1275–1279), vol. 4, p. 102. Seneca cites Aristotle (→ 308,*18*) as his source (*Problemata*, bk. 30, chap. 1, 954a 34–37). See *SW*, II, 3, p. 299.

4 **mastered madness; . . . such mastery**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 491.

345 13 **Will is the understanding's . . . understanding potentia**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 491: "The will is the subject of the understanding in the proper sense, quod subjectum est; that which is subject of the understanding, however, is potentiâ already understanding." — **subjectum**: Latin, "subject"; the substratum that supports all attributes. — **potentia**: Latin, "in accordance with possibility (potency)."

16 **Verstand could also . . . Urstand (J. Böhme)**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 491; *SW*, II, 3, pp. 296–297. — **Urstand (J. Böhme)**: See, e.g., pt. 1, chap. 1, "Vom Urstande des ewigen göttlichen Wesens" [On the Primal Condition of the Eternal Essence of God] in J. Böhme (→ 330,*33*), *Von der Menschwerdung Jesu Christi* [On the Incarnation of Jesus Christ] (1620), chap. 2, "Vom Urstand Gottes ewigsprechenden Wortes und von der Offenbarung göttlicher Kraft als von Natur und Eigenschaft" [On the Primal Condition of God's Eternally Spoken Word and on the Revelation of Divine Power by Nature and Attribute], in *Von der Gnadenwahl oder Von dem Willen Gottes über die Menschen* [On Election by Grace, or On the Will of God Concerning Humans] (1623); or point 1, chap. 1, in *Sex Puncta Theosophica oder Von sechs theosophischen Punkten Hohe und tiefe Gründung* [Six Theosophical Points, or On Six Theosophical Points, High and Deep Foundation] (1620).

20 **The same ambiguity . . . remain standing**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 491–492; *SW*, II, 3, p. 297, where Schelling provides a detailed etymological account, adding: "I remain standing, also: I maintain power or authority over something, because that which has become subject or subordinate to another possesses, precisely thereby, power and authority over it." → 305,*13*.

22 **Bacon says: scientia est potentia**] Latin, "knowledge is power," i.e., knowledge is capability or the possibility of action. Bacon's (→ 314,*17*) well-known maxim occurs in *Meditationes sacrae. De haeresibus* [Sacred Meditations: On Heresies], 11: "Nam et ipsa scientia potestas est" (Latin, "For knowledge in itself is power"). See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 492; *SW*, II, 3, p. 301.

The German word . . . of "Wissen."] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 492. 23

The passage cited . . . to Ur-Potens] → 344,*21*. 24

"He had me before his path" . . . "The Lord had it,"] See Prov 8:22: "The Lord created me at the beginning of his work, the first of his acts of long ago." In *Die Bibel, oder die ganze Heilige Schrift des alten und neuen Testaments, nach der deutschen Uebersetzung Martin Luthers* [The Bible or the Entire Holy Scriptures, According to the German Translation of Dr. Martin Luther] (Karlsruhe, 1836; ASKB 3); the corresponding verse is: "Der Herr hat mich gehabt im Anfang seiner Wege; ehe er was machte, war ich da." 25

Varro (the Roman) . . . summi dii] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 493, where a comparable Latin citation appears. See also *SW*, II, 3, pp. 302, 606. The Roman polyhistor Marcus Terentius Varro (127–116 B.C.) asserts in his *De lingua Latina* [On the Latin Language] bk. 5, § 57: "Principes dei Caelum et Terra" (Latin, "The first gods were *Caelum* 'Sky' and *Terra* 'Earth'), but does not distinguish, either here or in other writings, between *principes dii* ("the first gods") and *summi dii* ("the highest gods"). English translation is from *Varro on the Latin Language*, trans. Roland G. Kent, Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1938), vol. 1, p. 55. The source of this distinction is later than 600 B.C.; it has not been located. 32

The following must . . . children of men] A reference to Prov 8:30–31: "Da war ich der Werkmeister bey ihm, und hatte meine Lust täglich, und spielte vor ihm allezeit. Und spielte auf seinem Erdboden, und meine Lust ist bey den Menschen-Kindern" (Luther's translation); "then I was beside him, like a master worker, and I was daily his delight, rejoicing before him always, rejoicing in his inhabited world and delighting in the human race" (NRSV). The Hebrew word referred to is: אָמוֹן (ʾāmōn), which, according to W. Gesenius, *Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti libros* [Hand Lexicon of the Hebrew and Chaldaean of the Books of the Old Testament] (Leipzig, 1833; ASKB 72), pp. 218–219, means: "*opifex, architectus* [craftsman, master builder], but possibly also *filius s. alumnus* [son or foster son]." See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 493; *SW*, II, 3, p. 302. 34

346 13 **causa materialis, efficiens, et in quam**] → 342,40.

19 **Das reine Seyn**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 516, where the reference is to: "Das rein Seyende."

25 **Spinoza's substance**] → 311,11.

26 **Hegel even regards . . . several monotheisms**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 516. The reference is to the final paragraph, "Die Philosophie" [Philosophy], § 573 in Hegel's *Encyclopädie*; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 311,27), vol. 7.2, p. 469 (*Jub.* vol. 10, p. 469). — **Eleatic**: → 321,6.

29 **negative characteristics**] → 334,27.

346 36 **theism**] → 338,14.

39 **Earlier theologians . . . be the same**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 520; *SW*, II, 2, p. 22; no specific theologian is named.

347 3 **pantheism**] → 338,14.

6 **Monoth., therefore . . . is creator**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 520–521: "*Monotheism* is the doctrine that defines God as such, according to his divinity. *What is the basis for true divinity*? The true God, it is said, is the living [God]. But only he is living who, stepping forth from his un-prethinkable being [*seinem unvordenklichen Seyn*], and making it an element of himself, [thereby] *frees his essence from it* and posits it [essence] as *spirit*, whereby he is at the same time *given the possibility of being a creator by setting another being in opposition to his un-prethinkable being*.

22 **John of Damascus says . . . than einzig**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 521; *SW*, II, 3, p. 46, where Schelling's version is: "God is not so much single as above singularity: more than merely a One, *unus sive singularis quis*." — **John of Damascus**: (ca. 650–ca. 754), Syrian poet, theologian, and monk. The allusion is to *De fide orthodoxa* [On Orthodox Faith], 1.5.

23 **In the O. T. . . . as Jehovah**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 521. The reference is to Deut 6:4: "Listen, Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is one!" — **ein einziger יהוה**: The Hebrew expression is: אֶחָד יְהוָה. — אֶחָד (ʾæḥad) means "one," or, when stressed, "a single one." — יהוה (JHWH), or, with vowels, יְהוָה is, in the OT, the name of God; because the Jews were not to speak this name, Jahweh, but were to read, instead, 'Adonāj ("Lord"), the word was provided with vowel sounds from the latter (though with an "e" instead of an "a"). "Jehova" was the common transcription in Schelling's time.

ὁ θεος] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 526; *SW*, II, 2, p. 70, note 2. 31

Jacobi boasted . . . εν και παν] Comp. *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 527; *SW*, II, 2, pp. 70–71. In *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza* (→ 330,32) Jacobi uses the Greek expression as a label for pantheism; in *Von den Göttlichen Dingen und ihrer Offenbarung* [On Divine Things and Their Revelation] (1811), in *Jacobi's Werke* (→ 330,32), vol. 3, pp. 245–460, he refers to Spinoza's philosophy as *Alleinheitslehre*, ("the doctrine of all-oneness"), e.g., pp. 348, 354. 36

Spinoza; his . . . denkendes Seyn] → 311,11. See *SW*, II, 2, p. 71. 42

a potentia ad actum] → 307,9. 2 348

merely modeled on Descartes] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 527; *SW*, II, 2, p. 72. The allusion is to Descartes's (→ 308,31) metaphysical dualism, according to which every object belongs either to the world of consciousness (*res cogitans*) or to the material world (*res extensa*); see, e.g., his *Principia Philosophiae* [Principles of Philosophy]. 5

Jacobi . . . by reason] → 330,32. 14 348

deism] The belief, widespread during the Enlightenment, that God set the world in motion and inscribed the moral law on the human soul but is remote from the existing world and ongoing human history. 18

Epicureanism, which posits chance] Epicureanism was the teaching of the philosopher Epicurus (341–270 B.C.), who maintained that fatalism is incompatible with free will and for this reason denied that claims about the future could be either true or false. Cicero writes in *De fato* [On Fate] 10.21: "Epicurus is afraid that if he admits this he will also have to admit that all events whatever are caused by fate (on the ground that if either of the two alternatives is true from all eternity, that alternative is also certain, and if it is certain it is also necessary. This, he thinks, would prove both necessity and fate)." English translation from *Cicero: De Oratore, Book III, Together with De Fato, Paradoxa Stoicorum, De Partitione Oratoria*, trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948), p. 217. See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 528. 21

what Paul . . . και πατερ] Cf., e.g., Gal 1:4 and Eph 4:6. See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 530. — **Paul**: Paul of Tarsus (d. ca. 63 A.D.), a Jew, the first Chris- 9 349

tian missionary, understood himself as "a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God" (Rom 1:1). Author of the first thirteen letters in the NT.

10 **what the Church . . . divinitatis**] See *SW*, II, 4, p. 37, where Schelling mentions that Christian theology refers to the Father as *fontem et principium divinitatis* (Latin, "the source and principle of divinity").

16 **actus purus**] → 313,*21*.

25 **the Son and . . . as the Father**] Cf. Jn 1:14: "And the Word became flesh and lived among us, and we have seen his glory, the glory as of a father's only son, full of grace and truth."

349 37 **effective causes**] → 342,*40*.

37 **B**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 531.

350 8 **Xt says somewhere . . . μονην ποιησομεν**] Cf. Jn 14:23: "Those who love me will keep my word, and my Father will love them, and we will come to them and make our home with them." — **μονην ποιησομεν**: Cf. *H KAINH ΔIAΘHKH. Novum Testamentum Graece* [Greek New Testament], ed. G. C. Knapp (Halle, 1829; ASKB 14–15),where the phrase appears as follows: μονὴν παρ᾽αὐτῷ ποιήσομεν.

10 **The same is said elsewhere of the Spirit**] See Rom 8:16: ". . . it is that very Spirit bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God."

18 **In the Mosaic story . . . i.e., for ourselves**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 533. The allusion is to the creation story in Genesis 1, where each day is introduced: "God said"; but on the sixth day: "Then God said: 'Let us make humankind in our image, according to our likeness' . . ." (v. 26). —**Elohim**: plural of the Hebrew word 'ælôah ("God"); the word is used in the OT as a universal designation for gods, but also, as here, in the "majestic plural" of God.

24 **theogony**] A theory of the origin and ancestry of the gods; an account of the origin of the world.

25 **scriptures say . . . through the Son**] Cf. Jn 1:3.

28 **Dionysius the Areopagite . . . θεογονος θεοτης**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 534; *SW*, II, 3, p. 323. **— Dionysius the Areopagite**: The pseudonym of a 5th- or 6th-century author of mystical texts, who claimed to be a disciple of Paul (see Acts 17:34). The allusion is presumably to *De divinis Nominibus* [On the Divine Names], chap. 2.11, where a similar phrase occurs.

Basil M. calls the Son αιτια τελειοτικον] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 534; *SW*, II, 3, p. 342, where Schelling discusses Basil's use of the Aristotelian–Pythagorean concept of causality (→ 342,*40*). — **Basil M.**: Basilius Magnus, Basil the Great (ca. 330–379), bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, an early Christian Church father, considered a saint by the traditions of both Eastern and Western Christianity. — **αιτια δημιουργικον:** properly, αιτια δημιουργικη, Greek (aitía dēmiourgikē), "creative, effective cause" (in Schelling, *die eigentliche schaffende, wirkende Ursache* [the truly creating, effective primal cause]). — **αιτια τελειοτικον**: properly, αιτια τελειωτικη, Greek (aitía teleiōtikē), "final cause" (in Schelling, *die vollendende* [the perfecting]). Basil the Great used these expressions of the Son and the Spirit in *Homilie de Spiritu Sancto* [Homily on the Holy Spirit]; see also A. Hahn, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens* [Handbook of Christian Faith] (Leipzig, 1828; ASKB 535), p. 284. 29

The scriptures distinguish . . . εισ ον] Cf. Rom 11:36: "For from him and through him and to him are all things. To him be the glory forever! Amen." — **εκ ὁυ, δι ὁυ, εισ ον**: Greek (ek hou, di' hou, eis hon), "from whom, through whom, to whom"; cf. *H KAINH ΔIAΘHKH. Novum Testamentum Graece* (→ 350,*8*), where the passage reads: ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς αὐτόν; in Kierkegaard's own copy the three prepositions are underlined (KA, E pk. 58). See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 534; *SW*, II, 3, p. 342. 30

Thus the scriptures . . . by Elohim] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 535: "In the final outcome of the process *the difference in the potencies is canceled. The personalities as such appear*; the human being is surrounded by the three personalities and, immediately after creation, finds himself in the place of joy, in divinely enclosed space, surrounded by Elohim. (Not only the German word 'Garten,' as shown by how many cities have names ending in 'gard,' but also the Hebrew word *Gan*, means 'a sheltered space')." See also *SW*, II, 2, pp. 158–159, pp. 164–165; II, 3, p. 348. The allusion is to Gen 2:8: "And the Lord God planted a garden in Eden, in the east; and there he put the man whom he had formed." The Hebrew word for "garden" is גַּן (*gan*), which according to *Lexicon manuale hebraicum*, p. 218, refers to a "garden, especially with trees (par- 33

ticularly in an area which is fortified and protected)." — **Elohim**: → 350,*18*.

38 **præter deum**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 535.

351 23 **If creation emerged einfach**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 537.

26 **ein entzündbare Wille . . . matter, substrate**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 538. — **matter, substrate**: → 305,*31*.

33 **B thanks to A**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 538, where the account takes the form: "because it has B as its basis, it is vis-à-vis A^2."

352 1 **Creation's ultimate . . . Leben, Hauch**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 539: "That explains the tradition already enunciated in ancient times, *the theory of the supramaterial nature of the human soul*. Spirit is not a thing in the same sense as objects of becoming but, on the contrary, is pure breath, sheer freedom and mobility."

10 **In Midrasch Kohelet . . . calm it**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 358 (also, II, 2, p. 317). "Midrash" is a rabbinical exegesis of scripture, based on ancient Jewish methods of interpretation; it is not an inquiry into the literal meaning of a given passage but rather the attempt to search out the fullness of scriptural meaning; midrash elicits the theological, ethical, philosophical, and pedagogical significance of the text. "Kohelet" is the Hebrew designation for the Book of Ecclesiastes; the meaning of the word "Kohelet" (Hebrew, "qohlæt") is uncertain, but it is normally understood as a designation for one holding church office. "Midrash Kohelet" is thus a rabbinical commentary of the Book of Ecclesiastes. The collection of commentaries called "Midrash Kohelet" appeared in the 8th century; it is not clear which German edition Schelling is citing.

19 **er wollte mit ihnen walten**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 539: "He *wanted to do* what God had done, *to posit the potencies in tension and to govern by means of them, as Lord*."

21 **υστερουμενος της δοξης . . . the glory of God**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 539; *SW*, II, 3, p. 350. The allusion is to Rom 3:23: "since all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God."

23 **What hum. beings wanted . . . same universio**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 540: "Humans now believed *in an externalization* equal in power to God in the universe." — **transformation**: Kierkegaard's word, *Omvendelse*, which can also mean "conversion," is related to the German word *Auswendung*, which occurs immediately thereafter in this sentence. See also the use of *universio* in this same sentence, as well as "unum versum" and "universum" shortly thereafter. — **universio**: the word seems not to appear in classical or medieval Latin (→ 352,*28*).

In God's self-concept, B . . . must be cautious] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 540. — **must be cautious**: Cf. Mt 10:16: "wise [Danish, *snilde*] as serpents." Kierkegaard uses the Danish adjective *kloge* ("clever"). 25

unum versum, universum] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 540: "In creation there is hence an overturning of unity, as it exists in God's self-concept; the world is the *unum versum*, and the act of this reversal the *universio* (Lucretius)." See also *SW*, II, 2, p. 90, where Schelling explains that the word was first used in Lucretius's hexameters; this cannot be confirmed, however. 28

hum. beings thought to gain eternal life] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 540. 29

not merely an außergottlich one, but wiedergöttlich] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 540: "This principle is now no longer divine, as it was in the creation; it is, instead, *a power external to God, indeed, contrary to God*." 32

"Behold, the man . . . ist gewesen,"] Cf. Gen 3:22: "See, the man has become like one of us . . ." See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 541; *SW*, II, 2, pp. 165–166, where Schelling interprets the expression as follows: "See, the human being has become as one of us (namely, Elohim)." 5 353

these 3 personalities . . . in the N. T.] e.g., the Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. 20 353

The Son speaks . . . to the Father] Cf., e.g., Jn 4:34; 6:38; 8:28; 17:4. Cf. also Phil 2:8. See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 542. 21

becoming human . . . as voluntary] See Phil 2:6–8. 25

Since Kant's time . . . par excellence] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 544; *SW*, II, 3, p. 371n, where Schelling refers in general terms to the philosophical tradition since Kant (→ 304,*3*). Specific reference is made to Kant's theory of Christ as the personified "ideal of moral perfection" and "prototype of the ethical disposition" in *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloßen Vernunft* [Religion within the 5 354

Limits of Reason Alone] (Königsberg, 1793); see pp. 67ff.

5 **υιος του ανθρωπου**] "Son of Man" is the expression used most frequently by Christ of himself in the gospels. See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 544.

7 **in the N. T. . . . title of denigration**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 544, *SW*, II, 2, p. 318, where Schelling refers to an explanation of Gesenius, most likely in his *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift* [History of the Hebrew Language and Writing] of 1815 (photographic reprint, Hildesheim, 1973).

10 **actus**] → 360,*27*.

16 **A static world . . . not a free world**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 545: "By virtue of the Father alone, and the Son contained within him as demiurge, a world of mere static, unchanging, and eternal Seyn was possible, [but] not this world of free movement, of the first true created things [*Daseyns*], the world of humans." See also *SW*, II, 3, p. 374. — **demiurgic**: pertaining to the creator of the world.

18 **In creation . . . fall away from him**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 546; *SW*, II, 3, pp. 374–375, where Schelling writes: ". . . the significance which was ascribed to the Son, [was] ascribed [him] insofar as the Father foresaw that those who would be unavoidably lost, forsaking him [the Father], would nevertheless not be abandoned, because of the Son."

20 **"All is entrusted to me by the Father"**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 546; *SW*, II, 3, p. 374, where Schelling himself alludes to Lk 10:22 and Mt 11:27; the passages are identical: "all things have been handed over to me by my Father."

21 **τα παντα**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 546; *SW*, II, 3, p. 374, where Schelling makes reference to Col 1:16: "for in him all things in heaven and on earth were created, things visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or rulers or powers—all things have been created through him and for him."

27 **the one who wills all in all**] An allusion to 1 Cor 15:28: "When all things are subjected to him, then the Son himself will also be subjected to the one who put all things in subjection under him, so that God may be all in all."

28 **Will remains . . . as Zorn**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 547: "This will [*Wille*] certainly also contributes to the incipient alienation, but without thereby willing that which is alienated; *the original will of God* continues to operate, but *as displeasure*, as divine wrath. All human beings, Jews and pagans, are *by nature* children of divine wrath (Eph. 2:3)." Cf. Eph 2:1–3: "You were dead through the trespasses and sins in which you once lived, following the course of this world, following the ruler of the power of the air, the spirit that is now at work among those who are disobedient. All of us once lived among them in the passions of our flesh, following the desires of flesh and senses, and we were by nature children of wrath, like everyone else."

δοξα] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 548; *SW*, II, 8 355
3, p. 376.

It is the suffering . . . not king] See *SW*, II, 3, pp. 12
376–377, where Schelling comments on this passage. On the suffering expressed in Isaiah, see the verses on the suffering servant of the Lord in Isa 52:13–53:12; in the NT, these verses are interpreted as a prophecy of Christ's passion. — **Messiah**: Greek transcription of the Hebrew "māšîaḥ" and the Aramaic "mešîḥa" corresponding to "Christós," the anointed one, from which the Latin *Christus* is derived. In the OT, the idea of the messiah is tied to King David, who was anointed king by the prophet Samuel. — **the Anointed is still not king**: A reference to the dogmatic classification of the three offices of Christ: the prophet, the priest, and the king. Christ's kingly office is first exercised when, following his resurrection and ascension, he has taken his place at the right hand of God.

everything human is related to consciousness] See 27
Philosophie der Offenbarung, p. 550: "Though they may be objective in accordance with their nature, the consciousness of humans nevertheless precedes them. Because *the whole of creation has to do with consciousness*; everything else is a matter of indifference to the creator. *Consciousness must be restored* through a second process, analogous [to creation]."

theogonic process] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, 33
p. 550.

apostle's words . . . σπερμα του θεου remains] Cf. 34
1 Jn 3:9: "Those who have been born of God do not sin, because God's seed abides in them; they cannot sin because they have been born of God." See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 550; *SW*, II, 3, p. 382.

36 **αμαρτια refers ... as idolatry**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 550, where it is noted that both Old and New Testaments equate "hamartía" with paganism.

36 **In its new form ... actu-positing**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 551: "In its reappearance, *B is that which cancels the divine unity*; but the God-negating [principle], in its emergence out of itself [*in seinem Aus-sich-heraus-treten*], *becomes God-positing in its return into itself* [*in seinem In-sich-zurücktreten*], *and* [*is*] *indeed henceforth God-positing in actuality*."

356 1 **The apostle Paul says ... αθεοι εν τω κοσμω**] Cf. Eph 2:12: "... remember that you were at that time without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenants of promise, having no hope and without God in the world." — **Paul**: → 349,9.

2 **εν τω κοσμω**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 551, where additional passages are cited: Eph 2:12; 4:18; Col 1:21.

3 **It is here ... must come first**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 551–552.

13 **Anlaß, das Vermittelnde ... theogonic process**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 552: "The occasion [*Anlaß*], just as well as the mediating [*das Vermittelnde*] and the goal [*das Ziel*] of the second process, and all the potencies are the same as in the first theogonic process, which repeats itself here in human consciousness."

356 26 **widergöttliche process**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 553, which refers to "the process external to God [*den aussergöttlichen Process*]."

35 **but only as necessary ... cosmic potencies**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 553: "instead, *they are a necessary product of a consciousness which has capitulated to the power of potencies which, in their conflict* [Spannung], *are mere worldly* [kosmische] *powers*."

40 **the faith that ... bestows on them**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 553: "From this an explanation is given of the faith which humanity, entangled in this process, bestows on those representations."

357 4 **Mythology has ... a theory of nature**] See *SW*, II, 3, pp. 379–380, where Schelling writes: "Then an explanation is given as well of (2) the relationship of mythological representations, their apparent nonsensicalness notwithstanding, to nature and its phenomena—a relationship that has tempted so many to conceive of mythology as merely an artificially cultivated view of nature, and [to view] the gods as mere personifications of natural powers and natural phenomena. This relation to nature, this similarity that the nature of mythology demonstrates to the essence of nature, is grounded in the fact that *the same* world-generating potencies that operate in nature operate in consciousness [as well]. Hence this connection is itself natural, not artificial, something that can be explained when one assumes [the existence of] a kind of philosophico-poetic science of nature in ancient times." The allusion is presumably to scholars of mythology, such as Chr. G. Heyne and Gottfried Hermann; see Schelling's discussion of these in "Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Philosophie der Mythologie" [Historico-Critical Introduction to the Philosophy of Mythology], *SW*, II, 1, pp. 29–46.

9 **external history**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 554; *SW*, II, 3, p. 380.

10 **Until that time, humnty ... more besonnen**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 554: "Until that time, humankind was [in an] ecstatic [state]: only then did it make the transition to reflection [*Besonnenheit*]."

17 **Mythologies are ... mythology-producing process**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 554–555: "It need not be assumed, as Creuzer and others do, that the representations [that] first arose among his ancient people [*Urfolk*] were transmitted to the *Indians* (who, contrary to all analogies, have been made out to be the most ancient people). Folk mythologies are interconnected aspects of one and the same myth-generating process." See also Schelling's account in *SW*, II, 3, p. 381. — Schelling discusses Georg Friedrich Creuzer's *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen* [Symbolism and Mythology of Ancient Peoples, Particularly the Greeks], 2nd ed., 4 vols., Leipzig, 1819–1823 [1st ed., 1810–1812; 3rd ed., 1836–1842], in his "Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Philosophie der Mythologie," in *SW*, II, 1, pp. 89–93.

29 **this possibility can ... the alluring**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 555: "It appears as a seductive, feminine being, drawing the will to itself."

31 **Persephone, who ... of the Pythagoreans**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 555–556; *SW*, II, 3, p. 383. See also *SW*, II, 2, pp. 155–161, where Schelling investigates the relation between the two, with ref-

erence to Fr. Creuzer's analysis, "Ceres, Eleusine, Dyas oder Abfall und Rückkehr" [Ceres, Eleusine, Dyas, or Apostasy and Return] in *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker* (→ 357,17), 2nd ed., vol 4 (1812), pp. 538–550. — **Duas**: → 333,10. — **Persephone**: In Greek mythology Persephone is the goddess of the underworld; in later mythology, she is the daughter of Zeus and Demeter. In the Homeric "Hymn to Demeter" (Danish trans. by S. Meisling in *Digte fra Oldtiden* [Poems of Antiquity], 6 pts. [Copenhagen, 1831], pp. 303–317), it is said that, as a young and high-spirited girl, she was abducted by Hades and taken to the underworld, where she changed herself into a cold and severe queen. In later mythology, her mother Demeter, together with Zeus, secures the return of her daugher to earth for a portion of each year; the account is tied to the changing of the seasons (→ 363,29).

35 **Genesis**] Greek, "origin, "becoming"; the name of the first book of the OT in its Greek translation, the Septuagint, and in the Latin Vulgate. See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 556; *SW*, II, 3, pp. 383–384.

36 **humnty's first sin . . . the serpent**] See Gen 3:1–6. See *SW*, II, 3, p. 384.

38 **The serpent is an image of eternity**] Depicted as biting its own tail, the serpent is a common symbol of eternity, e.g., in sepulchral ornamentation. See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 556; *SW*, II, 3, p. 384, where Schelling adds: "The serpent, which by curving back on itself is an image of peace, indeed, of eternity, gives the impression of being corrupting as soon as it straightens."

39 **the serpent's . . . on end**] In Genesis, God punished the serpent for its deception by condemning it to creep on its belly (Gen 3:14); at one time, this was thought to imply that the serpent had originally walked upright. See, e.g., Luther's Latin commentary on Gen 3:1. See also *SW*, II, 2, p. 151.

40 **natura anceps**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 384, where Schelling writes: "Thus the serpent is commonly viewed as a symbol of that ambiguous nature (that *natura anceps*) which, when it shifts from the inside to the outside, occasions the fall."

40 **In the Greek mysteries . . . is a mother**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 556–558; *SW*, II, 3, p. 384. See also *SW*, II, 2, pp. 155–164, where Schelling presents his interpretation of Persephone and, on p. 160, writes: "she [is], as they say, entirely within, [and] remains inward (ἔνδον ὅλη μένουσα)," referring to Creuzer's *Symbolik und Mythologie* (→ 357,17), vol. 4, p. 546; and on p. 162: "In such a representation, belonging to the doctrine of the Mysteries, the transition is thus described as follows: Persephone, until now virginal and veiled in her virginal seclusion, is surprised by Zeus (Jupiter) in the form of a serpent who takes her by force (βιάζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός), thereby putting an end to her virginity." The myth from the Greek mysteries (→ 329,12) concerning Zeus (→ 344,15), who approaches Persephone in the form of a serpent is found in the Homeric "Hymn to Demeter" (→ 357,31).

Epoch I. A.] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 558; *SW*, II, 3, p. 385. 7 358

prius] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 559. 11

wants nothing] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 559: "which wants nothing to do with nature [*von der Natur nichts wissen will*]." 12

übermaterial] "Matter" in the sense of "substance," υποκειμενον (→ 305,31). See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 559; *SW*, II, 3, p. 386. 19

astral system] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 560; *SW*, II, 3, p. 387. The reference is to a form of star worship (astrolatry), occurring, e.g., in the Middle East; stars were regarded as living beings that influenced the lives of humans. This in turn evolved into astrological systems in which single stars were identified with particular gods and the positions of planets relative to one another determined both natural and human occurrences. See following note. 22

Sabianism . . . the heavenly host] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 387, where Schelling writes: "The stage of *mythological* consciousness which *corresponds* to this stage in the history of the origin and rise of nature is that astral religion which is commonly acknowledged, and without contradiction, as the first and oldest of humanity, and which I call *Zabianism*, from Zaba, the host, specifically, the heavenly host." See also *SW*, II, 2, pp. 179–188, where Schelling gives a detailed account of the etymology of the word "Zaba" ("Zabi") in Arabic and Hebrew, as well as of his own designation, "Zabianism," which is not to be confused with "Sabianism" (→ 359,1). The latter refers to the Sabaens, who, toward the close of the 9th century B.C., inhabited the land of Saba in southwestern Arabia. 23

24 **The object of . . . is Ueberkörperliche**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 387.

36 **B.**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 561; *SW*, II, 3, p. 389.

39 **Uranos**] In Hesiod's *Theogony*, Uranos, the heavens, and Gaia (→ 363,*15*), the earth, are represented as the first divine dynasty, replacing Chaos. When Uranos concealed their children, Gaia fashioned a sickle, which she gave to their son, the Titan Chronos, who castrated and killed Uranos. Uranos's mutilated body was cast into the sea, and Aphrodite emerged from the foam. See *SW*, II, 3, p. 389.

39 **Urania**] In Greek mythology, Urania is the goddess of astronomy. In his account of mythological development, Schelling links the early Asiatic Urania to similar goddesses of fertility and love in other religions (Mitra, Mylitta, Astarte); Urania is also tied to Aphrodite (→ 358,*39*), who was dubbed Urania, i.e., the heavenly. See *SW*, II, 3, p. 389.

359 1 **Sabianism**] Fire and star worship (→ 358,*23*). See *SW*, II, 3, p. 390, where Schelling writes: "This, then, was something supplemental to the earliest religion; in this way, Herodotus confirms the place given to Urania, which marks the first appearance of Zabianism."

1 **successive polytheisms**] See *SW*, II, 3, pp. 389–390, where Schelling distinguishes between two forms of polytheism: "simultaneous" polytheism, which embraces several gods who are contemporaneous with one another but are subordinated to a highest god, e.g., Zeus in Greek mythology; and "successive" polytheism, in which particular gods are not subordinated to a higher god, but, by contrast, succeed one another, as, for example, in Hesiod's *Theogony*.

5 **the Persians worship . . . sun and the moon**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 562; *SW*, II, 3, p. 390, where Schelling writes: "The recollection of the oldest religion is preserved among the *Persians* insofar as they, according to Herodotus, honor the rotation of the heavens, i.e., the reigning spirit of the same, as the highest god, and venerate, in addition, the sun, the moon, and also, earlier, the elements (which are the materialized stars), for this purpose, Herodotus said, having learned to make sacrifices also to Urania." The source is Herodotus's *Histories*, bk. 1.131, where it is said that the gods of the Persians, in contrast to those of the Greeks, do not have human features; the Persians, he claims, make sacrifices to the arches of heaven, which they call Zeus; to the sun and the moon; and to earth, fire, water, and the winds.

7 **Babylonians, Assyrians . . . Melita**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 562; *SW*, II, 3, p. 390, where Schelling writes: "Apart from the Persians, it is principally the *Assyrians* or the *Babylonians* (presumably the oldest historical people), then the Arabs (as they are named by Herodotus, i.e. the inhabitants of *Arabia felix* [modern Yemen], who had already shifted from nomadic life to fixed dwellings) who worship Urania. She is worshiped by the Babylonians under the name 'Mylitta.'" The source is Herodotus's *Histories*, bk. 1.131, where it is recounted that the Persians later sacrificed to Aphrodite Urania, a practice that they absorbed from the Assyrians and the Arabs. The Assyrians call Aphrodite *Mullitu* (= Mylitta); the Arabs, *Allāt* (= Alilat]; and the Persians, *Mitra*.

8 **The second god . . . in her temple**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 391. — The source is Herodotus's *Histories*, bk. 1.199, where the Babylonians' "ugliest" practice is recounted.

10 **Among the Arabs . . . son Dionysus**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 391, where Schelling writes: "Among the Arabs, the second god, the relatively higher and (in contrast to the material Urania) more spiritual god, is already more closely defined as the *son* of Urania. Already *here*, Herodotus named this god Dionysus. I also make use of this name for the god, though as a purely common term, without thereby intending the Greek Dionysus; it is indeed precisely this *common* potency (and therefore *common* to all peoples) which at last emerges, too, in the Greek Dionysus." — **Dionysus**: in Greek mythology, Dionysus (also called Bacchus) was the son of Zeus and Semele (→ 365,*24*), originally the god of vegetation, later god of wine. He was worshiped at a number of shrines and in the ecstatic Dionysians festivals, where devotees danced wildly, howled, tore animals limb from limb, and devoured the raw meat.

19 **C.**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 564; *SW*, II, 3, p. 392.

24 **Phoenicians, Syrians . . . Molok, Chronos**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 564; *SW*, II, 3, p. 393, where Schelling writes: "This severe god, always ill-disposed toward freedom, is the god of the peoples who emerge *next* in history and in the mythological process—the *Phoenicians*, the *Tyrians*, the

Carthaginians, as well as the Canaanite people, along with the Phoenician Baal (= Lord), the original name of Uranos, of the king of the heavens; but the god of the present moment is also simply this very king in a second form, in which he cannot be recognized and to whom no influence is given, but the former already has him *alongside* himself. Among the Canaanites he is also called Moloch. King. In Greek mythology, where he is sheer past, he appears as Chronos." — **Baal**: or Ba'al, "Lord," Canaanite god of rain, thunder, and fertility. See *KJN* 2, 617–618. — **Molok**: or Molek, a god worshiped by the Syrian people, who practiced human sacrifice in its honor. The god is often mentioned in the OT — **Chronos**: In Greek mythology (Hesiod's *Theogony*) the youngest of the Titans, son of Uranos (→ 358,*39*) and Gaia (→ 363,*15*). He came to power by killing his father but was in turn overthrown by his son Zeus (→ 344,*15*).

30 **Hercules of the Phoenicians]** See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 564; *SW*, II, 3, p. 394, where "the Phoenician Heracles" is also called "Melqart," a Phoenician god, king of the underworld, worshiped throughout the Mediterranean region, and identified as Ba'al in the OT. — **Hercules**: in Greek, Heracles, son of Zeus and Alcmene, and thus half god and half human; at his death he was taken up among the gods and granted immortality. Prior to this, he had by his courage and strength conquered centaurs, dragons, and lions and had overcome many other dangers, referred to as the "Twelve Labors" of Hercules; according to Schelling, he represents (in addition to strength) work and pain.

30 **Heracles is a forerunner . . . the son of god]** See *SW*, II, 3, p. 394.

33 **Messiah in the . . . form of a servant]** See *SW*, II, 3, p. 394, where Schelling draws a parallel between Heracles (Hercules) and the Messiah of the OT, as both appear not so much as "son" but more as suffering servant of the Lord. Cf. Isa 52:13–53:12.

37 **Chronos becomes . . . religio peregrina]** See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 565; *SW*, II, 3, p. 395, where Schelling writes: "With this, however, a new, *second phase* of our third period C is posited, one which occurs, just for that reason, in the consciousness of more recent peoples, though it does not yet appear, for example, in the mythology of the Phoenicians. Just as Uranos, early on, was transfigured, so, too, Chronos now passes over into and is preserved in the consciousness of this feminine form; she is called Kybele, who emerged first among the *Phrygian* or Phrygio-Thracian tribes and was transplanted from these to the Greek lands and finally to Rome, where she always remained, nonetheless, a *religio peregrina*." — **Cybele**: or Kybele, a goddess originally worshiped in Lydia and Phrygia and subsequently in much of the Hellenic world. She was "the great mother," source of all life. — **religio peregrina**: See *SW*, II, 2, p. 361, where Schelling discusses this notion in detail.

foundation] Kierkegaard's term is *til-Grund-Læggelse*. In normal Danish usage this means a foundation or an explanation; here a second sense may be implied, that of a foundering or defeat, a literal "being laid low." 6 360

The entire mythological process . . . genuine overthrow] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 566; *SW*, II, 3, pp. 396–397. **— unspiritual**: translation of the German, *Ungeistige*. — **expiration**: to breathe out. 9

genuine overthrow] Presumably a reference to the fourth period, called D; see *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 566; *SW*, II, 3, p. 397, where Schelling writes: "Now a *fourth period* begins = D, which is [the period of] genuine overthrow; this can now be called the period of the *coming* of the third potency" (→ 363,*24*). 15

θεου γεννητου] *SKS* and *Pap*. have θεοι γεννητοι ("created gods"), but the Hongs, in *CI*, 405, 583 n. 128, state that Kierkegaard's manuscript reads θεου γεννητου. Both *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 567 and Schelling, *SW*, II, 3, p. 397, have θεοὶ γεννητοὶ. 17

The formal and material gods] i.e., "formal" in the sense of "active or causative," whereas the "material" causes are purely accidental. See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 567; *SW*, II, 3, p. 397. 17

Urania and Dionysus] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 567: "As Herodotus (III,8) also remarks of the *Arabs*, they regard only Urania and Dionysus as gods"; *SW*, II, 3, pp. 397–398. As indicated, Schelling cites Herodotus's *Histories*, bk. 3.8. 23

The Greeks . . . this inorganic age] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 568; *SW*, II, 3, p. 398: "For as Pausanias said, pre-Hellenic times had a recollection of λίθοις ἀργοῖς, that is, the practice of worshiping rough unhewn stones." The remark Schelling cites from Pausanias is found in the latter's touristic description of ancient Greece, *Helládos Perēgēsis* [Description of Hellas] from ca. A.D. 150. 27

27 **fetishism**] Worship involving various objects or animals; Schelling considers this the oldest religion. See *SW*, II, 3, pp. 398–399.

30 **magna deorum mater**] The mother of the gods, i.e., Kybele (→ 359,37). See *SW*, II, 3, p. 399.

31 **a simultaneous polytheism . . . successive polytheism**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 399, where Schelling writes: "I say: a *plurality of gods* [*Göttervielhet*], which must be distinguished from polytheism [*Vielgötterei*]. The material gods of each stage form only a plurality of gods, only a simultaneous polytheism; only the spiritual or causative gods comprise genuine polytheism [*Vielgötterei*], i.e., successive polytheism" (→ 359,1).

361 3 **Typhon's**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 569; *SW*, II, 3, p. 401; both passages make reference to Plutarch's (→ 309,7) treatise, "De Iside et Osiride" [On Isis and Osiris], in *Moralia*. Typhon is, in Greek mythology, a mighty, fire-breathing monster, spawned of Earth and Tartarus, who, in his revolt against the Olympic Gods, was conquered by Zeus and confined to the underworld. Typhon corresponds to the Egyptian god Seth, who was thought of as an evil spirit, the murderer of his brother Osiris (→ 361,4).

4 **Osiris . . . Horos . . . Isis**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 570; *SW*, II, 3, pp. 401–402; both passages cite Plutarch's (→ 309,7) treatise, "De Iside et Osiris," in *Moralia*. In Egyptian mythology, Osiris was son of the earth god Keb (Geb) and the goddess of the heavens, Nut, and he was married to his sister Isis, with whom he had a son, Horos. Osiris was ruler of the kingdom of the dead, and every human being was subject to judgment at his throne. When he was murdered by his brother Seth (→ 361,3), Isis succeeded in bringing him back to life, while Horos avenged his father by conquering Seth.

361 19 **Brahma . . . Shiva . . . Vishnu**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 570; *SW*, II, 3, pp. 403–404. In the Hindu religion, Brahma is the creator god who gives rise to everything living and to whom all living things return. Together, Brahma, Shiva (the destroyer of life), and Vishnu (the sustainer of life) constitute a triune person, a sort of trinity.

30 **the legends . . . as Krishna**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 571–572; *SW*, II, 3, p. 404. The Hindu god Krishna is said to have been incarnated (originally ten times) in various animal and human forms, which he assumed in order to save the world from a number of disasters. In his eighth incarnation he became the shepherd god Krishna, in the form of which he performed a long series of feats and exploits; in his ninth incarnation he became Buddha (→ 361,32).

32 **Buddha**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 572; *SW*, II, 3, pp. 404–405. Buddha established, presumably in the 5th century B.C., the doctrine and monastic order of Buddhism, distancing himself thereby from Brahmanism.

11 362 **the most real of beings**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 573; *SW*, II, 3, p. 406, where Schelling writes: "and yet actual being [*wirkliche Wesen*] [is], for consciousness, of the most genuine [*reellsten*] significance, because it emerges from a real development [*von einem reellen Prozeß*]."

20 **αιδης, Hades**] Greek, literally, "that which is not seen." See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 573; *SW*, II, 3, p. 407. Hades, son of Chronos and Rhea and ruler of the underworld, was known for the helmet that made him invisible. Hades rarely left the underworld, though he did so in the abduction of Persephone (→ 357,31), who thereafter became his wife and coruler.

23 **the whole Olympus**] The totality of the Greek deities. See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 573; *SW*, II, 3, p. 407, where Schelling writes: "This plurality of gods, or the entire Greek Olympus (Zeus himself), is based on his latent-, Being-become-invisible [*latent-, unsichtbar-geworden-Seyn*]."

28 **in Egyptian mythology . . . become visible**] See *SW*, II, 2, p. 368, where Schelling mentions this in connection with Plutarch's (→ 309,7) description of the gods' fear of Typhon (→ 361,3) in his treatise "De Iside et Osiride," chap. 72, in *Moralia*.

31 **the time of Chronos and Uranos**] → 359,24 and → 358,39.

39 **an exoteric and an esoteric doctrine of god**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 575; *SW*, II, 3, p. 409, where Schelling writes: "The plurality of material gods is thus the exoteric, while the spiritual gods, who after the annulment of tension exist only as shapes of a single god, become the content of esoteric consciousness."

4 363 **The mysteries**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 575; *SW*, II, 3, p. 409. In Schelling's view, the Greek

mysteries (→ 329,12) are a sign of the transition from paganism to Christianity.

6 **Both transitions . . . female god**] First in the case of Urania, and next in that of Cybele. See *SW*, II, 3, p. 411.

15 **Rhea and Gaea**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 576; *SW*, II, 3, p. 412. In Greek mythology (according to Hesiod's *Theogony*) the goddess Gaea (goddess of the earth) came into being immediately after Chaos, and she gave birth to the heavens (Uranos), the mountains, and the seas. With Uranos (→ 358,39), she gave birth to daughter Rhea, who in turn, with Chronos (→ 359,24), gave birth to the Olympic race of gods: Zeus, Hades, Poseidon, Hera, Demeter, and Hestia (the Roman Vesta).

18 **Demeter (Ceres of the Romans)**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 576; *SW*, II, 3, p. 412. In Greek mythology Demeter is goddess of agriculture, corresponding to the Roman goddess Ceres, and she had her most important sanctuary in Eleusis. According to more recent mythology (the Homeric hymns [→ 357,31], Hesiod's *Theogony*) she is daughter of Chronos and Thea, and, through Zeus, mother of Persephone (→ 363,29).

22 **Demeter . . . Poseidon's consort**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 577;*SW*, II, 3, p. 413. In Greek mythology, Poseidon is the god of the ocean, son of Chronos and Rhea, brother of Zeus (god of the heavens) and Hades (god of the underworld), and married to Amphitrite. In Arcadia, however, it was said that Demeter, worshiped there as Despoina, was his wife, and that they together begat Persephone.

24 **Subsequently, Demeter . . . Dionysus's influence**] Subsequently, i.e., in period D (→ 360,15); see *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 577; *SW*, II, 3, p. 413.

29 **Persephone . . . the ravishing of Persephone . . . and grieves**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 577–578; *SW*, II, 3, p. 414, and *SW*, II, 2, pp. 630–636. According to Greek mythology (Schelling refers to the Homeric "Hymn to Demeter" [→ 357,31] associated with Eleusis), it was said that one day, when the goddess Persephone (→ 357,31) was playing and picking flowers, the earth opened and she was overpowered by Hades. He took her, with Zeus's permission, to the underworld, where she became his wife. For nine days, Demeter searched for her daughter round the world, until, on the tenth day, Helios (the sun) revealed to her what had happened. Demeter left Olympus in anger, wandering about the earth in the form of an old woman, causing crop failure to ravage the earth. To appease her, Zeus had Persephone brought back from the underworld, so that she might stay with Demeter for two-thirds of the year, and the remainder of the time with Hades.

the Dionysian . . . attributes of Zeus] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 578: "Pausanias mentions a work by Polyclitus in which Zeus, as chief among the gods, is decorated with the attributes of Dionysus." In *SW*, II, 2, p. 642, Schelling provides a more detailed description of Polykleitos's statue of Zeus, as it is represented by Pausanias (→ 360,27). 35

mysteries . . . mysteries of Demeter] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 578: "It is *the third god* through whom the offended consciousness will be appeased. This is the essential content of the mysteries. The old Eleusinian mysteries are preferably named the Mysteries of Demeter." See also *SW*, II, 3, p. 415. → 329,12. 40

Their content is . . . a course in agriculture] See *SW*, II, 3, pp. 415–416, where Schelling writes: "To divine the secret of the mysteries—this has been the goal since time immemorial. It was first a Frenchman who proposed that the Eleusinian Mysteries were only a *cours d'agriculture*. Even Sylvestre de Sacy (in his Notes to St. Croix), knows ultimately nothing more than: 'the Mysteries may have contained primarily representations or symbols of the most significant natural phenomena, the seasons and so forth.' But if mythology does not offer an adequate account of the Mysteries, a purely *physical* account is just as inadequate, or much more so." — **a French author**: This author is not identified, but in *SW*, II, 2, p. 640, Schelling adds: "as a Frenchman not long ago actually believed . . ." 41

θεσμοφοροις] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 416. 5 364

Isocrates groups . . . gifts of Demeter] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 579; *SW*, II, 3, p. 416, where Schelling makes reference to Isocrates' *Panegyricus*, 28–30. 5

Sabianism is . . . Tacitus] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 579, where it is noted that "Zabismus" is not tied to agriculture, and that Julius Caesar himself had remarked on the absence of established farming practices among the Germans. In *SW*, II, 3, pp. 416–417, Schelling notes, likewise, that Julius Caesar, in *De bello Gallico* [The Gallic Wars], vol. 6, 7

22, wrote: "agriculturae non student, … neque quisquam agri modum certum aut fines habet proprios" (Latin, "for agriculture they have no zeal … No man has a definite quantity of land or estate of his own"). English translation from *Caesar: The Gallic War*, trans. H. J. Edwards, Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1958), p. 347. Following his citation of Caesar, Schelling adds: "This is not the place to investigate the degree to which this can be reconciled with the account of Tacitus." By the latter, Schelling presumably alludes to the Roman historian Cornelius Tacitus's (ca. 56–ca. 118) *Germania* [Germany] (A.D. 98), chap. 46.2, where the Germans are said to have fixed dwellings.

15 **a golden age**] In Hesiod's *Works and Days*, 106–201, the myth of the world's gradual decline through five successive "ages" is found, beginning with "the golden age," in Chronos's time, when misery and sorrow were absent. The Roman poet Virgil elaborates on this in his *Georgics* (ca. 29 B.C.), bk. 1.118–146.

16 **"Then it was … one's fields!"**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 579, where the quotation is cited in Latin; in *SW*, II, 3, p. 417, Schelling writes: "In later recollection it was Chronos who, joining with Uranos, as far distant objects [came to] coincide, became the god of the golden age of the Greeks and Romans. At that time, they said, when Saturn ruled, no enclosed fields were cultivated, nor was it allowed to mark off fields with boundaries. (I recall the passage from Virgil cited earlier [*Georgics*, bk. 1, 125ff.])." As indicated, the passage cited is from Virgil's *Georgics*, bk. 1.125; the subsequent lines pertain to the golden age of Saturn.

18 **Among the Phrygians … foundress**] See *SW*, II, 3, pp. 418–419, where Schelling documents his remarks on Cybele (→ 359,37) by citing from Lucretius's digression on Cybele in *De rerum natura* [On the Nature of Things], from the 1st century B.C., pt. 1, bk. 2, 600–660.

19 **the Babylonians … to the sea**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 579–580; *SW*, II, 3, p. 418, where Schelling writes, prior to the parenthetical phrase recorded by Kierkegaard: "the Phoenicians, the Tyrians, the Carthaginians, the people of Chronos."

22 **The Egyptians … Typhonic element**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 580; *SW*, II, 3, p. 418, where reference is made to Plutarch's (→ 309,7) claim that, among the Egyptians, Typhon (→ 361,3) represents the sea. "De Iside et Osiride," chaps. 32 and 33, in *Moralia*.

Demeter thus expressed … agriculture emerged] 23
See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 580; *SW*, II, 3, pp. 418–419.

A Spanish … on their own] See *SW*, II, 3, pp. 26
419–420, where Schelling provides a detailed account, citing in this context the Spanish natural scientist Felix de Azara (1746–1821), the principal work of whom became widely known through its French translation, *Voyages dans l'Amérique Méridionale par F. de Azara depuis 1781 jusqu'en 1801, contenant la description géographique, politique et civile du Paraguay et de la rivière de La Plata* [F. de Azara's Journeys in South America from 1781 to 1801, Containing Geographical, Political, and Social Descriptions of Paraguay and the La Plata River], trans. M. Sonnini, ed. C. A. Walckenaer, annotated by G. Cuvier, 4 vols. (Paris, 1809).

Persephone … resembles the seed of grain] See 31
Philosophie der Offenbarung, p. 581; *SW*, II, 3, p. 421 (see also *SW*, II, 12, pp. 637–640). — **Persephone**: → 357,31.

Demeter's reconciliation … reconcile my mind] 8 365
See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 582; *SW*, II, 3, p. 422, where Schelling quotes the Homeric "Hymn to Demeter" (→ 357,31), vv. 274–275 (see also *SW*, II, 2, pp. 632–633).

mysteries are also called Dionysian] See *Philoso-* 10
phie der Offenbarung, p. 582;*SW*, II, 3, p. 422.

Customarily, his activity … becomes Taumel] See 12
Philosophie der Offenbarung, p. 582; *SW*, II, 3, p. 422, where Schelling writes: "Customarily, in the older religions, the presence of Dionysus or his effect on consciousness first announces itself through an irrational enthusiasm called orgiasm. Consciousness, feeling itself suddenly released from the overwhelming power of the real god, must in this way become as if frenzied." — **orgiasm**: the cultic activities in the Mysteries, tied to the worship of Demeter in Eleusis and to the rites of the Cabiri. The allusion is particularly to the hidden practices of Dionysian festivals.

"Sabazia," … the word itself … hidden ceremo- 15
nies] Both *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 582 and *SW*, II, 3, p. 423, add that the description of the Sabiastic orgies as the first appearance of Dionysus rest on an investigation that was carried out by the

Roman senate and whose contents are described in detail by the Roman historian Livy in *Ab urbe condita* [From the Founding of the City (of Rome)], bk. 39, chaps. 8–20. In *SW*, Schelling notes: "But already the name Sabazia, the name of the god Sabos, and the festival cry 'Evoë Saboi' suggest that these orgies belong to the first transition from Sabianism to genuine mythological religion. These Sabazias never established themselves in Greece, and they could be maintained, at most, as peripheral ceremonies. In a comedy of Aristophanes, mentioned by Cicero in *de Legibus* [On the Laws] [2.15], Sabazius was thrown off the stage, even out of the state, together with other gods declared alien." — **Sabianism**: → 359,*1*.

20 **phallic ceremonies**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 583; *SW*, II, 3, pp. 423–424, where Schelling, referring to a description in Herodutus' *Histories*, bk. 2, 49 and 58 gives a more detailed account of the Egyptian phallic processions.

22 **The idea of Dionysus . . . its magnificence**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 425, where Schelling makes reference, in his account, to Herodotus's *Histories*, bk. 2.49.

24 **This Dionysus . . . to Zeus**] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 583; *SW*, II, 3, pp. 425–426. Cf., e.g., Herodotus's *Histories*, bk. 2.146. — **Semele**: In Greek mythology, Semele, daughter of the Theban king Cadmus, had an affair with Zeus but was enticed by the jealous Hera to demand that Zeus should show himself before her in all his might. When he did so, she was consumed by flames; Zeus then hides her unborn child in himself, until he can be born as Dionysus (→ 359,*10*). Dionysus later bears his mother up to the gods.

27 **Dionysus . . . after his birth**] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 426. Schelling presumably draws from Herodotus's *Histories*, bk. 2.146, where both these features are cited.

His first opponent . . . the growing one] See *SW*, II, 3, p. 426, where Schelling refers to King Lykurgos's battle against Dionysus in Homer's *Iliad*, bk. 6. 28

Pentheus, King of Thrace] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 584; *SW*, II, 3, p. 427, where Schelling refers to Euripides' tragedy, *The Bacchae*, which describes in detail the Theban king Pentheus's battle against the worship of Dionysus, which ends with his being torn limb from limb by the Bacchantes in the course of their ecstatic Dionysian revelry. 30

Orpheus . . . Maenads] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 584; *SW*, II, 3, p. 427. In Greek mythology, Orpheus is a singer and poet, son of Oeagrus or Zeus and the muse Calliope; he was torn apart by the Thracian women during their orgiastic worship. — **Maenads**: the "furious, deranged" women in Bacchus's (Dionysus's) train, also called Bacchantes. 31

Homer himself] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 584–585; *SW*, II, 3, pp. 428–429, where the following passage is supplemented by a discussion of the Homeric question, i.e., the question of whether or to what degree Homer was the author of the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*. 34

Occidentalism . . . Orientalism] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 585; *SW*, II, 3, pp. 429–430, where Schelling treats the transition from oriental mythology to occidental, i.e., Western, mythology. 39

ορφναιος] See *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, p. 585; *SW*, II, 3, p. 430, where Schelling discusses this Homeric expression. 41

42. Feb. 4] Kierkegaard's notes end here; see the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 11*," pp. 659–663 in the present volume. 1 366

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NOTES FOR NOTEBOOK 12

Critical Account of the Text by
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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript

Notebook 12 is a bound book in quarto format. Kierkegaard marked the book "Aesthetica." It consists of thirty-six sheets or seventy-two pages. The manuscript is housed in the Kierkegaard Archive (KA) at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

II. Dating and Chronology

It appears from the label on the front page of the volume that Kierkegaard began using the notebook on November 20, 1842. The book does not give any indication of dates. However, considering the limited number of entries and the intrinsic connections between them, it is highly likely that Kierkegaard finished with the notebook in December 1842.

III. Contents

Notebook 12, "Aesthetica," contains eighteen entries, the majority of which relate to Aristotle's *Poetics*. Kierkegaard read the *Poetics* in both the original Greek and in a German translation by M. C. Curtius entitled *Aristoteles Dichtkunst, ins Deutsche übersetzet, Mit Anmerkungen, und besondern Abhandlungen, versehen*, [Aristotle's Poetic Art, Along with Notes and Particular Essays] (Hanover, 1753; ASKB 1094).

In Not12:2, Kierkegaard lists a series of titles he found in Curtius's studies "Abhandlung von dem Wesen und dem wahren Begriffe der Dichtkunst" [Essay on the Essence and the Genuine Concept of Poetic Art] and "Abhandlung von der Absicht des Trauerspiels" [Essay on the Purpose of Tragedy]. The first of these studies considers various definitions of poetry, including those of Casaubon and Bacon. The blank pages in the notebook that follow these titles indicate that Kierkegaard had intended to set aside space

for his own in-depth remarks. The limits of poetry is also the theme of several of the other entries. In Not12:3, he considers the general "boundary conflicts within the sciences" and in Not12:4, the relation between aesthetics and ethics. With regard to the latter, he argues that the transition between the two categories is one of pathos rather than dialectic.[1] Regarding the reconciliation of art and existence, he refers to Plato's notion that "poetry makes one soft" (Not12:4.b), as well as to Kant's description of the aesthetic as "disinterested satisfaction" (Not12:6.b). As he says in Not12:4, only in ethics does "a qualitative, different dialectic" begin. Kierkegaard notes, however, that poetry has an ethical dimension, something one can see in Aristotle's definition of poetry as imitation: "In this, poetry points beyond itself to actuality and metaphysical ideality" (Not12:8).

In Not12:6, Kierkegaard discusses an identification with the tragic hero and points out, in opposition to Aristotle, that such identification does not bring about a reconciliation with actuality but rather alienation from it. In Not12:9 this idea is tied to Aristotle's well-known and contested definition of the tragic—namely, that tragedy arouses "pity and fear, wherewith to accomplish its catharsis of such emotions" (*Poetics*, 1449b 27).[2] Kierkegaard has an ambivalent relation to G. E. Lessing's interpretation of this concept in *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, according to which the catharsis is a result of the transformation of the passions into virtues.[3] Certainly Kierkegaard thinks that these two elemental affects "ennoble sympathy," but as

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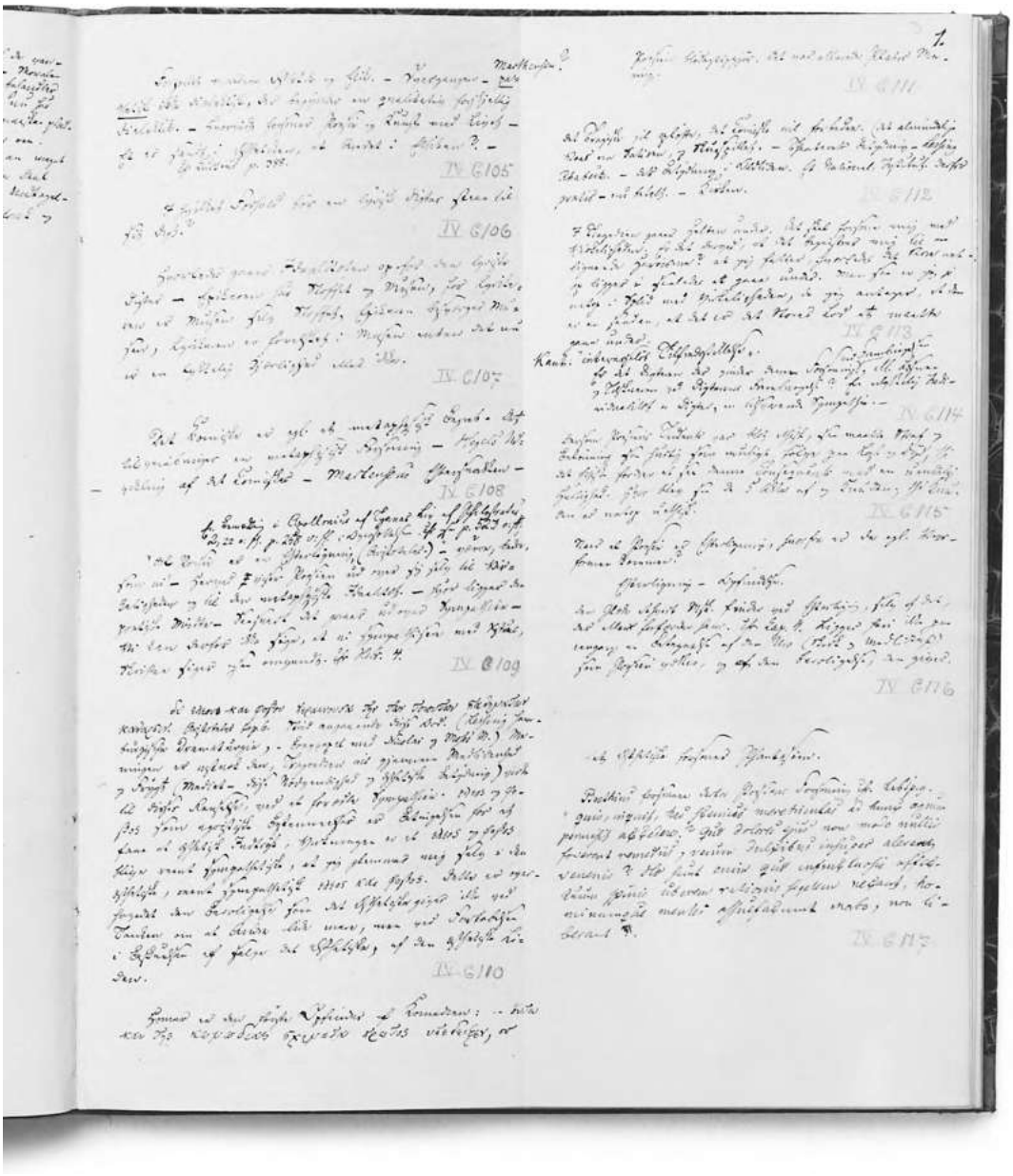
1) Cf. Not13:8 and the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 13*," pp. 732–739 in the present volume.

2) On this question, see Wolfgang Schadewaldt's "Furcht und Mitleid?" [Fear and Pity] in *Hermes*, (Wiesbaden) vol. 83, 1955, pp. 129–171.

3) "Da nämlich, es kurz zu sagen, diese Reinigung in nichts anderm beruht, als in der Verwandlun der Leidenschaften in tugendhafte Fertigkeiten" [For, to put it briefly, this catharsis consists in nothing other than the transformation of the passions into virtuous talents] *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* [Hamburg Dramaturgy], sec. 78, in *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's sämmtliche Schriften* [Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's Complete Works], 32 vols. (Berlin, 1825–1828; ASKB 1747–1762), vol. 25 (1827), p. 188.



Notebook 12:4–10.

egoistic determinations they result in one's "being lost in the contemplation of the aesthetic itself."[1]

The basis of these reflections is Kierkegaard's earlier reading of Hegel's *Aesthetics*, from which he excerpts passages in *Notebook 10*. Hegel understands the moral nature of pity in the following terms: "True compassion, on the other hand, is the [kind of] sympathy that at the same time affirms the ethical justification of the sufferer."[2] The decisive factor is the subjective moment or, more exactly, the absence of such within ancient drama as compared with modern drama.[3] Kierkegaard treats the relation between ancient and modern tragedy more extensively in the essay "The Tragic in Ancient Drama Reflected in the Tragic in Modern Drama" in the first volume of *Either/Or*.[4] There he employs the concept of "hereditary sin" (Antigone's participation in family guilt). He also makes clear that tragic guilt (ἁμαρτία) is ambiguous, "something intermediate between action and the suffering,"[5] because it is unclear whether the hero, by means of his own free action, is to blame for his fate, or whether fate (objectively) is to blame for his suffering. In Not12:16, Kierkegaard has become aware of the concept of guilt and the significance of Aristotle's development of the categories of the voluntary and the

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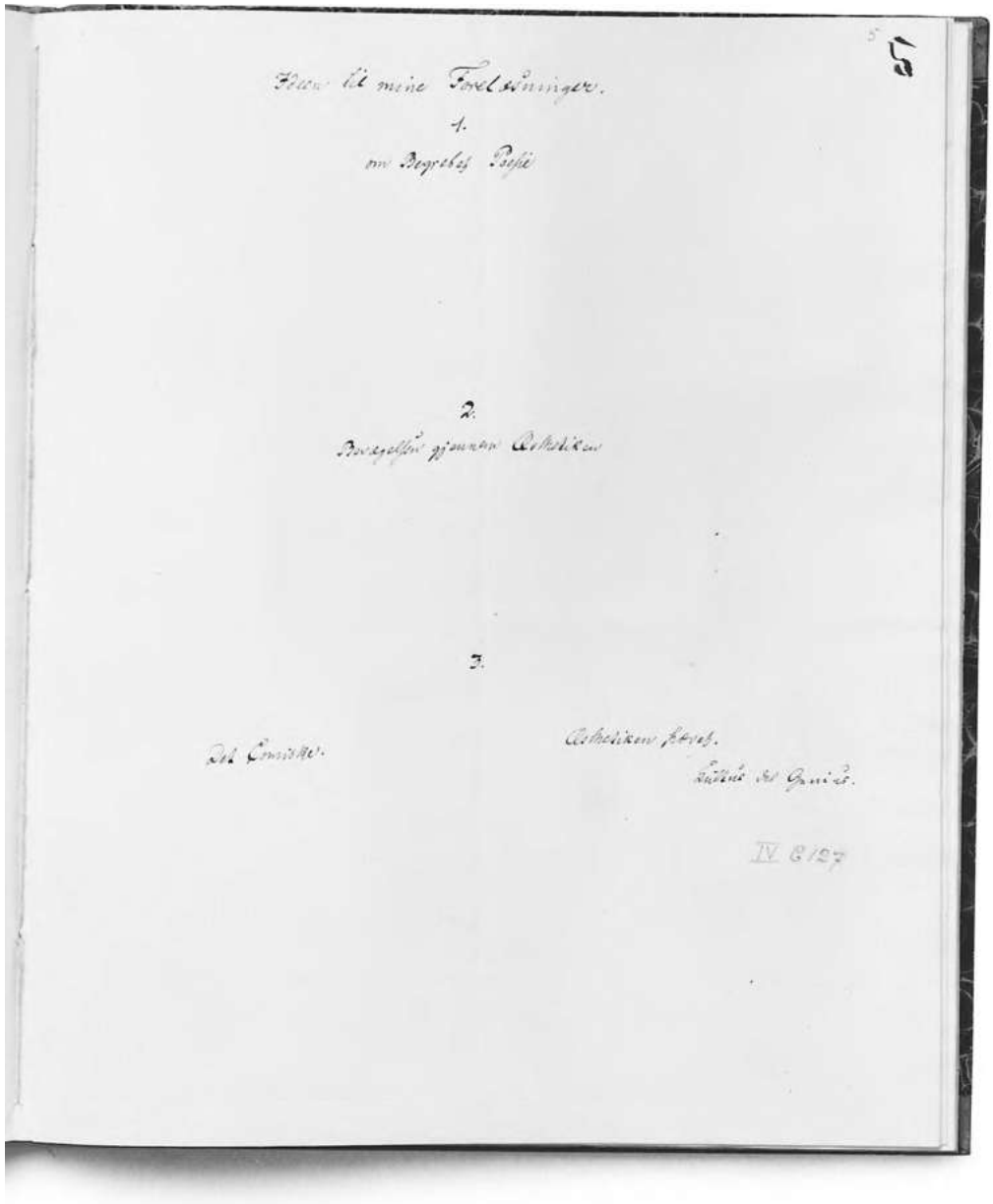
1) Kierkegaard later treats the same problems in his "Letter to the Reader," § 5, in *Stages on Life's Way* (*SLW*, 454–474; *SKS* 6, 420–429).

2) See Not10:1, pp. 281–282 in the present volume.

3) In the above-mentioned excerpt from Hegel in *Notebook 10*, Kierkegaard noted to himself that "[t]he main collision in Greek tragedy is in part the substantial, the family, the state, etc., and in part a more formal [collision], especially [well] portrayed in *Oedipus rex* and *Oed. at Col.*, which deals with the degree to which a person is guilty for unconsciously and unintentionally doing what the gods have destined him to do. Greek heroes are not afraid to take guilt upon themselves" (see Not10:1, p. 282 in the present volume). As a drama in which the subjective element is especially dominant, Kierkegaard points to Sophocles' *Philoktetes* (see Not10:57). Cf. *EO 1*, 151.

4) *EO 1*, 137–164. See also Karsten Friis Johansen, "Kierkegaard on 'the Tragic,' " in *Danish Yearbook of Philosophy* (Copenhagen), vol. 13, 1976, pp. 105–146.

5) *EO 1*, 144.



Notebook 12:18. Outline for "Ideas for My Lectures."

involuntary in his *Nichomachean Ethics*.[1] For Aristotle one is responsible to the extent that the action is voluntary. With respect to the tragic hero, by contrast, in *Poetics* (1453b 38–1454a) Aristotle emphasizes the lack of intention and ignorance because, in such a case, the action has the "most tragic worth."

His immersion in the *Poetics* led to a series of reflections on the distinction between the tragic and the comic.[2] In Not12:4c, Kierkegaard notes: "The tragic wants to elevate, the comic to ameliorate." In Not12:12.a, he asks and answers: "Why does tragedy require more history than comedy? Because tragedy is less probable. Comedy justifies itself metaphysically." What he means by "history" is unclear, but the idea might be that tragedy gathers its material from the mythical so it can "show the extraordinary." Kierkegaard is in agreement with Hegel when he considers the comic to be the last stage of the aesthetic and therefore the most metaphysical. This becomes clear in Not12:7: "The comic is rlly a metaphysical concept. It brings about a metaphysical reconciliation." A similar reflection follows in Not12:12: "One can see that comedy approaches the metaphysical also by the fact that it has the universal as its object in a sense different from tragedy. Comedy developed from the purely personal."

The final outline of "Ideas for My Lectures" in Not12:18 (*see illustration*) also seems to show the comic as the culmination of the aesthetic at the point of transition to the metaphysical. The first subheading is "On the Concept of Poetry," followed by "Movement through Aesthetics" and finally "The Comic" along with "Aesthetics Annulled." To this latter is added: "Cultus des Genius" (Cult of the Genius). What one is to understand by this is not certain; nor is it at all clear what Kierkegaard had envisioned with these lectures.

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1) The question of the voluntary is also addressed in Not13:13–14, pp. 385–386 in the present volume

2) Kierkegaard takes up the question of the comic more extensively later in *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, where he writes: "The comic is present in every stage of life...because where there is life there is contradiction, and wherever there is contradiction, the comic is present. The tragic and the comic are the same inasmuch as both are contradiction, but *the tragic is suffering contradiction, and the comic is painless contradiction*" (*CUP 1*, 513–514). Also: "The different existence-stages rank according to their relation to the comic" (*CUP 1*, 520).

Explanatory Notes

369 2 **20 November. 1842**] From September to December 1842 Kierkegaard was busy producing a fair copy of *Either/Or*.

371 1 **Literature**] All references are to German historian Michael Conrad Curtius's (1724–1802) *Aristoteles Dichtkunst, ins Deutsche übersetzet, mit Anmerkungen, und besondern Abhandlungen, versehen* [Aristotle's Poetic Art, Along with Notes and Particular Essays] (Hanover, 1753; ASKB1094; abbreviated hereafter as *Aristoteles Dichtkunst*). After a translation of Aristotle's *Poetics* (pp. 1–66), Curtius adds explanatory notes (pp. 67–336) and commentary (pp. 337–421). Kierkegaard's excerpts are from "Abhandlung von dem Wesen und dem wahren Begriffe der Dichtkunst" [Essay on the Essence and Genuine Concept of Poetic Art], pp. 339–380, and "Abhandlung von der Absicht des Trauerspiels" [Essay on the Purpose of Tragedy], pp. 389–396.

2 **Casaubonus de Romana Satira**] See *Aristoteles Dichtkunst*, p. 345, note d, "Casaubonus de Poesi Satyrica." Refers to the Swiss philologist Isaac Casaubon's (1559–1614) *De satyrica Græcorum poesi, & Romanorum satira libri duo* [Two Books on Greek Satirical Poetry and Roman Satire] (Paris 1605). Curtius criticizes Casaubon for not showing due respect for Aristotle when he disdainfully argues that *every* discourse set to verse must be categorized as a poem.

3 **Braemer von wahrem Begriffe der Dichtkunst**] Copied from *Aristoteles Dichtkunst*, p. 349, note n. Refers to C. F. Brämer's *Gründliche Untersuchung von dem wahren Begriffe der Dichtkunst* [Fundamental Investigation of the Genuine Concept of Poetic Art], Danzig 1744, which Curtius praises for having fittingly characterized the concepts of poetic art.

4 **Bacon de augmentis scientiarum [(]Tom 1. Lib. II p. 125**] Copied from to *Aristoteles Dichtkunst*, p. 352, note r. On the same page, one reads: "Bacon, a man in whose writings the kernel of all later discoveries lay, had attempted to determine the boundaries of poetry as well as every other science." Refers to the English philosopher and statesman Francis Bacon (1561–1626), particularly his *De augmentis scientiarum* [On the Progress of Knowledge] (1623 [1605]), pt. 1, bk. 2, chap. 13.

5 **He regards the imagination ... and parabolic**] Translated passage from *Aristoteles Dichtkunst*, p. 352, which attributes this idea to Bacon.

9 **Baumgarten de nonnullis ... Curtius p. 354**] See *Aristoteles Dichtkunst*, p. 354. Curtius refers to Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten's (1714–62) *Meditationes philosophicae de nonnullis ad poema pertinentibus* [Philosophical Reflections on Poetry] (Halle 1735), § 9, p. 7.

12 **Scaliger Poetices Lib. 1. cap. II**] Gulio Bordone (1484–1558), known as Julius Cæsar Scaliger, Italian philologist and physician. — **Poetices Lib. 1. cap. II**: Copied from *Aristoteles Dichtkunst*, p. 352, note q. Refers to J. C. Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem* [Seven Books on Poetry] (Lyon, 1561), bk. 1, chap. 2.

15 **Gatakerus annotationes ad M: Antonini Lib: XI § 6**] Copied from *Aristoteles Dichtkunst*, p. 396, note e. Refers to the English theologian and philologist Thomas Gataker's (1574–1654) commentary on book 11, § 6, in *Marci Antonini imperatoris de rebus suis, sive de eis quæ ad se pertinere censebat, Libri XII* [Marc Antoni Caesar's Twelve Books on His Own Affairs or Things He Thought Belonged to His Private Life] (Cambridge, 1652), pt. 2, pp. 387–392.

16 **Athenæus Lib. ... Curtius p. 395**] See *Aristoteles Dichtkunst*, p. 395: "Timocles thinks that tragedy must console us beyond our misfortune by means of the example of others. He says: 'The human being is by nature a wretched animal, and life contains many difficulties; it therefore seeks encouragement in its cares. For the soul forgets its own sufferings when it concerns itself with those of others. Through this it obtains satisfaction and instruction. Consider the example that the tragic play offers us. If someone is poor, he bears his poverty more patiently when he sees that Telephus is poorer than he is; one who is angry looks to Alcmaon; if someone suffers poor vision, [he is consoled because] the Phinides were completely blind;

if someone loses a son, he is comforted by the example of Niobe; if someone limps, let him look to Oeneus. To think that someone else has suffered much greater misfortune helps one meet one's own challenges with greater courage." — **Athenæus Lib. VI. cap. 1. p. 223**: Refers to the Greek author Athenaeus of Naucratis (ca. A.D. 200) Δειπνοσοφισταί [The Society of the Learned], in *Athenaei Naucratitae Deipnosophistarum libri quindecim* [The Deipnosophists of Athenaeus of Naucratis], ed. I. Casaubon (Geneva, 1597), bk. 6, chap. 1, p. 223.

372 2 **the boundary between the doctrine of right and the doctrine of ethics**] See § 33 of G. W. F. Hegel's *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts, oder Naturrecht und Staatswissenschaft im Grundrisse* [Elements of the Philosophy of Right, or Natural Law and Political Science in Outline], ed. E. Gans, (Berlin, 1833 [1821]; ASKB 551); in *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe* [Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Works: Complete Edition], 18 vols. (Berlin, 1832–1845; hereafter abbreviated as *Hegel's Werke*), vol. 8 (*Jub*. vol. 7), p. 68. For an English translation, see *Philosophy of Right*, trans. H. B. Nisbet, ed. Allen Wood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 62.

3 **morals and dogmatics**] See H. L. Martensen on the relation between morals and dogmatics in his *Grundrids til Moralphilosophiens System,* (Copenhagen, 1841; ASKB 650), pp. XI–XIV. For an English translation, see *Outline to a System of Moral Philosophy*, in *Between Hegel and Kierkegaard: Hans L. Martensen's Philosophy of Religion*, trans. Curtis L. Thompson and David J. Kangas (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), pp. 250–251.

11 **Aristotle . . . ethics and politics**] Refers to Aristotle's *Poetics* (1450b 4–7). There he writes that poetry (tragedy) has the same task as politics and rhetoric when it presents the thought content of an action. See also 1451b 6–10, where he remarks that the poem, by presenting the universal, is more ethical than historical. For further references to the relation between tragedy, ethics, and politics, see 1456a 34–35 and 1460b 11–15.

373 1 **the transition—pathos-laden, not dialectical**] Cf. also Not13:8.a, p. 384 in the present volume, which might have been written at the same time, where Kierkegaard writes of a "pathos-laden transition, not [a] dialectical [one]."

Curtius p. 388] See M. C. Curtius, "Abhandlung 5 von den Personen, und Handlungen, eines Heldengedichts" [Essay on the Persons and Actions of a Heroic Poem], in *Aristoteles Dichtkunst* (→ 371,*1*), pp. 381–388. The passage on p. 388 reads: "The judgment about whether a deed is the work of a great spirit must not be made according to the rules of a philosophical system of ethics. Poetry has its own ethical system; when determining what is virtuous or corrupt, it orients itself less to the laws of worldly wisdom than to the concepts of the people for whom the poet writes. The concepts of good and evil are fashioned in terms of the tastes of the educated part of the nation. A heartfelt deed, having at least one good aspect, will be considered the mark of a strong spirit, even without being fully virtuous."

What should the relation be between a lyric poet 6 373 and his poem?] See the section titled "Der lyrische Dichter" [The Lyric Poet], in Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik*; in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 372,*2*), vol. 10.1–3 (*Jub*. vols. 12–14); vol. 10.3 (*Jub*. vol. 14), pp. 442–446; see esp. pp. 442–443. Here Hegel writes that in the lyric poem, in contrast to the epic, poetizing subjectivity has an essential relation to the poem: "Thus as the centre and proper content of lyric poetry there must be placed the poetic concrete person, the poet, but he must not proceed to actual deeds and actions or become involved in the movement of dramatic conflicts. His sole expression and act is limited, on the contrary, to lending his inner life words which, whatever their objective meaning may be, reveal the spiritual sense of the person using them and are meant to arouse and keep alive, in the hearer the same sense and spirit, the same attitude of mind, and the like direction of thought" English translation from *Hegel's Aesthetics: Lectures in Fine Art*, trans. T. M. Knox, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), vol. 2, p. 1129.

Hegel's exposition of the comic] For his exposition 14 373 of the comic, see G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik,* ed. H. G. Hotho, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1835–1838; ASKB 1384–1386); in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 10.1–3 (*Jub*. vols. 12–14); vol. 10.3 (*Jub*. vol. 14), pp.

533–537. For an English translation, see *Hegel's Aesthetics* (→ 373,6), pp. 1192–1205.

15 **Martensen's parroting**] Refers to H. L. Martensen's (→ 373*m*,1) review of "Nye Digte" [New Poems], by J. L. Heiberg (see *J. L. Heiberg Nye Digte* [Copenhagen, 1841; ASKB 1562]), in *Fædrelandet* [The Fatherland], January 10–12, 1841, nos. 398–400, cols. 3205–3221. Martensen analyzes the comic figure in the poem "En Sjæl efter Døden. En apocalyptisk Comedie" [A Soul after Death: An Apocalyptic Comedy] as an empty and trivial individual, because this soul lives a pseudoexistence without any spiritual interest in binding together finitude and infinitude, eternity and temporality, concept and actuality. Consequently, Martensen says, "the comic similarly rests upon the metaphysical contrast between the empirical existence of spirit and its concept, between appearance and being" (no. 398, col. 3210). The contrasts are unified, but not dialectically, which Martensen calls a "contribution to a metaphysics of triviality" (no. 398, col. 3208). Martensen thus seems to follow Hegel, though without referring to him.

373*m* 1 **Marthensen**] Hans Lassen Martensen (1808–1884) was cand. theol. in 1832, privatdocent and tutor from 1834 to 1836 (also Kierkegaard's tutor), lic. theol. in 1837; appointed lecturer in theology at the University of Copenhagen in 1838; appointed professor extraordinarius in theology in 1840; appointed court chaplain of the Royal Chapel in 1845; subsequently primate of the Danish Church (1854–1884). It is unclear what Kierkegaard is referring to here.

2 **Poetry makes one soft . . . Plato's opinion**] See *The Republic*, bks. 2 and 3 (376d–398b). Plato returns to the critique of poetry in bk. 10 (595a–608b).

7 **The significance of the theater—Lessing Rhabeck**] Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), German dramatist, critic, and philosopher. — **Rhabeck**: Knud Lyne Rahbek (1760–1830), Danish author, translator, newspaper publisher, theater critic, and professor. He translated Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* (→ 375*m*,18). Rahbek understood the significance of the theater to be "a national institution of education and ennoblement." See his *Om Skuespillerkunsten. Forelæsninger holdne paa den kongelige dramatiske Skole* [On the Dramatic Arts: Lectures Delivered at the Royal School of Drama] (Copenhagen, 1809), p. 151.

Its meaning in antiquity . . . The church] Entrance 8
to the theater in Athens cost two obols, which was given to the one who had built it. From the time of Pericles the state paid entrance for the poor, then later all citizens. Cf. Not7:24, pp. 207–208 and the accompanying explanatory note on p. 597 in the present volume.

In tragedy the hero . . . reconcile me to actuality] 12
This might refer to *Solger's nachgelassene Schriften und Briefwechsel*, ed. Ludwig Tieck and Friedrich von Raumer, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1826; ASKB 1832–1833), vol. 2, p. 513: "We see heroes lose faith in the noblest and finest aspects of their dispositions and feelings, not only in relation to what these lead to, but also in relation to their source and their value; indeed we are elevated by the downfall of the best itself." In Kierkegaard's own copy the passage is marked with an asterisk in the margin. Hegel cites the passage in his *Philosophy of Right* (from which this translation is taken) and comments: "The tragic downfall of figures of the highest ethical worth can interest us, elevate us, and reconcile us to its occurrence only in so far as such figures appear in mutual opposition, with equally justified but distinct ethical powers which have unfortunately come into collision . . . As a result of this opposition to an ethical principle, they incur guilt, from which the right and wrong of both parties emerges, and with it, the true ethical Idea, purified and triumphing over this one-sidedness, is thereby reconciled in us. Accordingly, it is not the highest thing in us which perishes, and we are elevated not by the downfall of the best, but, on the contrary, by the triumph of the true. This is the true and purely ethical interest of ancient tragedy. . ." *Philosophy of Right*, p. 181 (§ 140). See *Philosophie des Rechts* (→ 372,2); in *Hegel's Werke* (→ 372,2), vol. 7 (*Jub.* vol. 8), p. 201.

Kant: "disinterested satisfaction."] In his *Critique* 23
of Judgment, Kant argues that judgments about the beautiful involve a "pure disinterested pleasure" (German, *Wohlgefallen*). See § 2–5, *Critique of Judgment*, trans. Werner Pluhar (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1987), pp. 45–52.

the complication] Refers to Aristotle's concept of 36
δέσις, the complicating factor in the tragic plot. See Aristotle's *Poetics*, 1455b 24–28. See also Curtius's *Aristoteles Dichtkunst* (→ 371,1), p. 38.

374 1 **A remark ... by Philostratus ... pp. 523ff.**] Flavius Philostratus or Philostratus the Elder (ca. 170–245), Greek sophist and rhetorician, who under Caesar Septimius Severus resided in the Roman court. While there he wrote a work on Apollonius of Tyana in Cappadocia (first century A.D.), a Greek philosopher who belonged to the neo-Pythagorean school. Kierkegaard owned a copy in translation, namely, *Leben des Apollonius von Tyana, i Flavius Philostratus, des Aeltern, Werke* [The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, in the Works of Flavius Philostratus the Elder], trans. H. F. Jacobs, 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1828–1832; ASKB 1143). — **2,22ff. p. 258ff.**: *Leben des Apollonius von Tyana*, bk. 2, chap. 22, in *Flavius Philostratus, des Aeltern, Werke*, vol. 2 (1829), pp. 258–261. — **p. 523ff**: See *Leben des Apollonius von Tyana*, bk. 6, chap. 19, in *Flavius Philostratus, des Aeltern, Werke*, vol. 2, pp. 523–527.

4 **All poetry ... Aristotle**] Free citation from Aristotle's *Poetics*, 1447a 13–16: "Epic poetry and tragedy ... are ... modes of imitation." See *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, ed. Richard McKeon (New York: Modern Library, 2001), p. 1455.

4 **better, worse, than we are**] Free citation from Aristotle's *Poetics*, chap. 2 (1448a 1–5): "The objects the imitator represents are actions, with agents who are necessarily either good men or bad ... It follows, therefore, that the agents represented must be either above our own level of goodness, or beneath it, or just such as we are ..." See McKeon, *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, p. 1456.

9 **Hebr. 4**] See Heb 4:14–16: "Since, then, we have a great high priest who has passed through the heavens, Jesus, the Son of God, let us hold fast to our confession. For we do not have a high priest who is unable to sympathize with our weakness, but we have one who in every respect has been tested as we are, yet without sin. Let us therefore approach the throne of grace with boldness, so that we may receive mercy and find grace to help in time of need."

374*m* 1 **If all poetry ... the verse form arise**] See Aristotle's *Poetics*, 1447a 8–1447b 29. Because the different poetic genres are all "imitations" (→ 374,*4*) which are distinct from each other by means of content, object, and form of presentation (1447a 16–18), the verse form is simply one among many forms of presentation, even though the verse form is popularly thought to be the only poetic form (1447b 13–17).

The joy that every human being ... chap. 4] See Aristotle's *Poetics*, 1448b 5–12; *Aristoteles Dichtkunst*, pp. 6–7. 5

fear and compassion] → 374,*11*. 9

δι' ελεου ... Aristotle chap. 6] See Aristotle's *Poetics*, 1449b 27–28. 10 374

Dispute about this phrase ... Nicolai and Moses M.] Refers to G. E. Lessing (→ 373,*45*), *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* [Hamburg Dramaturgy] (1767–1768), which appears in *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's sämmtliche Schriften* [Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's Complete Works], 32 vols. (Berlin, 1825–1828; ASKB 1747–1762; abbreviated hereafter as *Lessing's sämmtliche Schriften*); vols. 24–25 (1827). In nos. 74–78 (vol. 25, pp. 154–189) Lessing discusses the meaning of Aristotle's words, employing a critique of different translations and exegeses. In short, Lessing understands tragedy to be the dramatic imitation of some action so that "by means of compassion [or pity] and fear it effects the catharsis of these and such passions" (p. 177). He argues that the catharsis of the viewer's compassion and fear must be understood as a transformation of these passions into virtuous skills, i.e., into a compassion and fear that are neither too great nor too little. — **Correspondence with Nicolai**: Lessing's correspondence with the German author and publisher Christoph Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811) is published as "Gotth. Ephr. Lessing's Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Nicolai. 1756–1777" [Gotth. Ephr. Lessing's Correspondence with Friedrich Nicolai: 1756–1777], in *Lessing's sämmtliche Schriften*, vol. 29 (1828), pp. 65–370. In a letter of August 31, 1756 (pp. 71–80), Nicolai argues against Aristotle that the goal of tragedy is not to cleanse the passions, but to excite them (p. 74). Lessing answers in a letter of April 2, 1757 (pp. 110–116) that φοβος (see following note) ought to be translated as *Furcht* (German, "fear"), never as *Schrecken* (German, "terror"). He explains that this fear has the same object as the compassion awakened by seeing another suffer misfortune, whereas terror is the fear that one will be visited by the same misfortune as the other (pp. 110–112). In a letter of May 14, 1757 (pp. 118–126), Nicolai admits that tragedy enlarges the ethical ability to feel compassion yet argues that this is not the goal of trag- 11

edy (pp. 119–121). Against Aristotle, he argues that, for example, the image of Troy burning will perhaps arouse compassion, but not the fear that one's own city will be burned (pp. 124–126). — **Moses M.**: Lessing's correspondence with the German author and philosopher Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786) is published as "Gotth. Ephr. Lessing's Briefwechsel mit Moses Mendelssohn. 1755–1780" [Gotth. Ephr. Lessing's Correspondence with Moses Mendelssohn: 1755–1780], in *Lessing's sämmtliche Schriften*, vol. 26 (1827), pp. 3–272. Lessing writes in a letter of November 13, 1756 (pp. 54–63) that the goal of tragedy cannot be to excite feelings in general, since this could count merely as a means; for the same reason, fear can serve only as a means—namely, to awaken compassion, since this is the only passion that tragedy ought to awaken in human beings. In a letter of November 28, 1756 (pp. 71–79), Lessing argues that compassion immediately makes a person better (p. 79). Mendelssohn objects in a letter from December, 1756 (pp. 80–90) that compassion only makes a person better if it is oriented toward a worthy object, which it can be only if guided by reason, which has no place in tragedy (p. 86). Lessing answers in a letter of December 18, 1756 (pp. 91–106), arguing that this is not decisive, that tragedy offers compassion a worthy object, because it merely trains the capability to feel compassion (p. 98). Hence, neither does he acknowledge Aristotle's claim (*Poetics*, chap. 13, 1452b 30–38) that compassion transforms itself to fright and terror when misfortune happens to the one who is extremely good (pp. 101–104). Mendelssohn remarks in a letter of January, 1757 (pp. 107–118), that compassion can degenerate into feelings of affection if not guided by the faculties of judgment (p. 113). Mendelssohn summarizes his discussion with Lessing on Aristotle's concepts of fear and compassion in a letter of April 29, 1757 (pp. 128–140).

374*m* 15 **Boethius . . . non liberant**] See Boethius's (480–524) *De consolatione philosophiae* [Consolation of Philosophy], bk. 1, first essay.

374 25 **Homer is . . . Aristotle chap. 4**] Although only the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are extant from the Greek poet Homer (ca. 750 B.C.), Aristotle also ascribes to him the comedy *Margites* (See *Poetics*, 1448b 29ff.), a satire that has subsequently been lost. Kierkegaard's citation in the text is from Aristotle's *Poetics*, 1448b 36–38.

Curtius translation . . . Sophocles 3] Kierkegaard's rendering of Curtius's comment no. 55 to chap. 4 of Aristotle's *Poetics* (1449a 15–17). See *Aristoteles Dichtkunst* (→ 371,*1*), p. 101. *1* 375

One can see that comedy . . . the purely personal] See Aristotle's *Poetics*, chap. 5 (1449b 6–9); *Aristoteles Dichtkunst* (→ 371,*1*), p. 10. *7* 375

Lamachus's decree . . . the newer comedy] Refers to the law against comedy handed down by the Greek politician Lamachus (d. 414 B.C.), which was in force between 439 and 437 B.C. It is doubtful the law actually existed. — **comoedia media**: "middle comedy," also called "transitional comedy," which began in 404 B.C. when the 30 Tyrants forbade representation of actual persons on the stage. Comedy thus became more about characteristic types and manners than particular persons. — **the newer comedy**: Beginning ca. 320 B.C. comedy developed in the direction of the abstract and universal; also interest turned from public life toward private life, especially the intrigues of love. Menander or Menandros (342–292 B.C.) was the creator of the newer comedy. In Kierkegaard's time, only Plautus and Terence were known; since then, one of Menander's plays, *The Misanthrope*, has surfaced. *13*

το γαϱ . . . Aristotle chap. 7] Citation from Aristotle's *Poetics*, chap. 7 (1450b 36–1451a 3). *22* 375

Why does tragedy require . . . less probable] Aristotle discusses the relation between poetry and history in chap. 9 of his *Poetics* (1451a 36–1452a 11). *4* 375*m*

Why does one so seldom see . . . Arcagambis] See Curtius's note 127 to Aristotle's *Poetics*, chap. 9 (1451b 21), in *Aristoteles Dichtkunst* (→ 371,*1*), p. 153: "Our poets give us no example of a purely poetically constructed tragedy, except what Riccoboni attempted with his tragic play *Arcagambis*." Curtius refers to the tragedy *Arcagambis* (1726) by the Italian poet Luigi Riccoboni (1676–1753). *15*

Lessing Emilie Galloti] Refers to G. E. Lessing's five-act tragedy *Emilia Galotti* (1772); see *Lessing's sämmtliche Schriften* (→ 374,*11*) vol. 21 (1827), pp. 185–304. The tragedy was performed fifty-four times at the Royal Theater from 1775 to 1837, the last times on December 10, 1836, and January 12, 1837. *18*

18 **its origin. his correspondence with Nicolai**] In a letter to Nicolai (→ 374,*11*) of January 21, 1758, Lessing discusses his idea for the tragedy (speaking of himself in the third person): "his current subject is a bourgeois Verginia who has been given the title *Emilia Galotti*. He has, namely, separated the history of the roman Verginia from everything that made her of interest to the Roman state. He thought that the fate of a daughter who had been killed by her father—for whom [his daughter's] virtue was more important than her life—might perhaps be tragic enough and more than able to shake one's entire soul, even if it occasioned no destruction of the entire state order" (*Lessing's sämmtliche Schriften*, vol. 29 [1828], p. 145).

376 1 **Curtius notes ... Aristotle's Ethics**] See Curtius's *Aristoteles Dichtkunst* (→ 371,*1*), pp. 134–135: "Aristotle denies that small things can be called beautiful; they are rather called fitting or agreeable. According to him there is no such thing as beautiful children." In a note to this passage, Curtius refers to Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 4, though he provides no exact quotation.

376*m* 1 **The passage ... μεγαλοπρεπεια**] i.e., Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 4 (1123b 6–8).

376 6 **In the 14th chapter ... gives examples**] See Aristotle's *Poetics*, chap. 14 (1453b 38–1454a 9). See also, Curtius's *Aristoteles Dichtkunst* (→ 371,*1*), p. 30.

15 **Aristotle's ... from ignorance and unknowingly**] In his *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 3 (1109b 30–1111b 3), Aristotle distinguishes between voluntary and involuntary action. He draws a further distinction between actions done in a condition of ignorance (e.g., in drunkenness) and those done in the ignorance of what is good. See also Not13:13, p. 385 in the present volume.

18 **the distinction ... intentional action**] In his *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 3 (1111b 4–1113a 14), Aristotle distinguishes between an act done freely, in the sense of not being forced, and an intentional act. See also Not13:14, pp. 385–386 in the present volume.

Leibnitz's Theodicee ... § 270] Kierkegaard refers 24 376
to the following passage: "The illustrious prelate of the Anglican Church who published recently a book on the origin of evil, concerning which M. Bayle made some observations in the second volume of his *Reply* speaks with much subtlety about the pains of the damned. This prelate's opinion is presented (according to the author of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres,* June 1703) as if he made 'of the damned just so many madmen who will feel their miseries acutely, but who will nevertheless congratulate themselves on their own behaviour, and who will rather choose to be, and to be that which they are, than not to be at all. They will love their state, unhappy as it will be, even as angry people, lovers, the ambitious, the envious take pleasure in the very things that only augment their misery. Furthermore the ungodly will have so accustomed their mind to wrong judgements that they will henceforth never make any other kind, and will perpetually pass from one error into another. They will not be able to refrain from desiring perpetually things whose enjoyment will be denied them, and, being deprived of which, they will fall into inconceivable despair, while experience can never make them wiser for the future. For by their own fault they will have altogether corrupted their understanding, and will have rendered it incapable of passing a sound judgement on any matter," *Theodicy*, trans. E. M. Huggard (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), pp. 292–293.

the English prelate ... must be King] Leibniz re- 26
fers to William King (1650–1729), Irish pastor and author, who was named archbishop in Dublin in 1702 and, in the same year, published *De Origine Mali* [On the Origin of Evil].

Notes for
NOTEBOOK 13

Critical Account of the Text of Notebook 13
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Explanatory Notes for Notebook 13
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NOTES FOR NOTEBOOK 13

Critical Account of the Text by
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Translated by
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Explanatory Notes by
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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript

Notebook 13 consists of a bound volume in quarto format, containing thirty-one leaves (sixty-two pages), and is written in both from the front of the book and from the back. In addition, one sheet of paper, also in quarto format, was inserted in the book between pages 8 and 9 from the front.[1] Kierkegaard labeled the book "Philosophica."[2] With the exception of a part of the upper portion of the first leaf from the back of the book, which has been clipped out, the manuscript has been preserved in its entirety and is in the Kierkegaard Archive (KA) of the Royal Library in Copenhagen. The text on the portion that was clipped out of the notebook has been transmitted indirectly by H. P. Barfod, in part via his edition of *Af Søren Kierkegaards Efterladte Papirer* (EP)[3] , and in part via a handwritten copy made by Barfod.[4]

II. Dating and Chronology

According to the label affixed to the front of the book, Kierkegaard began using *Notebook 13* on December 2, 1842. It cannot be determined with certainty when he began writing the "Problemata," the group of philosophical problems written from the back of the book, but it is most likely that he made use of the journal, writing in it

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1) This loose sheet, containing the entry now known as Not13:55, which treats Aristotle's categories, was inserted immediately after entry Not13:27, which also concerns Aristotle.

2) Kierkegaard used a similar title with respect to a group of loose papers from 1834 to 1837, which he labeled "Philosophica, Older"; see *B-cat.*, no. 434.

3) See *EP*I–II, p. 329, where the first portion of Not13:41 is reproduced.

4) This is the source for the first part of Not13:40.

both from the front of the book and from the back, until several months into 1843.

Not13:46 makes mention of "tabular" experiential data, "like meteorological observations." The work referred to is probably the table of meteorological observations that, according to an article that appeared in the March 10, 1843, issue of the newspaper *Berlingske Tidende*, had been published earlier that month. Thus Not13:46 must have been written after the beginning of March 1843.[1] Not13:53 refers to the journal entry JJ:84, which is probably from March 1843, and thus this entry cannot have been written earlier than that time.

The second date written on the label, "March 1846," refers to the circumstance that three years later, in March 1846, Kierkegaard returned to this notebook in connection with his reading of Spinoza's *Ethics*; on this occasion he added entries Not13:37–39 to the notebook.[2] Other than what has been mentioned above, the book contains no dates.

The loose sheet containing entry Not13:55 is dated "Feb. 47."

III. Contents

Notebook 13, labeled "Philosophica," adheres to a clear system: the entries written from the front of the book consist of excerpts and comments concerning individual philosophers; and in the entries written from the back of the book, bearing the title "Problemata," Kierkegaard formulates, and to some extent answers, a series of fundamental philosophical questions that arose from his reading. A number of these questions are dealt with further in Kierkegaard's published works, particularly in *Philosophical Fragments*. The notebook also has numerous points of contact with other notebooks and journals, especially *Journal JJ*; see below. In copying out excerpts Kierkegaard made much use of Tennemann's *Geschichte der Philosophie* [History of Philosophy] and to a lesser extent of Marbach's history of philosophy as well.[3] In addition to this, *Notebook 13* attests

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1) See the explanatory note for this entry, p. 759 in the present volume.

2) It is possible that it was also on this occasion that Kierkegaard added the marginal note on the "pathos-laden transition" in Spinoza, Not13:8.c.

3) See the explanatory notes on p. 741 in the present volume.

to Kierkegaard's thorough studies of Aristotle, Descartes, Leibniz, and Spinoza, in particular.

In "Philosophica," Kierkegaard concentrates on three subject areas: ontology, freedom (i.e., the question of movement), and the boundaries of ethics.

Not13:4 reproduces the series of Pythagorean categories as found in Tennemann, though Kierkegaard does not go further into the division between the limited and the limitless.[1] But in "Problemata," Kierkegaard raises the fundamental question "What is a category?" He deals quite briefly with Hegel and Aristotle, among others, but is then immediately led to the next question, which he answers in the negative: "So is being a category? By no means." He situates being in relation to quantity and quality and then refers to slips of paper (now lost) and marginal comments written in his copy of Spinoza (ASKB 788),[2] and cites the definition given by Plato in *Parmenides*: "Being is nothing other than a participation in an essence at the present time."

In "Problemata," Kierkegaard formulates the fundamental ideas concerning the possibility of a Christian ontology that is situated beyond immanent thought and is grounded not on knowledge but on faith. When he touches on problems such as positive and negative knowledge (Not13:45)[3] and the significance of experience for knowledge (Not13:46), he is furthering his project of a Christian ontology that will lead to "the absolute paradox" (Not13:53) that stands in opposition to philosophical knowledge. At the end of this entry Kierkegaard refers to his notes in *Journal JJ*: "pp. 18, 23–24, 28," i.e., JJ:58, 73, 74, 84.[4] Not13:53 also provided the heading for the third chapter of *Philosophical Fragments*, "The Absolute Paradox."

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1) But see the passage cited from Aristotle in Not13:10. The series of categories are repeated in the excerpt from Tennemann in *Notebook 14*; see p. 424 in the present volume.

2) See the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Philosophiske Smuler*, *SKS* K4, 187–188.

3) The same theme is treated in entry JJ:67, which stems from the same time; see *KJN*2, 149.

4) See *KJN* 2, 147, 150–151, 154; see also the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal JJ*," *KJN* 2, 456, 464.

The connection with *Philosophical Fragments* can also be seen in another important group of problems that Kierkegaard treats in *Notebook 13*, namely, those dealing with freedom and history. In the first entry of the "Problemata," Not13:40, Kierkegaard formulates the question that will later form the subtitle for the "Interlude" in *Philosophical Fragments*: "Is the past more necessary than the future?"[1] The entry continues:

> This could be of importance with re. to answering the question about the *possible*—How does Hegel answer it? In logic, with the doctrine of essence. We are instructed here that the possible is the actual and the actual is the possible. It's easy enough for a scholarly enterprise that arrives precisely at possibility as its conclusion. It is, though, a tautology.

Kierkegaard's critique of Hegel's philosophy of history also surfaces in Not13:34, which can be viewed in the context of an entry in *Journal JJ*, where Kierkegaard remarks that what concerned people in ancient Greek philosophy was "*the movement* by which the world came into being, the constitutive relationship of the elements to one another,"[2] whereas modern philosophy is interested only in logical movement. It is precisely the question of movement (gr. κίνησις) that particularly concerns Kierkegaard, because for him it designates the transition from possibility to actuality; see Not13:28. He first seeks the answer in Aristotle: "Hegel has never justified the category of transition. It could be important to compare it with the Aristotelian doctrine of κίνησις" (Not13:50).[3] Kierkegaard pays special attention to Tennemann's translation of Aristotle's κίνησις with the word "transformation," and in Not13:27 he cites three kinds of movement and the Eleatics' and Skeptics' denial of such movement.[4] It is at this point in the manuscript that Kierkegaard inserted the loose sheet of paper from February 1847, Not13:55, where the prob-

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1) See p. 403 in the present volume.

2) JJ:65, *KJN* 2, 148.

3) Kierkegaard touches on the same topic in *Repetition*; see *R*, 148–149; *SKS* 4, 25.

4) Cf. the beginning of *Repetition*; see *R*, 131; *SKS* 4, 9.

lem is developed further (see the illustration of Not13:55 in the present volume).

Not13:43 in "Problemata" poses the question: "*Is the Good good because God wills it to be, or is it good in and of itself?*... If the good is good in and of itself, how, then, is God free in relation to it; what about human freedom?" In an excerpt in Not13:23, Kierkegaard cites from Leibniz's *Theodicy*, summarizing Leibniz's polemic against Bayle but noting that the two philosophers agreed with respect to *liberum arbitrium* (free will).[1] The problem of the compatibility of God's foreknowledge with human freedom also arises and is illuminated with the help of the fifth book of Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae* [On the Consolation of Philosophy]. In this same entry Kierkegaard states, with respect to the relation between reason and faith, that "Faith is *above* reason." From this it follows, as Kierkegaard points out in a critique of Descartes in Not13:8, that "hum. freedom has predominance over thought." In this same entry Kierkegaard also points out the inadequacy of the proposition "cogito ergo sum" because in his view it rests on an incoherent proof. In an important marginal note to this entry he differentiates between two types of transition, the pathos-laden and the dialectical; these considerations are important to what Kierkegaard calls the theory of the leap.[2]

The third principal problem with which Kierkegaard concerns himself in "Philosophica" is ethics and the boundaries of ethics. In considering Aristotle's ethics he comes to the conclusion that Aristotle "merely ends in a realistic counterposition" vis-à-vis Socrates and Plato, who concerned themselves with the idealistic proposition that all sin is ignorance (Not13:15). At another point Kierkegaard writes that "Arist. has not understood the definition of spirit. He therefore still recommends external goods, if only as accompaniment, a drapery; but on this point [he] lacks the category needed

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1) Kierkegaard deals with this same problem in Not5:32; see p. 183 in the present volume.

2) During this same period Kierkegaard wrote the following note and glued it on a piece of cardboard with various other philosophical passages that served as "Philosophica": "Can the transition from a quantitative to a qualitative determination take place without a leap? And isn't the whole of life involved in this?" (*B-cat.* 463, printed as *Pap.* IV C 87).

to complete the movement" (Not13:20). With respect to the boundary between ethics and metaphysics, Kierkegaard notes in his Tennemann excerpt Not13:27 that the ambiguity with ἡ πρώτη φιλοσοφία ("first philosophy") is that "first it's ontology, then it's theology."[1]

In Not13:54 he discusses the "pagan doctrine" that knowledge is virtue, and opposes it to the Christian doctrine that virtue is knowledge. In Not13:19, in discussing the distinction between the moral and the intellectual virtues in the *Nichomachean Ethics*, Kierkegaard—with scarcely concealed reference to the Hegelians—expresses his appreciation for Aristotle as a systematic thinker. The political virtues constitute a third sort of virtue; in connection with this see Not13:21 and see the brief treatment of Aristotle's *Politics* in Not13:22.[2]

At the same time, however, it is of decisive importance for Kierkegaard that he insist that for Aristotle virtue is an aesthetic category. He tries to support this argument in Not13:16 by citing a passage that is supposed to prove the identity, for Aristotle, of virtue and beauty. Kierkegaard's criticism surfaces again in Not13:20, where he states, with respect to the definition of happiness as contemplation, that this activity "has entelechy in only an aesthetic sense."

In addition to the philosophers already mentioned, "Philosophica" briefly treats a number of other thinkers, including Sextus Empiricus (Not13:28),[3] the Stoics (Not13:29–30 and 32), the Skeptics

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1) In similar fashion Kierkegaard subsequently expresses the view—in the introduction to *The Concept of Anxiety*, where he treats the "first" and "second" ethics, i.e., human and Christian ethics—that Aristotle has confused the concepts. See *CA*, 16–17; *SKS* 4, 328.

2) These subdivisions of the virtues seem to have inspired Judge William's tripartition of the virtues into "personal, civic, and religious virtues," corresponding to three stages named in "The Equilibrium between the Aesthetic and the Ethical in the Composition of the Personality" in the second part of *Either/Or*; see *EO* 2, 262; *SKS* 3, 249.

3) Not13:28 on Sextus Empiricus's criteria for truth was used in *Philosophical Fragments*; see *PF*, 38; *SKS* 4, 244.

(Not13:31), the Academics (Not13:33), and the scholastics (Not13:36), all on the basis of Tennemann.[1]

More important is Kierkegaard's preoccupation with Spinoza, which finds expression in three entries, Not13:37–39 that, as noted, are from March 1846, that is, three years later than the other entries in the journal (see illustration of Not13:37–39 in the present volume). These entries should be considered in the context of the other entries Kierkegaard made at roughly the same time in *Journal JJ*, to which he refers in Not13:39.a: "*See Journal JJ*. pp. 274, 276, 278, 280," i.e., JJ:437.a, 439, 442, 443.[2] Thus in JJ:443 Kierkegaard notes that he has just read Spinoza's *Ethics*:

> I have now read through Spinoza's *Ethics*. Strange, though, to construct an ethics on what is such an indeterminate, though no doubt correct, principle as this: suum esse conservare, and to keep it so ambiguous that it can just as well mean bodily, egoistic love as the highest resignation in intellectual love.
>
> But surely it is a contradiction to discuss how or with what means one achieves perfection in triumphing over the affects, the way to this perfection (cf. p. 430, end), and then offer it as an immanence theory. For the way is indeed precisely the dialectic of teleology. I go this way and that, do this and that—*in order to*, but this in order to separates the way and the goal.[3]

The critique of Spinoza's rejection of teleology also emerges in Not13:39, where Kierkegaard emphasizes Spinoza's ambiguity or duplicity: "[H]e contemplates everything at rest (in order to eliminate teleology) and, at the same time, (by virtue of the definition

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1) A series of other philosophers, i.e., the pre-Socratics, appear in *Notebook 14*, which stems from the same period and contains an excerpt from vol. 1 of Tennemann's history. See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 14*," p. 768 in the present volume.

2) See *KJN* 2, 264–276 in the present volume; see also the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal JJ*" in *KJN* 2, 462.

3) In his own copy of Spinoza (ASKB 788), at the passage referred to (p. 430, the last page of the *Ethics*), Kierkegaard makes this additional remark: "But can there be any talk at all of a way in a theory of immanence—a way is teleology."

suum esse conservare) manages also to bring finitude into becoming. That is, the concept of movement is missing here." Kierkegaard believes that he has found an inconsistency here, because Spinoza does speak of transitions, i.e., of movement toward perfection: *transitio in perfectionem*. These movements are defined as *laetitia* ("happiness"), and *tristitia* ("sorrow"), which together with the sexual instinct, *cupiditas*, constitute the affects, which is another important theme for Kierkegaard.[1] Spinoza's treatment of miracles is also discussed briefly, and Kierkegaard refers to the treatment of this problem in *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*.[2] In addition, Not13:37–39 testify to Kierkegaard's reading not only of Spinoza's *Ethics*, but of his other writings as well.[3]

We can now summarize. *Notebook 13* was used regularly during a period beginning December 2, 1842, and extending into 1843, probably until the end of March or the early part of April. In March 1846 Kierkegaard made use of the book again, adding several entries stemming from his study of Spinoza; and in 1847, concerned with a number of thoughts dealing further with the question of movement, he wrote them on a sheet of paper that he then inserted in the notebook at the point where he had already written some entries concerning this same problem. The part of the notebook written from the front and titled "Philosophica" contains excerpts and comments on philosophical literature. In the part of the notebook written from the back, bearing the title "Problemata," Kierkegaard poses and discusses a series of philosophical problems.

During the same time that Kierkegaard used *Notebook 13*, he also made use of *Journal JJ*, but whereas *Journal JJ* contains a great variety of materials, *Notebook 13* consists exclusively of philosophical material, which explains the label he affixed to it. Kierkegaard's reading of Aristotle, Descartes, Leibniz, Spinoza, and especially of Tenne-

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1) The question of the affects is also treated in JJ:443 as well as in Not13:7, where Kierkegaard, in a discussion of Descartes's treatment of *admiratio* ("admiration," "wonder"), includes a reference to his discussion of the matter in JJ:511: "This is important for my theory of anxiety. cf JJ. p. 3 from the back."

2) See also JJ:192 in *KJN* 2, 186.

3) See the explanatory notes for *Notebook 13*, pp. 755–757 in the present volume.

mann's history of philosophy is visible both in *Journal JJ* and in *Notebook 13*, but whereas *Notebook 13* is chiefly characterized by summaries of Kierkegaard's reading in volumes 2, 3, and 5 of Tennemann's *Geschichte der Philosophie*, volumes 1 and 4 of that work are more likely to show up in the *Journal JJ* and in *Notebook 14*, both of which stem from the same period as *Notebook 13*.

Explanatory Notes

381 1 **Philosophica . . . March 1, 46**] This was written on the label on the front cover of the *Notebook 13*.

2 **Written from the back . . . Problemata**] See Not13:40–54, pp. 403–419 in the present volume.

4 **Dec. 2, 42**] In the early part of December 1842, Kierkegaard was in the process of editing the final proofs for *Either/Or*. See "Critical Account of the Text" of *Enten—Eller*, *SKS* K2–3, 57.

5 **March 1, 46**] After a break of three years, Kierkegaard began writing in this notebook again on March 13, 1846. See Not13:37–39 and the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 13*," pp. 731–732 in the present volume.

382 1 **M: Georgii Pauli Roetenbeccii . . . 3rd vol. p. 437**] Copied from W. G. Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* [History of Philosophy] 11 vols. (Leipzig, 1798–1819; ASKB 815–826), vol. 3 (1801), p. 437. In his bibliography of literature on Aristotle, Tennemann names the work of German philosopher Georg Paul Rötenbeck (1648–1710), *Principii Aristotelici "Impossibile est, idem simulesse et non esse" et Cartesiani "Cogito ergo sum" conformis collatio* [A Concordant Comparison of the Aristotelian Principle "It Is Impossible for the Same Thing Simultaneously to Be and Not to Be" with the Cartesian Principle "I Think, Therefore I Am"] (Altdorf, 1695). Kierkegaard abbreviates it as *Disputatio: De principio Aristotelico et Cartesiano* [Treatise on Aristotelian and Cartesian Principles]. — **Tennemann**: Wilhelm Gottlieb Tennemann (1761–1819), German philosopher, appointed extraordinary professor at Jena in 1798, professor at Marburg in 1804; well-known for his history of philosophy, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, which was a standard work at the time.

382 4 **Darvin Zoonomie übersetzt v. Brandis**] See E. Darwin, *Zoonomie oder Gesetze des organischen Lebens* [Zoonomia; or, The Laws of Organic Life], trans. J. D. Brandis, 3 vols. (Hanover, 1795–1799 [English edition, 1794]). — **Darvin**: Erasmus Darwin (1731–1802), English physician and natural scientist, grandfather of Charles Darwin. In 1794, he published his major work, *Zoonomia; or, The Laws of Organic Life*, in which he presents a theory of biological evolution. — **Brandis**: Joachim Dietrich Brandis (1762–1845), Danish physician, practiced in Copenhagen beginning in 1810 and was a well-known figure in the city's cultural circles.

περας . . . και ετερομηκες] See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 1, p. 115, where Tennemann explains that some of the Pythagoreans claimed there must be exactly ten categories, which they organized in a table with the ten perfect categories opposite their respective imperfect complementary concepts. Cf. Kierkegaard's own translation in Not14:1, p. 424 in the present volume. 7 382

Erdmann Geschichte . . . in several parts] See J. E. Erdmann, *Versuch einer wissenschaftliche Darstellung der Geschichte der neueren Philosophie* [Preliminary Scholarly Presentation of the History of Modern Philosophy], vol. 1, pt. 1 (Riga, 1834); vol. 1, pt. 2 (Leipzig, 1836); vol. 2, pt. 1 (Leipzig, 1840), and vol. 2, pt. 2 (Leipzig, 1842). Vol. 3, pt. 1 (Leipzig, 1848) and vol. 3, pt. 2 (Leipzig, 1853) were published later. — **Erdmann**: Johann Eduard Erdmann (1805–1892), German right Hegelian philosopher, professor of philosophy at Halle starting in 1839. 1 383

The second part . . . before Kant] See vol. 2, pt. 2, with the subtitle "Leibnitz und die Entwicklung des Idealismus vor Kant" [Leibniz and the Development of Idealism prior to Kant]. — **Leibnitz**: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), German philosopher, mathematician, and diplomat. — **Kant**: Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), German philosopher, professor at Königsberg from 1770 to 1796. 2

Gotscheden's translation of Leibnitz's Theodicee (1763 edition Hanover and Leipzig)] See *Herrn Gottfried Wilhelms, Freyherrn von Leibnitz, Theodicee, das ist, Versuch von der Güte Gottes, Freyheit des Menschen, und vom Ursprunge des Bösen* [Mr. Gottfried Wilhelm, Baron von Leibniz's "Theodicee," That Is, an Essay on the Goodness of God, the Liberty of 4 383

Man, and the Origin of Evil], ed. J. C. Gottsched, 5th ed. (Hanover, 1763 [1710]; ASKB 619; abbreviated hereafter as *Theodicee*). The original French version, *Essais de Théodicée sur la Bonté de Dieu, la Liberté de l'Homme et l'Origine du Mal* (Amsterdam, 1710), was translated into German by G. F. Richter in 1720, and the fourth edition of this work (1744) was revised by Gottsched. — **Theodicee**: a justification of divine foreknowledge, given the apparent evil in the world. — **Gotscheden's**: Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1766), philosopher and literary critic.

5 **p. 80 ... confiscated, he says**] A word-for-word translation into Danish of Leibniz's *Theodicee*, pp. 80–81. — **Malebranche's doctrine of passivity**: Nicole Malebranche (1638–1715), French philosopher and theologian, primary representative of the doctrine of passivity (occasionalism), i.e., the doctrine that neither physical nor spiritual entities have the power to cause movement; one body may appear to cause another body to move through physical contact, but God is the true cause, while the physical contact is a mere occasion for God to trigger a reaction, hence "occasionalism." — **Gabriel Fischer ... Vernünftige Gedanken ... alles wirke**: See the work of German philosopher Christian Gabriel Fischer (d. 1752): *Vernünftige Gedanken von der Natur, Was sie sey? Dass sie ohne Gott und seine allweise Beschränkung unmächtig sey? Und wie die einige untheilbare göttliche Kraft, in und durch die Mittelursachen, nach dem Maaß ihrer verliehenen Würkbarkeit oder Tüchtigkeit, hie in der Welt alles alleine thätig würke? Durch fleißiges Nachsinnen, überlegen und schließen gefasset Und zur Verherrlichung göttlicher Majestät, auch Förderung wichtiger Wahrheiten herausgegeben von einem Christlichen Gottes-Freunde* [Reasonable Thoughts Concerning Nature: What Is It? Would It Be Impotent without God and His Omniscient Limitations? And How Does the Single, Indivisible Divine Power, Working in and through Intermediate Causes, in Proportion to the Capacity for Activity or Competency It Has Been Granted, Solely Do All Things Here in the World, Understood by Means of Diligent Reflection, Thinking, and Inference for the Glorification of the Divine Majesty, as well as for the Promotion of Important Truths. Published by a Christian Friend of God]. Fischer's book, published anonymously in 1743, was disguised as a traditional Leibnizian-Wolffian theory of nature but was markedly Spinozistic.

In Gotscheden's translation ... cum fide] See Leibniz, *Theodicee*, p. 81. — **Jesuit Thomas Bonartes de concordia scientiæ cum fide**: See Thomas Bonartes, *Concordia scientiae cum fide* [On the Accordance of Natural Science and Faith] (Cologne, 1664). Thomas Bonartes was an English Jesuit monk from the 17th century, whose surname was Nortanus or Nordianus. 12

The Jesuit Friedrich Spee ... cautio criminalis] Latin, "prudence in criminal cases." See Leibniz *Theodicee*, pt. 1, § 97, p. 216. A reference to German Jesuit philosopher Friedrich von Spee (1591–1635), *Cautio criminalis in processibus adversus sagas* [Prudence in Criminal Cases Concerning Witch Trials] (Vienna, 1625). 15

a work ... Theodicee 1, § 96] Kierkegaard's Danish translation of Leibniz, *Theodicee*, pt. 1, § 96, pp. 215–216. Cf. Friedrich von Spee, *Güldenes Tugend-Buch; das ist, Werk und Übung der dreyen göttlichen Tugende, des Glaubens, Hoffnung und Liebe* [The Golden Book of Virtues: That Is, Work and Practice of Three Divine Virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity] (Cologne, 1649). 16

Franciscus v. Sales de amore Dei] Leibniz, *Theodicee*, pt. 1, § 95, p. 215: "Father Francis Xavier answered the Japanese that if their ancestors had used well their natural light God would have given them the grace necessary for salvation; and the Bishop of Geneva, Francis of Sales, gives full approval to this answer. (Book 4, *On the Love of God*, chap. 5)." English translation from *Theodicy*, E. M. Huggard (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952; hereafter cited as *Theodicy*), p. 176. A reference to François de Sales (1567–1622), French theologian, bishop of Geneva, sainted in 1665. See his *Tractatus amoris divini* [Treatise on the Love of God] (Cologne, 1657 [1620]). 20

Cardanus de utilitate ... de occultis Dei beneficiis] See Leibniz, *Theodicee*, pt. 3, § 260, p. 458, where Leibniz does not cite either author, but writes: "for a better judgment of our goods and our evils, it will be well to read Cardano, *De Utilitate ex Adversis Capienda*, and Novarini, *De Occultis Dei Beneficiis*" (*Theodicy*, p. 286). Girolamo Cardano (1501–1576), was an Italian physician, mathematician, and philosopher. See his *De utilitate ex adversis capienda libri IIII* [Four Books on the Benefit of Ad- 22

versity] (Basel, 1561). Luigi Novarini (Aloysius Novarinus) (1594–1650) was an Italian theologian. See his *Deliciae divini amoris, hoc est: De occultis Dei beneficijs* [The Splendor of Divine Love, That Is, On God's Hidden Gifts of Grace] (Paris, 1641).

27 **Theagenes and Chariclea . . . de origine mali (1763 edition)**] See "Anmerkungen über das Buch von dem Ursprung des Bösen, das kürzlich in Engelland herausgekommen" [Observations on the Book Concerning the Origin of Evil Published Recently in London], a reference to W. King, *De Origine Mali* [On the Origin of Evil] (London, 1702), in Leibniz, *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), pp. 731–790. Here Leibniz expresses reservations about people who turn down good positions or employment in order to demonstrate their mental superiority and indifference. "But I am sure at the least that an intelligent man would not do so. He would be presently aware that someone would nullify his sacrifice by pointing out to him that he had simply imitated Heliodorus, Bishop of Larissa. That man (so it is said) held his book on Theagenes and Chariclea dearer than his bishopric" (*Theodicee*, p. 783; *Theodicy*, p. 437). — **Theagenes . . . bishop of Larissa**: Heliodorus (3rd century) was neither bishop of the Greek city Larissa, nor a Christian, but he was author of the popular novel *A Story from Ethiopia* about the Ethiopian princess Chariclea and her lover Theagenes. — **King**: William King (1650–1729), Irish priest and author, made bishop of Dublin in 1702.

29 **he cites . . . Mannsfeld, Jena 1750**] See Leibniz, *Theodicee*, pp. 782–783. Gottsched refers to a work by the French theologian and philosopher Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721), *Traité de l'origine des romans* [Treatise on the Origin of Romances], published as an introduction to Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, *Zayde*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1670).

384 1 **Descartes . . . admiratio . . . see artic. LIII**] See Descartes, *Tractatus de passionibus animæ* [Treatise on the Passions of the Soul] (1650 [1649]), pt. 2, art. 53, under the rubric *Admiratio* (Latin, "admiration"): "Nec habet contrarium" (Latin, "it lacks its opposite"), in *Renati Des-Cartes opera philosophica* [The Philosophical Works of René Descartes], 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1677–1678 [vol. 1, 1678; vols. 2–4, 1677] [1644]; ASKB 473), vol. 4, p. 27.

3 **Likewise that cupiditas . . . see artic. LXXXVII**] See Descartes, *Tractatus de passionibus animæ*, pt. 2, art. 87, under the rubric *Cupiditatem esse Passionem quæ non habet contrarium* (Latin, "desire is a passion that has no opposite"), in *Renati Des-Cartes opera philosophica*, vol. 4, p. 39.

JJ. p. 3 from the back] Cf. journal entry JJ:511 in *KJN* 2, 286, where anxiety is described as a "sympathetic antipathy." 6

Descartes's philosophy] A reference to Descartes, *Meditationes de prima philosophia* [Meditations on First Philosophy] (1647 [1641]), in *Renati Des-Cartes opera philosophica*, vol. 1, pp. 1–46. 8 384

Descartes himself . . . predominance over thought] See fourth meditation, in *Renati Des-Cartes opera philosophica*, vol. 1, pp. 25–30; esp. pp. 27–28. 17

the elder Fiche . . . but I act ergo sum] One of the primary themes for the German philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814)—often referred to as "the older Fichte" in order to distinguish him from his son, German philosopher Immanuel Hermann Fichte (1796–1879)—is that consciousness produces itself through action, not thought. See, e.g., J. G. Fichte, "Einleitungsvorlesungen in die Wissenschaftslehre" [Introductory Lectures to the Science of Knowledge], in *Johann Gottlieb Fichte's sämmtliche Werke* [The Complete Works of Johann Gottlieb Fichte], ed. I. H. Fichte, 11 vols. (Berlin, 1834–1846; ASKB 489–499), vol. 1, p. 91. — **cogito ergo sum**: Latin, "I think, therefore I am." See chap. 4 in *Dissertatio de methodo* [Discourse on Method] (1644 [1637]) in *Renati Des-Cartes opera philosophica*, vol. 3, p. 21. 21

dialectical] Conceptually, i.e., a movement or transition that emerges from the inner dynamic of concepts. 3 384*m*

Plato let god unite the Idea . . . 1st vol. p. 78, note)] Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 382,*1*), vol. 1, p. 78 n. 2: "The propositions that the Idea determines the essence of a thing and that God united the Idea with matter . . . are Platonic." 12

systema assistentiæ] See occasionalism (→ 383,*5*). 16

Leibnitz . . . harmonia præstabilita] Preestablished harmony is a philosophical term coined by Leibniz (→ 383,*2*). See § 59 of the first part of *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), pp. 169–171. Leibniz uses the same expression in § 80 of *La monadologie* [Monadology] (1714). See *God. Guil. Leibnitii opera philosophica, quae exstant* [The Extant Philosophical Works of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz], ed. J. E. Erdmann, 2 vols. 18

(Berlin, 1839–1840; ASKB 620; abbreviated hereafter as *Opera philosophica*), vol. 2, p. 711.

20 **The Platonic doctrine . . . pp. 370, 371**] See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 2, pp. 370–371.

22 **Odd that he denied it . . . Tennemann 2nd part, p. 343**] See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 2, p. 343: "Plato occasionally touched on the question of the origin of language. In general, he thinks of language as a product of the understanding . . . and he cannot do otherwise because he views it chiefly only as a signifier of what has been thought. However, now the additional question arises: whether the cause of language is a divine intelligence or human reason. Despite the fact that these questions are only touched upon, one can easily see how he explains the matter to himself. The derivation of a language comes to him like a deus ex machina in a play, where the divinity appears when the tangle of complexity cannot be solved. Likewise with the human origin of language."

25 **Pathos-laden . . . freedom and predestination**] See the section titled "Conciliationem libertatis nostri arbitrii, et praedestinationis Dei, humanum captum superare" [Bringing Our Free Will into Harmony with God's Foreknowledge Transcends Human Comprehension] in Spinoza, *Cogitata metaphysica* [Metaphysical Thoughts] pt. 1, chap. 3, in *Benedicti de Spinoza opera philosophica omnia* [The Complete Philosophical Works of Benedict de Spinoza], ed. A. F. Gfrörer (Stuttgart, 1830; ASKB 788; abbreviated hereafter as *Spinoza opera*), p. 57. Here Spinoza writes that our free will is maintained with God's assistance, but no human being can or will do anything but what God has eternally determined. "How this is possible, while human freedom is preserved, transcends our understanding. We should not reject, though, what we clearly perceive to be true just because we lack certain knowledge of it." In Kierkegaard's own copy (now held at Royal Library in Copenhagen), this passage is underlined, and in the margin next to it, he has written, "a pathos-laden argument" [*En pathetisk Argumentation*]. Kierkegaard's Danish "pathetisk" could also be translated into English as "passionate," "pathos-filled," or "with pathos." — **Spinoza**: Baruch (or Benedict) de Spinoza (1632–1677), Dutch philosopher. He published only one work in his own name during his lifetime, namely, *Principia philosophiae Cartesianae more geometrico demonstrata* [Principles of Cartesian Philosophy, Demonstrated with the Geometric Method], to which he added *Cogitata metaphysica* as an appendix.

Descartes has understood . . . the same doubt] In 29 384
the preface to *Meditationes de prima philosophia* (→ 384,*8*), in *Renati Des-Cartes opera philosophica* (→ 384,*1*), vol. 1, pp. 1–4, Descartes explains that the philosophical problems he can solve with the help of methodological doubt pertain only to speculative truths and not to faith or practical life. In the first meditation, he again mentions that doubting is a matter of meditation and knowledge, not practice (pp. 5–8).

There are plenty of examples . . . in my copy] See 32
Dissertatio de methodo (→ 384,*21*), in *Renati Des-Cartes opera philosophica* (→ 384,*1*), vol. 3, pp. 1–48. Kierkegaard's own copy has not been located.

One indeed gets a rather different impression of 34
Descartes when reading him oneself] As opposed to the impression made when hearing about him in lectures, presumably among local Hegelians who had made his methodical doubt the starting point for modern philosophy.

one ought to believe . . . quod naturali lumini con- 36
trarium] Presumably a loose reference to Descartes, *Principia philosophiae* [Principles of Philosophy] (1644), pt. 1, § 28, in *Renati Des-Cartes opera philosophica* (→ 384,*1*), vol. 2, p. 8: "As noted above, one must remember that one may only rely on this natural light when God has not revealed anything that contradicts it."

το γαϱ κακον . . . 2nd bk. chap. 5] "As the 2 385
Pythagoreans conjectured, evil belongs to the class of the unlimited and good to that of the limited." See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 2, chap. 5 (1106b 29–30); chap. 6 in the English translation: *The Complete Works of Aristotle: the Revised Oxford Translation*, trans. and ed. Jonathan Barnes, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984). Abbreviated hereafter as *The Complete Works of Aristotle*. Also, "goodness is simple, evil manifold" (see Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, [1106b 35]). Kierkegaard cites word-for-word (though without accents) from *Aristoteles Graece* [Aristotle in Greek], ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols., in *Aristoteles edidit Academia Regia Borussica* [Aristotle: Published by the Prussian Royal Academy], or *Aristotelis Opera* [Works of

Aristotle], 2 vols. (Berlin, 1831; ASKB 1074–1075), vol. 2, p. 1106, col. 2.

385 7 **virtue is the middle path ... moral virtues**] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 2, chap. 6 (1106a 14–1107a 27), where he presents his claim that moral virtue is an intermediate between excess and defect. When Aristotle treats the intellectual virtues here, he names the middle path only retrospectively (1138b 18–34). Cf. also Not13:19, (→ 386,*27* and → 386,*29*).

385*m* 1 **his distinction ... ability (continuity)**] A reference to Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 3, chap. 8 (chap. 5 in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*) (1114b 26–1115a 3); see also *Die Ethik des Aristoteles* (→ 385,*15*), vol. 2, pp. 45–46.

12 **The moral virtues pertain ... bk. 6 chap. 1. cf. 10.8**] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 6, chap. 1 (1139a 4–5), where Aristotle differentiates between the rational and irrational parts of the soul, and bk. 10, chap. 8 (1178a 15–16), where Aristotle indicates that in many respects, moral virtues have to do with feelings, i.e., the irrational parts of the soul.

385 14 **Aristotle distinguishes between 3 sides of the soul**] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 2, chap. 4 (chap. 5 in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*) (1105b 20).

15 **Garve translates ... chap. 5. In Arist. chap. 4 in 2nd book**] A reference to "Die Sittenlehre des Aristoteles" [The Moral Doctrines of Aristotle] in *Die Ethik des Aristoteles* [Aristotle's Ethics], trans. and annotated C. Garve, 2 vols. (Breslau 1798–1801; ASKB 1082–1083), vol. 1, p. 587: "Leidenschaften, Vermögen und Fertigkeiten" (German, "passions, capacities, and abilities"). — **Garve**: Christian Garve (1742–1798), German philosopher, essayist, and translator. — **chap. 5. In Arist. chap. 4 in 2nd book**: Bk. 2, chap. 5 in Garve's German translation, *Die Ethik des Aristoteles*. Garve's chapters are divided differently than *Aristoteles Graece*, where this section is found in bk. 2, chap. 4. As indicated in the preceding explanatory note (→ 385,*14*), in the English translation, *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, this section is in bk. 2, chap. 5. It renders the three terms as "passions," "faculties," and "states."

385 20 **Something done in ignorance ... later awakens remorse**] See *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 3, chap. 2 (chap. 1 in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*) (1110b 18–19), in *Die Ethik des Aristoteles* (→ 385,*15*), vol. 2, p. 9. This passage was translated by Kierkegaard into Danish, presumably from Garve's German edition. The English translation (p. 1753) in *The Complete Works of Aristotle* reads: "Everything that is done by reason of ignorance is *non*-voluntary; it is only what produces pain and regret that is *in*voluntary."

important distinction is made ... (cf. 3 bk. chap. 4)] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 3 (e.g., 1111b 4–1113a 14), where Aristotle distinguishes between voluntary actions that are uncompelled and voluntary actions that are choices. Cf. Not12:16, p. 376 in the present volume. 30 385

In the 3rd bk. chap. 7 ... that all sin is ignorance] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 3, chap. 7 (chap. 5 in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*) (1113b 3–1114b 25); cf. also Plato's *Protagoras* (351e–357e). 4 386

cf. Arist. Ethics 7.3] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 7, chap. 3 (chaps. 2–3 in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*) (1145b 20–1147b 20), where Aristotle argues against Socrates' conception of virtue as knowledge. 1 386*m*

The identity of virtue and beauty ... τελος της αρετης] Kierkegaard leaves out accents, but otherwise quotes word-for-word from Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 3, chap. 10 (chap. 7 in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*) (1115b 11–13), in *Aristoteles Graece* (→ 385,*2*), vol. 2, p. 1115, col. 2, lines 11–13. — **The identity of virtue and beauty**: See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 1, chap. 9 (chap. 8 in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*) (1099a 27–28). In the English translation, "noble" is the rendering of the Greek term καλου (kalon), which Kierkegaard reads as "beauty." 10 386

Aristotle gives ... absolutely everlasting] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 6, chap. 3 (1139b 19–24); Kierkegaard presumably follows Garve's translation in *Die Ethik des Aristoteles* (→ 385,*15*) vol. 2, p. 272. 13 386

Aristotle differentiates ... cf. 6. 4] Greek (poieín), "create," "make"; Greek (práttein), "act." See Aris- 19 386

totle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 6, chap. 4 (1140a 1–23), esp. 1140a 10–17.

386 24 **we have plenty of systems**] Presumably a reference to Hegel and Hegel's followers.

25 **His Ethics . . . other investigations**] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bks. 1–3 (1094a 1–1119b 18).

27 **books 4–5 . . . ελευθηριοτης, justice**] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bks. 4–5 (1119b 22–1138b 14). — **ελευθηριοτης**: Greek (eleuthēriótēs), "generous"; see bk. 4, chap. 1 (1120a 4–23).

29 **6th book . . . νους, σοφια**] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 6 (1138b 18–1145a 11). — **τεχνη, επιστημη, σωφροσυνη, νους, σοφια**: Greek (téchnē), "art," cf., chap. 4 (1140a 1–23); (epistēmē), "knowledge," "science," cf. chap. 3 (1139b 14–36); (sōphrosýnē), "moderation," cf. chap. 5 (1140a 24–1140b 30); (nous), "reason," "judgment," cf. chap. 12 (chap. 11 in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*) (1143a 25–1143b 17); and (sophía), "wisdom," cf. chap. 7 (1141a 9–1141b 8).

31 **μεσοτης**] → 385,7.

31 **7th bk. on abstinence etc., pleasure**] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 7 (1145a 15–1154b 34).

387 1 **8th book on friendship**] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 8 (1154b 3–1163b 28).

1 **9th book on friendship**] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 9 (1163b 28–1172a 15).

2 **10th book on pleasures**] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 10 (1172a 19–1181b 23).

387 3 **love of self . . . 9.8**] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 9 chap. 8 (1168a 28–1169b 2).

4 **10.7. "every hum. being's . . . intellectual part."**] See Aristotle *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 10, chap. 7 (chap. 8 in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*) (1178a 5–8); Kierkegaard presumably translates *Aristoteles Graece* (→ 385,2), vol. 2, p. 1178, col. 1, lines 5–8.

5 **He thus recommends . . . highest happiness**] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 10, chap. 7 (chap 8 in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*) (1178a 5–8).

6 **But happiness . . . (cf. 10.6)**] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 10, chap. 6 (1176a 30–1177a 11).

8 **10.8 on the happiness of the gods . . . eternal communication**] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 10, chap. 8 (1178a 9–1178b 32), where Aristotle writes that for the gods, happiness does not result from virtuous actions: "Now if you take away from a living being action, and still more production, what is left but contemplation? Therefore the activity of God, which surpasses all others in blessedness, must be contemplative; and of human activities, therefore, that which is most akin to this must be most of the nature of happiness" (*The Complete Works of Aristotle*, 1178b 20–23).

In the last chapter . . . ethics to politics] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 10, chap. 10 (chap. 9 in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*) (1179a 33–1181 b23), where political science is described as a discipline concerned with making laws that will contribute to the cultivation of virtues, and where he announces the discussion found in his *Politics* about the best forms of government. 17 387

he also begins . . . part of politics] See *Magna Moralia*, bk. 1, chap. 1 (1181a 26); — **ηθικα μεγαλα** Greek title of *Magna Moralia*, a philosophical work that is presumably authored by of one of Aristotle's students, but is often included in Aristotle's collected works; it follows directly after *Nicomachean Ethics* in *Aristoteles Graece*. 18

lower pleasures . . . (cf. 10.8)] See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 10, chap. 8 (chap. 7 in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*) (1177b 16–26). 21

Aristotle's Politics] Kierkegaard's private library included Aristotle's *Politics* in Greek as well as in German translation: *Aristoteles Graece* (→ 385,2) vol. 2, pp. 1252–1342, and *Die Politik des Aristoteles* [Aristotle's Politics], trans. C. Garve, ed. G. G. Fülleborn, 2 vols. (Breslau 1799–1802; ASKB 1088–1089). The chapter divisions in *Die Politik des Aristoteles*, which Kierkegaard seems to have used, differ from those in *Aristoteles Graece*. The notes to this entry refer to *Die Politik des Aristoteles.* 24 387

In bk. 1 chap. 8 . . . remarks about marriage] See Aristotle's *Politics* in *Die Politik des Aristoteles*, bk. 1, chap. 8, vol. 1, pp. 58–68; pp. 58–59 (1259a 36–1259b 17). Here Aristotle divides the domestic arrangements into three different categories, namely the relationship between master and servant, husband and wife, and parents and children. 25

In the 1st book . . . origin of the state] See *Die Politik des Aristoteles* (→ 387,24), bk. 1, chaps. 1–2, vol. 1, pp. 1–13, (1252a 1–1253a 38). 28

domestic life . . . children] See *Die Politik des Aristoteles* (→ 387,24), bk. 1, chaps. 3–4 and chap. 8, pp. 29

13–32 and 58–68 (1253b 1–1255b 40) and (1259a 36–1260b 24).

32 **2nd book contains ... ideal plans for a state**] See *Die Politik des Aristoteles* (→ 387,24), bk. 2, chaps. 1–6, vol. 1, pp. 68–135, (1260b 27–1269a 28). Aristotle gives an account of the ideal states according to Plato, Phaleas, and Hippodamus, respectively.

33 **historical states**] See *Die Politik des Aristoteles* (→ 387,24), bk. 2, chaps. 7–10, vol. 1, pp. 135–176 (1269a 29–1274b 28). Aristotle gives an account of the governments of Sparta, Crete, Carthage, and Athens.

388 1 **3rd book ... a state**] See *Die Politik des Aristoteles* (→ 387,24), bk. 3, chap. 1, vol. 1, pp. 177–187 (1274b 32–1276a 17).

2 **to what degree a state ... government changes**] See *Die Politik des Aristoteles* (→ 387,24), bk. 3, chap. 2, vol. 1, pp. 187–191 (1276a 18–1276b 15).

388 5 **Leibnitz's Theodicee ... Hanover und Leipzig**] See Leibniz (→ 383,2), *Theodicee* (→ 383,4). It is apparent from this and other excerpts that Kierkegaard also used a French edition of the same work, namely, *Essais de Théodicée sur la Bonté de Dieu, la Liberté de l'Homme et l'Origine du Mal*; see *Opera philosophica* (→ 384*m*,19), vol. 2, pp. 468–629.

8 **Introduction ... reason and faith**] See "Abhandlung von der Uebereinstimmung des Glaubens mit der Vernunft" [Treatise on the Conformity of Faith with Reason], §§ 1–87, in *Theodicee*, pp. 1–96; and "Discours de la Conformité de la Foi avec la Raison," §§ 1–87, in *Opera philosophica*, vol. 2, pp. 479–503.

10 **p. 52. ... infers from effects**] See *Theodicee* (→ 383,4), p. 52 (Introduction, § 44): "For, if we were capable of understanding the universal harmony [→ 384*m*,18], we should see that what we are tempted to find fault with is connected with the plan most worthy of being chosen; in a word, we *should see*, and should not *believe* only, that what God has done is the best. I call 'seeing' here what one knows *a priori* by the causes; and 'believing' what one only judges by the effects, even though the one be as certainly known as the other" (*Theodicy*, pp. 98–99).

13 **What I usually formulate ... philosophy in mediation**] See Not7:22, p. 207 in the present volume. — **mediation**: Hegel's term for the reconciliation of complementary concepts in a higher unity, where the concepts remain as sublated moments.

conveyed by Leib. ... inference from causes] See 14 *Opera philosophica* (→ 384*m*,18), vol. 2, p. 486, col. 2 (Introduction, § 23): "The distinction which is generally drawn between that which is *above* reason and that which is *against* reason is tolerably in accord with the distinction which has just been made between the two kinds of necessity. For what is contrary to reason is contrary to the absolutely certain and inevitable truths; and what is above reason is in opposition only to what one is wont to experience or to understand. That is why I am surprised that there are people of intelligence who dispute this distinction, and that M. Bayle should be of this number. The distinction is assuredly very well founded. A truth is above reason when our mind (or even every created mind) cannot comprehend it. Such is, as it seems to me, the Holy Trinity; such are the miracles reserved for God alone, as for instance Creation; such is the choice of the order of the universe, which depends upon universal harmony, and upon the clear knowledge of an infinity of things at once. But a truth can never be contrary to reason, and once a dogma has been disputed and refuted by reason, instead of its being incomprehensible, one may say that nothing is easier to understand, nor more obvious, than its absurdity. For I observed at the beginning that by reason here I do not mean the opinions and discourses of men, nor even the habit they have formed of judging things according to the usual course of Nature, but rather the inviolable linking together of truths" (*Theodicy*, p. 88).

The entire dispute betw. Leibnitz and Bayle] Leib- 29 niz's *Theodicee* was written as a response to Bayle during a debate about the origin of sin and evil. — **Bayle**: Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), French philosopher and critic, advocate of intellectual and religious freedom; his major work, *Dictionnaire historique et critique* [Historical and Critical Dictionary], was originally published in 1695–1697, and later published in several successively enlarged editions until 1740. Kierkegaard owned a German translation of the final edition, *Herrn Peter Baylens Historisches und Kritisches Wörterbuch* [Mr. Peter Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary], trans. J. C. Gottsched, 4 vols. (Leipzig 1741–1744; ASKB 1961–1964).

32 **I don't think Hegel rlly understood what it was about**] In his history of philosophy, Hegel claims that it is possible to honor the demand made of philosophy to explain the apparent contradiction between God as a good and omnipotent creator on the one hand, and, on the other hand, evil in the world. Hegel criticizes Leibniz for seeking refuge in God as the explanation for the apparently inexplicable. Cf. *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie* [Lectures on the History of Philosophy], 3 vols. (in *Hegel's Werke*, vols. 13–15), ed. K. L. Michelet (Berlin 1833–1836; ASKB 557–559), vol. 3 (1832) (*Jub*. vol. 19), pp. 452–453, 464–466, 472–473. — **Hegel**: Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), extraordinary professor from 1801 to 1806 at Jena, professor at Heidelberg from 1816 to 1818, and professor in Berlin from 1818 until his death. Kierkegaard owned several individual volumes of *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe* [The Complete Works of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel], 18 vols. (Berlin 1832–1845; abbreviated hereafter as *Hegel's Werke*).

34 **First Part on evil, God's goodness, etc.**] See pt. 1 (§§ 1–106), in *Theodicee*, pp. 97–228, and *Opera philosophica*, vol. 2, pp. 504–531. — **on evil, God's goodness etc.**: alludes to the title of the work (→ 383,*4* and → 388,*5*).

35 **To illustrate . . . cf § 30**] See pt. 1, § 30, in *Opera philosophica* (→ 384*m*,*18*), vol. 2, p. 512. Leibniz explains here that just as a current is the cause of a ship's motion but not of its slowness (i.e., inertia), so also is God the cause of the perfection in nature, but not the cause of sin. — **the well-known law of nature l'inertie naturelle des corps**: i.e., the law of inertia (Newton's first law) according to which a body will stay at rest or continue at a constant velocity unless acted upon by an external force. See *Opera philosophica* (→ 384*m*,*18*), vol. 2, p. 512, where Leibniz refers to Kepler and Descartes.

389 1 **Leibnitz thinks . . . see § 20**] See pt. 1, § 20, in *Opera philosophica* (→ 384*m*,*18*), vol. 2, pp. 509–510. On p. 510, col. 1, Leibniz writes: "The ancients attributed the cause of evil to *matter*, which they believed uncreated and independent of God: but we, who derive all being from God, where shall we find the source of evil? The answer is, that it must be sought in the ideal nature of the creature, insofar as this nature is contained in the eternal verities which are in the understanding of God, independently of his will" (*Theodicy*, p. 135).

§ 31 . . . les raisons ideales qui la bornent] See pt. 1, § 31, in *Opera philosophica* (→ 384*m*,*18*), vol. 2, pp. 512–513, where Leibniz writes that creation is perfect. 3

The idea of . . . consciousness (§ 7)] See pt. 1, § 7, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), pp. 105–107. On p. 106, Leibniz explains how God is the cause of the existence of the world: "Moreover, this cause must be intelligent: for this existing world being contingent and an infinity of other worlds being equally possible, and holding, so to say, equal claim to existence with it, the cause of the world must needs have had regard or reference to all these possible worlds in order to fix upon one of them. This regard or relation of an existent substance to simple possibilities can be nothing other than the *understanding* which has the ideas of them, while to fix upon one of them can be nothing other than the act of the *will* which chooses" (*Theodicy*, p. 127). 6

With this, he also explains . . . complete possible world] See pt. 1, § 42, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), pp. 150–151. 9

scientia simplicis intelligentiæ . . . scientia media] See pt. 1, § 40, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), pp. 148–149. Leibniz refers here to some of the distinctions made by Spanish theologian Luis de Molina in his discussion of the relationship to God's grace and foreknowledge on the one hand, and human freedom on the other: "The knowledge of possibilities is what is called the 'knowledge of mere intelligence'; that of events occurring actually in the progress of the universe is called the 'knowledge of intuition.' And as there is a kind of mean between the merely possible and the pure and absolute event, to wit, the conditional event, it can be said also, according to Molina, that there is a mediate knowledge between that of intuition and that of intelligence" (*Theodicy*, p. 145). 11

With the doctrine . . . indifferentia æquiliberii] See pt. 1, § 44–46 in *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), pp. 153ff., where Leibniz writes that one of the two great principles of argument is the principle of determinate reason. In § 46, he then writes: "There is therefore a freedom of contingency or, in a way, of indifference, provided that by 'indifference' is understood that nothing necessitates us to one course or the other; but there is never any *indifference of equipoise*, 13

that is, where all is completely even on both sides, without any inclination towards either" (*Theodicy*, pp. 148–149). See also *Theodicee*, pt. 1, § 35, p. 144 (*Theodicy*, p. 143).

15 **He returns to Aristotle. (cf. § 34.)**] See pt. 1, § 34, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), pp. 143–144. "Aristotle has already observed that there are two elements of freedom, to wit, spontaneity and choice, and therein lies our mastery over our actions" (*Theodicy*, p. 143).

15 **I have underscored this . . . passages are marked**] See Aristotle *Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. 3, chaps. 4–5 (chaps. 2–3 in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*), (1111b 4–1113a 14), → 385,*30*. It not known whether Kierkegaard's copy of *Aristoteles Graece* (→ 385,*2*) or his copy of *Die Ethik des Aristoteles* (→ 385,*15*) has survived, and thus the "necessary passages" remain unidentified.

18 **Leibnitz is no doubt right . . . includes hum. beings**] See pt. 1, § 118, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), pp. 243–245.

27 **§ 119 in Theodicy**] See pt. 2, § 119, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), pp. 245–251, where Leibniz first recites Bayle's fourth philosophical maxim (which asserts that the benefits God gives human beings serve to make them happy, and that God does not permit that these benefits should make them unhappy or destroy them). Leibniz then refutes this position by arguing that the condition for the possibility of happiness that God has granted human beings (reason) remains a good gift even if human beings misuse it, bringing about their own destruction. On p. 249, Leibniz writes "... God, having found among the possible beings some rational creatures who misuse their reason, gave existence to those who are included in the best possible plan of the universe" (*Theodicy*, p. 190).

28 **all the responses Leibniz . . . § 121, 122 and ff.**] See pt. 2, §§ 121–134, in *Theodicee*, pp. 256–287.

29 **he tries to avoid the difficulty . . . entire universe**] See e.g., pt. 2, § 122, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), p. 261: "God has care for men, he loves the human race, he wishes it well, nothing so true. Yet he allows men to fall, he often allows them to perish . . . God takes care of the universe, he neglects nothing, he chooses what is best on the whole" (*Theodicy*, p. 196).

390 1 **Epicurus had . . . Theodicee §. 169**] See pt. 2, § 169, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), pp. 333–335. On p. 333, Leibniz writes that Epicurus denied that statements about the future were either true or false in order to save human freedom from fatalism. Chrysippus, on the other hand, tried "to prove the great principle of contradictories" (see *Theodicy*, p. 230). — **Epicurus**: Epicurus (341–270 B.C.), Greek philosopher who founded the philosophical school "The Garden" in Athens. — **Chrysippus**: Chrysippus of Soli (ca. 281–ca. 208 B.C.), Greek philosopher, early logician.

The dispute betw. Diodorus . . . was possible § 170] See pt. 2, § 170, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), pp. 336–341, esp. p. 336, where Leibniz refers to the article on "Chrysippus" in Bayle's *Dictionaire historique et critique* (→ 388,*29*). He summarizes Cicero's account of the ancient Greek conception of fatalism and possibility in relation to statements about future events. According to Cicero, both Chrysippus and Greek philosopher Diodorus Chronos (d. ca. 284 B.C.) claimed that true statements about past events are necessary truths, because the past is unchangeable. Diodorus, however, also asserted that only events that have happened or will in fact happen can be considered possible, i.e., that the future is governed just as much by necessity as the past is. Against Diodorus, Chrysippus claimed that there are possible future events that will never be realized. 3

On the relationship . . . § 182. Plato's Euthyphro] See pt. 2, § 182, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), pp. 355–357, where Leibniz refers to Bayle approvingly: "M. Bayle has inserted a special chapter in his Continuation of *Divers Thoughts on the Comet* (it is chapter 152) where he shows 'that the Christian Doctors teach that there are things which are just antecedently to God's decrees' " (*Theodicy*, p. 240). He then refers to Plato's *Euthyphro* 10a–d, where Socrates asserts that the pious is not pious because it pleases the gods, but rather it pleases the gods because it is pious. — **that Chr. doctrine asserts that something is right before God determines it to be**: See pt. 2, § 182, in *Theodicee*, p. 355. 7

The analogy that Leibnitz . . . (cf. § 181)] See pt. 2, § 181, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), pp. 354–355, where Leibniz claims that virtue belongs to human beings by nature, even before God created them. As proof, he uses the analogy of harmony and music that Kierkegaard refers to. 13

απατωρ, αμετωρ, αγενεαλογητος] Cf. Heb 7:3 (e.g., *Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum Graece,* 24

ed. G. C. Knapp (Halle, 1829; ASKB 14–15), where Melchizedek is spoken of as a king of righteousness and, as such, "without father, mother, or genealogy."

29 **Leibniz ... tota sunt similia**] See pt. 2, § 212, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,4), pp. 396–397. — **A Mr. Sturm ... (Euclides catholicus)**: Refers to a work by German mathematician and physicist Johannes Christoph Sturm (1635–1703), *Universalia Euclidea* [The Complete Euclid] (The Hague, 1661).

36 **This is the difference ... de cette partie (§ 213)**] Kierkegaard quotes word-for-word, but without accents, from pt. 2, § 213, in *Opera philosophica* (→ 384m,18), vol. 2, p. 570, col. 1.

391 4 **The English prelate ... a comic touch**] See pt. 3, § 270, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,4), pp. 469–470. Cf. the explanatory note to Not12:17, p. 724 in the present volume. — **King**: William King (→ 383,27).

6 **Also Fecht's writing ... worth reading**] See pt. 3, § 271, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,4), p. 470. — **Fecht's writing on the condition of the damned**: Refers to a work by German theologian Johannes Fecht (1636–1716), *De statu damnatorum* [The Condition of the Damned], (Rostock, 1708).

10 **A completely indifferent will ... several places**] See e.g., pt. 3, § 320, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,4), pp. 520–522.

12 **Bayle also concedes it (against Epicurus)**] See pt. 3, §§ 322–324, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,4), pp. 524–530, esp. § 324, pp. 527–528: "M. Bayle himself remarks aptly that freedom of indifference (such as must be admitted) does not exclude inclinations and does not demand equipoise" (*Theodicy*, p. 322).

13 **What is the relationship ... § 311**] See pt. 3, § 311, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,4), p. 511, where Leibniz explains that when the understanding concludes that something is true, the will is forced to recognize its truth; when the understanding concludes that something is good, however, the will is not forced to will the good: "As for the parallel between the relation of the understanding to the true and that of the will to the good, one must know that a clear and distinct perception of a truth contains within it actually the affirmation of this truth: thus the understanding is necessitated in that direction. But whatever perception one may have of the good, the effort to act in accordance with the judgement, which in my opinion forms the essence of the will, is distinct from it. Thus, since there is need of time to raise this effort to its climax, it may be suspended, and even changed, by a new perception or inclination which passes athwart it, which diverts the mind from it, and which even causes it sometimes to make a contrary judgement. Hence it comes that our soul has so many means of resisting the truth which it knows, and that the passage from mind to heart is so long. Especially is this so when the understanding to a great extent proceeds only by faint *thoughts*, which have only slight power to affect, as I have explained elsewhere. Thus the connexion between judgement and will is not so necessary as one might think" (*Theodicy*, p. 314).

On God's cooperation with the creature, begins § 377] See pt. 3, §§ 377–404, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,4), pp. 594–623; see esp. § 377, p. 594, where Leibniz writes: "There remains only the difficulty arising from God's co-operation with the actions of the creature, which seems to concern more closely both his goodness, in relation to our evil actions, and our freedom, in relation to good actions as well as to others. M. Bayle has brought out this also with his usual acuteness. I will endeavour to throw light upon the difficulties he puts forward, and then I shall be in a position to conclude this work" (*Theodicy*, pp. 351–352). 17

velleité is the expression ... § 401] See pt. 3, § 401, in *Opera philosophica* (→ 384m,18), vol. 2, p. 619: "Does our authority over our ideas more often fall short than our authority over our volitions? If we were to count up carefully, we should find in the course of our life more velleities than volitions, that is, more evidences of the servitude of our will than of its dominion" (*Theodicy*, pp. 363–364). 18

§ 406 ... to refute Boethius] See pt. 3, §§ 406–412, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,4), pp. 624–633. Leibniz refers to debate about the arguments of Italian Renaissance philosopher Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457), who wrote *De libero arbitrio* [Freedom of the Will], and Roman philosopher Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius (480–524). Boethius sought to find harmony between divine foreknowledge and human freedom in his *De consolatione philosophiae* [The Consolation of Philosophy]. See *Theodicy*, pp. 365–369. 20

He shows that knowledge ... foreknowledge doesn't either] See pt. 3, § 407, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,4), p. 625; *Theodicy*, p. 366. 22

He clarifies ... ends it with an admonition] See pt. 3, §§ 409–411, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,4), pp. 628–632; 24

Theodicy, pp. 367–370. — **ends it with an admonition**: See Valla's concluding remark, § 412, p. 633: "Let us believe in Jesus Christ, he is the virtue and the wisdom of God: he teaches us that God willeth the salvation of all, that he willeth not the death of the sinner. Let us therefore put our trust in the divine mercy, and let us not by our vanity and our malice disqualify ourselves to receive it" (*Theodicy*, p. 369).

30 **theory of infinite possible worlds**] See pt. 3, §§ 413–417, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), pp. 634–641; *Theodicy*, pp. 369–376. See also → 389,*6*.

388*m* 1 **In Bayle's Dictionaire ... Bayle's polemic**] See P. Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique* [Historical and Critical Dictionary] (→ 388,*29*), which Kierkegaard owned in German translation, *Herrn Peter Baylens Historisches und Kritisches Wörterbuch* [Mr. Peter Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary], (→ 388,*29*). References will be to this edition. — **Manicheans**: Followers of Manicheanism, founded by Mani (ca. 216–276), a Persian spiritual leader. See the section called "Manichäer" [Manicheans], where, in the course of his discussion of Leibniz's *Theodicy*, Bayle lists a series of arguments for Manichean dualism, i.e., the notion that the world is a result of the battle between good and evil (vol. 3 [1743], pp. 304–311). — **Rorarius**: Girolamo Rorario, Italian jurist from the 16th century; see the section titled "Rorarius," where Bayle criticizes Leibniz's theory of monads (vol. 4 [1744], pp. 78–94). — **Xenophanes**: Greek philosopher (ca. 500 B.C.); see the section called "Xenophanes," where Bayle debates whether there is a greater amount of good or evil in the world, though he does not name Leibniz (vol. 4, pp. 523–534).

389*m* 1 **In the end, though ... § 134**] See pt. 2, § 134, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), pp. 283–287. Leibniz writes on pp. 284–285 that God offers his grace to all human beings unconditionally even though he knows that some will reject it, thereby bringing greater guilt upon themselves. He continues: "the grace that does not serve the one may serve the other, and indeed always serves the totality of God's plan, which is the best possible in conception. Shall God not give the rain, because there are low-lying places which will be thereby incommoded? Shall the sun not shine as much as it should for the world in general, because there are places which will be too much dried up in consequence?" (*Theodicy*, p. 206).

la raison du mellieur] French, "the reason for the best." Refers to Leibniz's claim that God's choice of this particular world is the best among all possible worlds. Leibniz formulates it in several different ways: God makes his choice according to *le principe du meilleur* (French, "the principle of the best") (see the preface to *Opera philosophica* (→ 384*m*,*18*), vol. 2, p. 477, col. 1); *la règle du meilleur* (French, "the rule of the best") (pt. 1, § 25, in *Opera philosophica*, vol. 2, p. 511, col. 1); *la loi du meilleur* (French, "the law of the best") (see pt. 2, § 203, in *Opera philosophica*, vol. 2, p. 566, col. 2); *la raison qui le [Dieu] porte au meilleur* (French, "the reason God bears the best") (see pt. 3, § 319, in *Opera philosophica*, vol. 2, p. 597, col. 2). 2 390*m*

indifferent freedom is nonsense] Refers to the scholastic concept of *liberum arbitrium* (Latin, "arbitrary freedom" or "free choice"), which signifies the human capacity to choose freely between one or more options; see → 391,*10*. 3

Leibnitz's remarks ... divisiblity, resistance] Kierkegaard refers to the section titled "Anmerkungen über das Buch von dem Ursprung des Bösen, das kürzlich in Engelland herausgekommen" (→ 383,*27*), § 4, p. 737, which is about King's work. 32 391

The distinction Bonaventure makes ... p. 532] See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 382,*1*), vol. 8, pt. 2 (1811), p. 532. Tennemann does not refer to Bonaventure in this section, but to German scholastic philosopher and natural scientist Albert von Bollstädt (1193–1280), also known as Albert the Great or Albertus Magnus. — **Bonaventure**: Giovanni di Fidanza (1221–1274), known as Bonaventure, Italian theologian and philosopher. See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 8, pt. 2 (1811), pp. 533–550. "There are six steps on the way to God, the sixth of which is synderesis or conscience, which opposes vice" (p. 546). Moreover, "at the last step, God finally is considered to be the greatest good, the concept of which is used to derive the concept of trinity" (p. 550). — **συντηρησις**: Greek (syntērēsis), "synderesis" or "preservation." For some Church Fathers synderesis indicates the ability to distinguish between good and evil after the Fall. Hieronymus speaks of synderesis as the "ember of conscience" that was not extinguished by the Fall. For Bonaventure and Anselm, it is a 2 392

natural moral capacity that leads human beings to good actions and causes remorse for evil actions.

392 7 **Abelard has written ... p. 186**] See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 8, pt. 1 (1810), p. 186. — **Abelard ... de prædicamentis**: French philosopher and theologian Pierre Abélard (1079–1142), did not write a work titled *De prædicamentis* [On Categories]. Tennemann, who does not give the Latin title of Abélard's work, is probably referring to Abélard's *Glossae in categorias* [Commentary on the Categories].

392*m* 1 **Leibnitz ... Wagner ... Erdmann's edition**] See "Schreiben an Gabriel Wagner. Vom Nutzen der Vernunftkunst oder Logik. 1696" [Writings of Gabriel Wagner: On the Values of the Art of Reason, or Logic], in *Opera philosophica* (→ 384*m*,*18*), vol. 1, pp. 418–426, esp. p. 420. Leibniz here recalls his youthful enthusiasm for ordering the world under categories. —**Wagner**: Gabriel Wagner (d. 1708), German philosopher. — **Erdmann**'s: J. E. Erdmann, → 383,*1*.

392 10 **Tennemann Geschichte der Philosophie 3rd vol.**] See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 3 (1801). All the references to Tennemann for this particular entry are to this volume of his *Geschichte der Philosophie*.

11 **Aristotle**] See Tennemann, "Philosophie des Aristoteles" [The Philosophy of Aristotle], vol. 3, chap. 2, pp. 17–330.

12 **In my copy ... up to p. 120**] i.e., chap. 1 "Leben und Schriften des Aristoteles" [The Life and Works of Aristotle]; chap. 2, "Philosophie des Aristoteles überhaupt" [Aristotle's Philosophy in General]; chap. 3, "Logik" [Logic]; and the beginning of chap. 4 "Theoretische Philosophie" [Theoretical Philosophy], including the first few pages of the section "Physik oder allgemeine Naturwissenschaft" [Physics or Natural Science in General]. It is not known if Kierkegaard's own copy has survived so the passages to which Kierkegaard refers cannot be identified.

14 **The whole investigation ... p. 67**] See pp. 67–73, where Tennemann refers to Aristotle's division of theoretical philosophy into physics, mathematics, and theology or "first philosophy." See Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, bk. 5, chap. 1, (1026a 24). — **first it's ontology, then it's theology**: See p. 71: "It [Aristotle's metaphysics] is ontology confused with theology, both indeed aspects of metaphysics, but different aspects. What Aristotle lacked was an understanding of the fact that the concept (of ontology and theology) is sublated in the concept of science as a whole." — **modern philosophy**: Philosophy since Descartes (→ 384,*1*).

He classifies ... heaven God] See Tennemann, pp. 71–72. 18

He doesn't classify ... primordial form] See pp. 116–120, where Tennemann refers to Aristotle's use of the three named principles—material, form, privation—when defining the essence of a thing, and contrasts it with Plato's definition of essence based two principles, namely, substance and accident. — **στερησις**: Greek (stérēsis), "privation," "lack"; on p. 119 n. 17, Tennemann quotes from Aristotle's *Physics*, bk. 1, chap. 9 (192a 3–6). 24

there are four ... efficient cause, Endzweck] See p. 120 n. 19, where Tennemann cites Aristotle's *Physics*, bk. 2, chap. 3 (chap. 9 in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*) (194b 16–195b 30). 1 393

p. 121. fortune and coincidence] See pp. 121–123, where Tennemann refers to Aristotle's understanding of fortune and coincidence. 3

transition from possibility ... p. 127] See p. 127: Tennemann's German term for the Greek κινησις is *Veränderung* ("transformation, change"). See, e.g., Aristotle, *Physics*, bk. 3, chap. 1 (201a 9–11). 4

κινησις is difficult to determine ... p. 128] See Tennemann, p. 128. Cf. Aristotle, *Physics*, bk. 3, chap. 2 (201b 31–33). 8

Subsisting and perishing ... κινησις] See Tennemann, p. 129. In a note, Tennemann refers to Aristotle, *On Generation and Corruption*, bk. 1, chap. 4 (319b 10–18). 11

there are 3 kinds ... place φορα] See Tennemann, pp. 129–130. In n. 38, p. 130, Tennemann refers to Aristotle, *On Generation and Corruption*, bk. 1, chap. 4 (319b 31–33). 12

In Berlin Schelling ... cf. my manuscript] Kierkegaard traveled to Berlin on October 25, 1841, and, on November 15, began to attend Schelling's lectures on the philosophy of revelation. — **Schelling**: German philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling (1775–1854); cf. Not11:16, pp. 321–323 in the present volume. 4 392*m*

movements in logic] Hegel describes logical movement as the transition from one concept to the next 2 393*m*

when a given concept posits its opposite, and a new concept arises that includes the original concept and its opposite. See G. W. F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik* [Science of Logic], ed. L. v. Henning, vol. 1.1–2 (in *Hegel's Werke* [→ 388,32], vols. 3–5), (Berlin 1833–1834 [1812–1816]; ASKB, 552–554) (*Jub.* vols. 4–5). English translation, *Hegel's Science of Logic*, trans. A. V. Miller (Amherst, NY: Humanities Books, 1999; abbreviated hereafter as *Science of Logic*).

3 **Also the way ... book 9 chapter 11 § 99**] See Diogenes Laertius's history of philosophy, bk. 9, chap. 11, § 99: "According to [the Skeptics] there is no *motion* either; for the thing that is moved is either moved at the place it is, or at a place it is not; but it is not moved at the place it is, or at the place it is not; thus, there is no movement" (*Diogen Laërtses filosofiske Historie, eller: navnkundige Filosofers Levnet, Meninger og sindrige Udsagn* [Diogenes Laertius's History of Philosophy, or the Life, Opinions, and Ingenious Propositions of Renowned Philosophers], trans. B. Riisbrigh, ed. B. Thorlacius, 2 vols. [Copenhagen, 1812; ASKB 1110–1111], vol. 1, p. 445).

6 **Also Parmenides ... Zeno p. 196**] See "Philosopheme der Eleaten" [Philosophy of the Eleatics] in Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 1, pp. 150–209. — **the Eleatics'**: The Eleatics, or philosophers of the Eleatic School, derive their name from the Ionian colony Elea (today Velia) in southern Italy. The Eleatic School was one of the oldest in the Greek Empire, founded ca. 540 B.C. by the philosopher Xenophanes of Colophon, who is often referred to as the first Skeptic. The Eleatic School continued under the direction of Parmenides and his students, especially Zeno, who formulated paradoxes on the infinity of being and the impossibility of every form of motion. — **p. 171 IV. 173 VII**: See pp. 171–173, where Tennemann sketches an overview of Parmenides' (ca. 515–445 B.C.) philosophy. — **p. 184. V**: See p. 184, where Tennemann treats Melissus's (5th century B.C.) philosophy. — **Zeno**: Zeno of Elea (5th century B.C.), Greek philosopher. See pp. 191–209. Cf. Not14:1, p. 423 in the present volume.

10 **Leucippus and ... the negative**] See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 1, pp. 259–268, esp. p. 266, where Tennemann refers to the void as the negation of occupied space and argues that it is a condition for the movement of atoms. **Leucippus**: Greek philosopher Leucippus of Miletus (5th century B.C.) is thought to have authored *Megas Diakosmos* [The Great Order of the Universe], of which a fragment has survived.

the sphere of ... sphere of freedom] See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 1, pp. 261–262, where Tennemann writes that Leucippus was right to explain nature by appealing to the experience of the natural world and not to speculative constructions, but he erred when he assumed that the nature of the human spirit could be explained from experience of the external natural world. 14

Tenneman Geschichte der Philosophie 5th vol.] See Tennemann *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 5, (1805). All the references to Tennemann in this entry refer to this volume. 18 393

p. 302. ... Plato's Phaedrus] See pp. 302–314, where Tennemann refers to Greek physician and philosopher Sextus Empiricus (ca. 160–ca. 210), noting that he was critical of the notion that human beings are the standard by which truth should be judged. — **Socrates ... Plato's Phaedrus**: See p. 302, where Tennemann refers to Plato's *Phaedrus* (esp. 230a) in a note. After Socrates explains that he is less interested in discovering the truth of mythological narratives than he is in "knowing himself," he says: "I don't bother about such things but accept the current beliefs about them, and direct my inquiries, as in have just said, rather to myself, to discover whether I am really a more complex creature and more puffed up with pride than Typhon, or a simpler, gentler being whom heaven has blessed with a quiet, un-Typhonic nature" (English trans. from *Plato: The Collected Dialogues*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns [Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961; hereafter abbreviated *Plato: The Collected Dialogues*], p. 478 19

It is with great acuteness ... pp. 308–9] See pp. 308–309, where Tennemann refers to a few of Sextus Empiricus's subtle arguments against a human being's capacity to know itself via its own thinking because thinking cannot know body, sensation, or itself. 1 395

the Chr. proposition ... I myself am known] Perhaps an allusion to 1 Cor 13:12, where Paul writes: "For now we see in a mirror, dimly, but then we 3

will see face to face. Now I know only in part; then I will know fully, even as I have been fully known."

6 **Sextus draws attention . . . Tennemann p. 102**] See p. 102. — **the Academics**: A school of skeptical philosophers that studied at Plato's Academy ca. 270 B.C.

12 **Sex. Emp.: knowledge . . . a method**] See p. 293. — **discere et docere disciplinam**: Because Tennemann gives the sentence in German, the Latin is presumably Kierkegaard's own reconstruction. See Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos* [Against Professors], introduction, chap. 1, in *Sexti Empirici Opera quæ extant* [The Complete Extant Works of Sextus Empiricus] (Geneva, 1621; ASKB 146), p. 3.

395*m* 1 **Sextus Empiricus's . . . criteria for truth**] See Tennemann, p. 300.

5 **υφ' ου ως ανθρωπος. δι ου ως αισθησις**] See p. 300 n. 36, where Tennemann cites Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus logicos* [Against Logicians], bk. 1, § 35.

8 **Stoics divide judgment . . . αοριστα μεσα**] See Tennemann, pp. 356–357.

16 **is the premise . . . to another**] See p. 264 n. 133, where Tennemann has a Greek quotation from Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus logicos*, bk. 2, § 245.

21 **Demonstration . . . becomes known**] See p. 368 n. 139, where Tennemann has a Greek quotation from Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus logicos*, bk. 2, § 314.

27 **e.g., when there is . . . empty space**] See Tennemann, p. 368.

30 **Zeuzippus . . . Sextus Saturninus**] See p. 97, where Tennemann names these figures as the famous Skeptics who, with the exception of Sextus Empiricus and Agrippa, are known only by name.

37 **Aenesidemus's 10 τροποι της σκεψεως**] Modes or tropes that lead to the suspension of consent; Tennemann translates this in German as *Zweifelsgründe* ("grounds for doubt"). See p. 62, where Tennemann refers to the Greek Skeptic Aenesidemus of Knossos (1st century B.C.), who claimed that there is no unchanging orderliness that grounds mutable phenomena, which is why he presented his ten modes or tropes.

38 **Agrippa 5**] See p. 98, where Tennemann writes that the Greek Skeptic Agrippa (1st century B.C.) reduced Aenesidemus's ten modes to just five.

39 **later 2 . . . η εξ ετερου καταλαμβανεται**] Greek, "every object of knowledge seems either to be known through itself, or through something else." Sextus Empiricus *Hypotyposeis Pyrrhoneioi*, bk. 1, § 178, quoted by Tennemann on p. 101 n. 76. According to Sextus Empiricus, this is how Agrippa or one of his students reformulated the tropes when he later reduced them to just two.

Zeno . . . allowed suicide] Zeno of Kition (335–263 B.C.), Greek philosopher. — **Tennemann Ges. d. Ph. . . . p. 134**: See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 382,*1*) vol. 4 (1803), pp. 89, 93, 134. — **p. 145 . . . allowed suicide**: See vol. 4, pp. 145–148. *17* 395

Chrysippus uses . . . 4th vol. p. 272)] See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 4, p. 271. *7* 396

almost all the Skeptics . . . understand correctly] See e.g., Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 4, p. 205. *14* 396

Zeno divided . . . to the future] See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 4, p. 126. — **Zeno**: → 395,*17*. *24* 396

ήδονη—λυπη] See Tennemann, vol. 3, p. 127 n. 93, where Stobaeus's *Eclogarum ethicarum* [Moral Extracts], chap. 6, p. 168, is named as the source. *28*

The rational operations of mind . . . wariness of evil] See Tennemann, p. 127. *29*

The Academics. Arcesilaus . . . Philo] See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 4, p. 186, where the following Greek Skeptics are named as Academics, i.e., students at Plato's Academy: Arcesilaus of Pitane (ca. 315–242 B.C.), Carneades of Cyrene (ca. 215–129 B.C.), Clitomachus of Carthage (187/186–110/109 B.C.), and Philo of Larissa (ca. 100 B.C.). *1* 397

The secret of . . . movement . . . Intro. p. 71 n.] See "Introduction" in G. W. F. Hegel (→ 388,*32*), *Phänomenologie des Geistes* [Phenomenology of Spirit], ed. J. Schulze (Berlin 1832 [1807]; ASKB, 550); in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 2, pp. 59–72 (*Jub.* vol. 2, pp. 67–80). English translation, *Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. A. V. Miller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977; abbreviated hereafter as *Phenomenology of Spirit*). Here Hegel describes experience as a movement from consciousness about a "something" to a consciousness of this "something" as a new object, namely, a consciousness of its essence. See pp. 71–72 (*Jub.* vol. 2, pp. 79–80). *4* 397

7 **Plotinus helps himself . . . 2nd vol. p. 82)**] Kierkegaard's emphasis and parenthetical addition, but otherwise a word-for-word quote from G. O. Marbach, *Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* [History of the Philosophy of the Middle Ages] (vol. 2 in *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie* [Textbook of the History of Philosophy], 2 vols. (Leipzig 1838–1841; ASKB, 642–643), § 148, p. 82. — **Plotinus**: Alexandrian philosopher (A.D. 204–270), founder of Neo-Platonism. — **Marbach**: Gotthard Oswald Marbach (1810–90), German natural scientist and author, professor of philosophy at Leipzig.

397 21 **Scholasticism . . . William of Occam**] See "Die Scholastiker" [The Scholastics], in G. O. Marbach, *Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* (→ 397,7), §§ 177–214, pp. 207–361; § 180, pp. 220–221. — **Scotus Erigena**: Johannes Scotus Eriugena (ca. 810–ca. 877), Irish philosopher; see §§ 181–182, pp. 224–247. — **Anselm**: Anselm of Canterbury (ca. 1033–1109), French-English philosopher and theologian; see §§ 184–185, pp. 249–260. — **opposition between nominalism and realism**: a reference to the controversy about "universals" between the nominalists, who held that universal concepts are just names, and the realists, who claimed that universal concepts referred to the essences of things. See § 194, pp. 286–296. — **William of Occam**: William of Occam (ca. 1285–1349), English philosopher and theologian; see § 210–211. pp. 344–352.

400 1 **Spinoza wants to develop . . . opera omnia p. 5 and 6**] See *Principia philosophiae Cartesianae more geometrico demonstrata* (→ 384*m,25*), pt. 1, introduction, in *Spinoza opera*, p. 5, especially the passages Kierkegaard has underlined in his own copy: "As indicated in all that has been said above, the essential question in this matter is whether we can arrive at a conception of God that can lead to an opinion which does not make it as easy to think that God is a deceiver as it is to think that he is not, but forces us to assert that he is entirely truthful . . . And just as we can conceive of the idea of a triangle even though we do not know if the creator of our nature deceives us, so also can we become clear about the idea of God and see it for ourselves even if we are also in doubt about whether the creator of our nature deceives about everything" (pp. 5–6). — **advance the existence of God from the idea of God**: to prove the existence of God from the concept of God as the most perfect being that can be imagined, i.e., the ontological proof for the existence of God. — **the pathos-laden middle term . . . reality to thought**: See the fourth meditation in Descartes *Meditationes de prima philosophia* (→ 384,*8*), in *Renati Des-Cartes opera philosophica* (→ 384,*1*), vol. 1, p. 25, where Descartes understands God to be the condition of possibility for and guarantee of knowledge.

One cannot be certain of anything . . . infer existence from it] Kierkegaard's rendition of *Spinoza opera* (→ 384*m,25*), p. 6; Kierkegaard's own copy has a vertical line in the margin of this passage. 7

p. 11 Axiom X . . . coming into being] a translated passage from Spinoza, *Principia philosophiae Cartesianae more geometrico demonstrate*, pt. 1, axiom 10, in *Spinoza opera* (→ 384*m,25*), p. 11. 16 400

I March. 1846] → 381,*5*. 1 401

Spinoza's Ethics] See Spinoza, *Ethica ordine geometrico demonstrata et in quinque partes distincta* [Ethics, Demonstrated with the Geometric Method in Five Parts] in *Spinoza opera* (→ 384*m,25*), pp. 285–430 (abbreviated hereafter as *Ethica*). All references in the explanatory notes refer to this edition and, when necessary, to Kierkegaard's own copy, now in the collections of the Royal Library in Copenhagen. English translations are from *The Ethics*, in *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza*, trans. R. H. M. Elwes, 2 vols. (New York: Dover, 1957 [1883]); abbreviated hereafter as *Ethics*. 2

that finis, τελος is nothing other than appetitus] See definition 7 in pt. 4 of *Ethica*, in *Spinoza opera* (→ 384*m,25*), p. 379: "By an end for the sake of which we do something, I mean a desire" (*Ethics*, vol. 2, p. 191). 4

that beatitudo . . . ipsa virtus] See prop. 42, in pt. 5 of *Ethica*, in *Spinoza opera* (→ 384*m,25*), p. 430 (underlined in Kierkegaard's own copy): "Blessedness is not the reward of virtue, but virtue itself; neither do we rejoice therein, because we control our lusts, but, contrariwise, because we rejoice therein, we are able to control our lusts" (*Ethics*, vol. 2, p. 270). 5

The question . . . is missing here] Cf. journal entry JJ:443, written at about the same time: "I have now read through Spinoza's *Ethics*. Strange, though, to construct an ethics on what is such an indetermi- 6

nate, though no doubt correct, principle as this: suum esse conservare, and to keep it so ambiguous that it can just as well mean bodily, egoistic love as the highest resignation in intellectual love. But surely it is a contradiction to discuss how or with what means one achieves perfection in triumphing over the affects, the way to this perfection (cf. p. 430, end), and then offer it as an immanence theory. For the way is indeed precisely the dialectic of teleology. I go this way and that, do this and that—*in order to*, but this in order to separates the way and the goal" (*KJN* 2, 266–267). — See prop. 6 in pt. 3 of *Ethica*, in *Spinoza opera* (→ 384*m,25*), p. 344 (partially underlined in Kierkegaard's own copy): "Therefore, insofar as it can, and insofar as it is in itself, it endeavours to persist in its own being" (*Ethics*, vol. 2, p. 136). See also note to prop. 18 in pt. 4 of *Ethica*, in *Spinoza opera*, pp. 385–386, where the expression *suum esse conservare* is said to be the goal of reason (*Ethics*, vol. 2, pp. 200–202).

13 **the truth must be understood in and of itself**] See note to prop. 43 in pt. 2 of *Ethica*, in *Spinoza opera* (→ 384*m,25*), p. 331, where he writes that truth is a standard for itself (see *Ethics*, vol. 2, p. 114).

14 **all supposed means of support . . . miracles**] See appendix to pt. 1 of *Ethica*, in *Spinoza opera* (→ 384*m,25*), p. 307 (*Ethics*, vol. 2, p. 77), which is underlined in Kierkegaard's own copy. Here Spinoza explains that "final causes are mere human figments," and because human beings are ignorant about causes of events, they take refuge in the notion of God's will as the final cause or purpose of events. *Spinoza opera*, p. 308: "Hence anyone who seeks for the true causes of miracles, and strives to understand natural phenomena as an intelligent being, and not to gaze at them like a fool, is set down and denounced as an impious heretic by those, whom the masses adore as the interpreters of nature and the gods. Such persons know that, with the removal of ignorance, the wonder which forms their only available means for proving and preserving their authority would vanish also" (*Ethics*, vol. 2, pp. 78–79).

16 **for the believer . . . in Concluding Postscript**] *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* was published February 27, 1846, under the pseudonym Johannes Climacus, but with Kierkegaard as editor. Here miracles are described as the eternal truth, which come into existence in time, but only for the believer. See e.g., *CUP*, 96–97.

But if the individual . . . Spinoza denies] According 20 to *Ethica*, pt. 4 (on human bondage or the strength of the emotions) virtue is said to be an individual's attempt to preserve his or her individual being. In this part, Spinoza explains the reasons why human beings do not follow the precepts of reason, and how they attempt to use reason to preserve their own being. See, e.g., Spinoza's summary on p. 385 (*Ethics*, vol. 2, pp. 201–202).

virtue must be desired for its own sake] See note 20 to prop. 18 in pt. 4 of *Ethica*, in *Spinoza opera* (→ 384*m,25*), p. 385 (*Ethics*, vol. 2, p. 201).

Spinoza himself speaks of a path toward this per- 24 **fectio**] See note to prop. 42 in pt. 5 of *Ethica*, in *Spinoza opera* (→ 384*m,25*), p. 430: "If the way which I have pointed out as leading to this result seems exceedingly hard, it may nevertheless be discovered. Needs must it be hard, since it is so seldom found. How would it be possible, if salvation were ready to our hand, and could without great labour be found, that it should be by almost all men neglected? But all things excellent are as difficult as they are rare" (*Ethics*, vol. 2, pp. 270–271). This passage is partially underlined in Kierkegaard's own copy. Underneath the passage, Kierkegaard has written in pencil: "But how, in a theory of immanence, can there be talk of a way at all[?] A way is teleology." He also refers here to his journal entry JJ:443 (→ 401,*6*).

he even defines . . . transition, movement] See def- 25 initions of the emotions, numbers 2 and 3, in pt. 3 of *Ethica*, in *Spinoza opera* (→ 384*m,25*), p. 368: "II. *Pleasure* is the transition of a man from a less to a greater perfection. III. *Pain* is the transition of a man from a greater to a lesser perfection. *Explanation*. I say transition: for pleasure is not perfection itself. For, if man were born with the perfection to which he passes, he would possess the same, without the emotion of pleasure" (*Ethics*, vol. 2, p. 174). Some of this passage is underlined in Kierkegaard's own copy of the book, to which he refers in journal entry JJ:442.1 (*KJN* 2, 266).

sub specie æterni] A commonly employed phrase 28 in Spinoza's *Ethics*, especially in pt. 5, props. 22–36 (*Spinoza opera* [→ 384*m,25*], pp. 423–427; *Ethics*, vol. 2, pp. 259–265), where Spinoza states that in order to perfect its knowledge of God and of itself, the

understanding should view both the spiritual and the corporeal realms from the perspective of eternity.

401*m* 1 **See Journal JJ. pp. 274, 276, 278, 280**] See Kierkegaard's journal entries from this same period, all of which concern Spinoza (and, with the exception of the first one listed, specifically concern Spinoza's *Ethics*): JJ:437.a, JJ:439, JJ:442–442.1, and JJ:443 (*KJN* 2, 264–267).

2 **In Cogitata Metaphysica . . . a misunderstanding**] See the article "Quare aliqui bonum metaphysicum statuerunt" [Why Some Have Asserted a Metaphysical Good], in Spinoza, *Cogitata metaphysica*, pt. 1, chap. 6 (*Spinoza opera* [→ 384*m*,*25*], p. 60), from which Kierkegaard cites the passage word-for-word.

13 **see also cogitata . . . humanum captum superare**] → 384*m*,*25*.

17 **where he himself passionately asserts something incomprehensible**] See Kierkegaard's remark opposite this passage in the margin of his own copy of the book: "A pathos-laden argument" (→ 384*m*,*25*).

403 1 **Problemata**] → 381,*2*.

2 **Is the past more necessary than the future?**] See pt. 2, § 170, in Leibniz, *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), p. 340, where this question is posed; *Theodicy*, p. 233.

4 **question . . . actual is the possible**] See bk. 2 ("The Doctrine of Essence") in Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik* (→ 393*m*,*2*), where Hegel treats the modal categories—actuality, possibility, necessity—and writes, with respect to actuality: "The actuality is not the primary but the reflected actuality, *posited as unity* of itself and possibility. The actual as such is possible; it is in immediate positive identity with possibility; but this has determined itself as *only* possibility; thus the actual too, is determined as *only a possible*. And immediately because possibility is *immediately* contained in actuality, it is contained in actuality as sublated, as *only* possibility. Conversely, actuality which is in unity with possibility is only sublated immediacy; or because formal actuality is only *immediate*, primary actuality, it is only a moment, only sublated actuality, or only *possibility*" (*Hegel's Werke* [→ 388,*32*], vol. 4, pp. 204–205; *Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 682–683; *Science of Logic*, p. 544).

7 **a scholarly enterprise . . . at possibility**] Hegel's *Science of Logic* is divided into three books, but he arrives at possibility as early as the conclusion of bk. 2. Perhaps Kierkegaard is thinking of a work by Danish theologian and Hegelian A. P. Adler, *Populaire Foredrag over Hegels objective Logik* [Popular Lectures on Hegel's Objective Logic] (Copenhagen, 1842; ASKB 383), where the concept of "possibility" is a part of the headings of the two final sections of the book (§ 29, p. 161, and § 30, p. 166). In his lectures, Adler only treats the first two books of Hegel's logic and thus ends with an exposition of the modal categories.

relationship . . . foreknowledge] See Not13:23, p. 389 in the present volume, and → 389,*9*. 10

old proposition . . . 126. 27] See Boethius (→ 391,*20*) *De consolatione Philosophiæ, libri quinque* [On the Consolation of Philosophy, Five Books] (Eger, 1758; ASKB 431), bk. 5, p. 127 (which is underlined in Kierkegaard's own copy): "For even as knowledge of the present imports no necessity into things that are taking place, so foreknowledge of the future imports none into things that are about to come." English translation from *The Consolation of Philosophy of Boethius*, trans. H. R. James (London, 1897), p. 188. 12

later used by Leibnitz] See Not13:23, p. 391 in the present volume, and → 391,*22*. 15

category] See in particular Aristotle's philosophy, in which categories are understood both as logical concepts (the fundamental predicates of thinking) and as ontological concepts (the fundamental predicates of actuality). 1 404

Hegel hasn't, at any rate] But see Hegel (→ 388,*32*), *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (→ 397,*4*), where the category is defined as "the *simple* unity of self-consciousness and being" (*Hegel's Werke*, vol. 2, p. 178 [*Jub.* vol. 2, p. 186]; *Phenomenology of Spirit*, p. 142). 3

backpedaling] The expression stems from F. C. Sibbern, who criticizes Hegel's "backward walking" for reaching, as a *result*, what ought to have been the original *basis* of conceptual development. See F.C. Sibbern, *Bemærkninger og Undersøgelser, fornemmelig betreffende Hegels Philosophie, betragtet in Forhold til vor Tid* [Remarks and Investigations Primarily Concerning Hegel's Philosophy, Considered in Relation to Our Age] (Copenhagen, 1838; ASKB, 778; hereafter abbreviated *Bemærkninger og Undersøgelser*), p. 38 (see also pp. 19, 39–41, 132, 148). 4

6 **to gather multiplicity into the energy of one thought**] See the "Logic" section of *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's philosophische Propädeutik* [Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Propaedeutic to Philosophy], ed. K. Rosenkranz (in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 18) (Berlin, 1840; ASKB 560; hereafter abbreviated *Hegel's philosophische Propädeutik*), § 2, p. 92 (*Jub*. vol. 3, 114): "In general, thinking is the comprehending and combining of *the many in a unity*."

8 **the only place in Hegel . . . trichotomy**] See the "Logic" section of *Hegel's philosophische Propädeutik* (→ 404,6), § 6, p. 93 (*Jub*. vol. 3, p. 115): "Thought is tripartite: 1) the *categories*; 2) the *determinations of reflection*; 3) the *concepts*. The doctrines of the first two constitute the *objective* logic of metaphysics; the doctrine of the concept constitutes the genuine or *subjective* logic." — **Rosenkrantz**: Johann Karl Friedrich Rosenkranz (1805–1879), German philosopher and professor at Königsberg.

17 **Cicero prædicamentum**] The translation of κατηγορία (Greek, "category") as *prædicamentum* (Latin, "category") is not the work of the Roman statesman, jurist, and poet Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.), but of Boethius (→ 391,20) in his Latin translation of Porphyrius's *Isagoge*.

17 **the Scholastics as well**] e.g., Abélard; see Not13:26 and → 392,7.

22 **In this sense . . . being is nothing**] Alludes to *Wissenschaft der Logik* (→ 393*m*,2), vol. 1.1, where Hegel writes: "Being, the indeterminate immediate, is in fact *nothing*, and neither more nor less than *nothing*" (*Hegel's Werke* [→ 388,32], vol. 3, p. 78; *Jub*. vol. 4, p. 88; *Science of Logic*, p. 82).

26 **entire doctrine of being . . . quality**] In the first section of the *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1, Hegel treats "quality" (*Hegel's Werke*, vol. 3, pp. 77–208; *Jub*. vol. 4, pp. 87–218; *Hegel's Science of Logic*, pp. 81–184) and in chap. 1 of the same section he treats "Being" (*Hegel's Werke*, vol. 3, pp. 77–111; *Jub*. vol 4, pp. 87–121; *Science of Logic*, pp. 82–108).

28 **Kant begin with quantity**] Kant (→ 383,2) uses twelve categories that he divides into four groups, the first of which comprises the three categories of quantity: unity, plurality, and totality; and the second comprises the three categories of quality: reality, negation, and limitation; see *Critik der reinen Vernunft* [Critique of Pure Reason], 4th ed. (Riga: 1794 [1781]; ASKB 595), p. 106. English translation, Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. Norman Kemp Smith (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965), p. 113.

Concerning being . . . my copy] Alludes to *Spinoza opera* (→ 384*m*,25), but the "small slips of paper" in Kierkegaard's own copy (→ 401,2) have not been preserved or their contents recorded, so the passages to which Kierkegaard refers cannot be identified. 30

The definition that Plato . . . present time] Translated passage from Plato's dialogue *Parmenides*, 151e, in *Platonis opera, quae exstant* [The Extant Works of Plato], ed. F. Ast, 11 vols. (Leipzig, 1819–1832; ASKB, 1144–1154); vol. 3, p. 66 (with the standard Stephanus reference system in the margin); *Plato: The Collected Dialogues*, p. 943. 33

see Hegel's Propedeutik pp. 96, 97] See *Hegel's philosophische Propädeutik* (→ 404,6), §§ 8–20, pp. 95–97. In § 8, quality is defined as the immediate definite, after which § 9 treats being, nothing, and becoming; §§ 10–15 treat existing, and §§ 16–20 treat being for itself. 1 404*m*

If being really . . . with respect to quality] See § 21 in *Hegel's philosophische Propädeutik* (→ 404,6), pp. 97–98 (*Jub*. vol. 3, pp. 119–120). Here, Hegel explains that quality is that by which "a thing is what is," whereas quantity "does not constitute the nature of the thing itself but is an *indifferent* difference"; thus despite changes with respect to quantity "a thing remains what it is." 3

I can define . . . it still remains a field] See *Hegel's philosophische Propädeutik* (→ 404,6), p. 97 (*Jub*. vol. 3, p. 119). 7

contingency? . . . actuality] Hegel defines contingency as the formal relation between the actual and the possible (→ 403,4). See sec. 3, chap. 2 in *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.2 (in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 4), p. 201 (*Jub*. vol. 4, p. 679; *Science of Logic*, p. 242). 1 405

Aristotle's . . . and by knowledge] That is, a voluntary act must be unforced and be carried out with knowledge of its foreseeable consequences; see Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, bk. 3, chaps. 1–5 (1109b 30–1113a 14); in *Ethics*, pp. 1752–1758. Cf. Not13:13 and Not13:14, pp. 385–386 in the present volume. 3

The scholastics . . . contingency] e.g., the Scottish scholastic Duns Scotus (ca. 1265–1308), who, according to Tennemann, viewed the will "as a capacity to act with *unconditional spontaneity*." Tenne- 6

mann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 382,*1*), vol. 8.2 (1811), pp. 752–754.

8 **Leibnitz included this**] See pt. 1, § 44, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), where Leibniz (→ 383,*2*) writes that future actions are at once both determined and contingent, inasmuch as he supports the rule that nothing happens without a reason; after this Leibniz writes, in § 45, p. 154: "We must therefore not imagine with some Schoolmen, whose ideas tend towards the chimerical, that free contingent futurities have the privilege of exemption from this general rule of the nature of things" (*Theodicy*, p. 148.)

406 *1* **Is the Good . . . the Englishman King**] See "Gedanken über die Schrift des Herrn Hobbes, von der Freyheit, der Nothwendigkeit, und dem ungefähren Zufalle" [Reflections on the Work That Mr. Hobbes Published in English on Freedom, Necessity, and Chance], §§ 1–12, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), pp. 713–730; *Theodicy,* pp. 393–404. Here Leibniz summarizes the opinions of the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) to the effect that in his sovereign and arbitrary will and his omnipotence, God dictates what is good and just. — **King**: "Observations on the Book Concerning the Origin of Evil Published Recently in London," § 21, in *Theodicee,* p. 769, where Leibniz cites King (→ 383,*27*): "Thus will the divine will be the cause of goodness in beings. That is to say, there will be goodness in the objects, not by their nature, but by the will of God: whereas if that will be excluded neither good nor evil can exist in things" (*Theodicy,* pp. 427–428).

4 **If the good . . . human freedom**] Cf. Not13:23, 390,*7*–390,*28* in the present volume.

407 *1* **Despite all the assurances . . . e.g., Leibnitz**] See, e.g., Adler, *Populaire Foredrag over Hegels objective Logik* (→ 403,*7*), p. 15, where Adler discusses being, which is the first part of the logic in the Hegelian system: "In this being, empirical life and thinking both have their common, ineradicable root. It is at once the absolutely positive, for it is the extremity, which posits the boundary of abstraction, and it is also the absolutely negative, because it endures after an all-encompassing abstraction. The fact that positivity endures constitutes the system's necessity, the fact that it remains after an all-encompassing abstraction speaks for the system's freedom." — **Leibnitz**: Probably an allusion to Leibniz's "Abhandlung von der Uebereinstimmung des Glaubens mit der Vernunft" (→ 388,*8*), § 2, in *Theodicee* (→ 383,*4*), pp. 4–5, where Leibniz begins by differentiating between eternal and positive truths: "There are others which may be called *positive*, because they are the laws which it has pleased God to give to Nature, or because they depend upon those. We learn them either by experience, that is, *a posteriori*, or by reason and *a priori*, that is, by considerations of the fitness of things which have caused their choice" (*Theodicy*, p. 74).

I know that I am ignorant] Allusion to Plato's dialogue *The Apology*, 21d, where Socrates, having told of someone who imagined he knew something, goes on to report the following: "However, I reflected as I walked away, Well I am certainly wiser than this man. It is only too likely that neither of us has any knowledge to boast of, but he thinks that he knows something which he does not know, whereas I am quite conscious of my ignorance. At any rate it seems that I am wiser than he to this small extent, that I do not think that I know what I do not know" (*Plato: The Collected Dialogues*, pp. 7–8). *4* 408

if I know that I am always wrong . . . it is positive] Cf. the "Ultimatum" in Part Two of *Either/Or* (*EO* 2, 339–354; *SKS* 3, 315–332), a sermon on "The Edification in the Thought That With Respect to God We Are Always in the Wrong," which Kierkegaard probably wrote in 1842; see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Enten—Eller* in *SKS* K2–3, 50–51. *4*

7000 emperors have lived in China] It has not been possible to identify the source for this statement, if there is one. A Danish translation of a German geography text that Kierkegaard owned, J. Hübner, *Fuldstændige Geographie* [Comprehensive Geography], 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1743–1749; ASKB, 2042–2044), does mention "240 successive imperial families in China" (vol. 2 [1749], p. 633). *6*

tabular . . . the average] Presumably an allusion to the meteorological tables published in *Oversigt over det Kgl. danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Forhandlinger og dets Medlemmers Arbeider in Aaret 1842* [Survey of the Proceedings of the Royal Scientific Society and of the Work of Its Members for the Year 1842], nos. 7–9, ed. H. C. Ørsted (Copenhagen, 1843), pp. *4* 409

100–105. The survey was published in the newspaper *Berlingske Tidende*, no. 65, March 10, 1843.

410 3 **each . . . unlike the next, like Leibnitz's leaves**] See "Cinquième écrit de Mr. Leibniz," [Fifth Writing by Mr. Leibniz"], § 23, in "Recueil de lettres entre Leibniz et Clarke sur Dieu, l'Ame, l'Espace, la Duree etc." [Selection of Correspondence between Leibniz and Clarke on God, the Soul, Space, Duration, etc.] in *Opera philosophica* (→ 384*m,18*), p. 765, col. 2: "I wish to assert that among sensible things one never finds two that are indistinguishable, and that, for example, one will never find a two leaves in a garden, nor two drops of water that are perfect matches. One will grant this with respect to the leaves, and a 'perhaps' with respect to the drops of water, but one must answer without the 'perhaps' . . . also with respect to the drops of water."

5 **like each other, like the parts of gold**] Gold was thought to be a perfectly pure substance and that any particle of gold must thus be uniform with all other particles of gold.

411 1 **What is the self . . . every Sunday**] See Lk 9:25: "What does it profit them if they gain the whole world, but lose or forfeit themselves?" Neither this passage nor the parallel passages in the other synoptic Gospels (Mt 16:26 and Mk 8:36) were among the texts required by the Danish Church to be preached upon in the course of a church year.

412 1 **understanding, feeling, and will**] A tripartition of the capacities of the mind, advanced by Kant (→ 383,*2*) in his aesthetics: "For all the soul's powers or capacities can be reduced to three that cannot be derived further from a common basis: the *cognitive* power, the *feeling of pleasure and displeasure*, and the *power of desire*. The understanding alone legislates for the cognitive power . . . For the power of desire, considered as a higher power governed by the concept of freedom, only reason (which alone contains that concept) legislates a priori." *Critik der Urtheilskraft* [Critique of Judgment], 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1793 [1790]; ASKB 594), introduction, § 3, pp. xxii–xxiv; English translation from Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, trans. Werner S. Pluhar (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1987), pp. 16–17. This tripartition can be seen again in F. C. Sibbern's psychology, where he writes of the three "fundamental utterances of the life of the spirit," namely, cognition, feeling, and will; see *Menneskets aandelige Natur og Væsen. Et Udkast til en Psychologie* [Human Nature and Essence: A Draft of a Psychology] (Copenhagen, 1819), pt. 1, § 23, pp. 117–129. Sibbern also remarks "that in Hegel we do not encounter the well-known trio: *cognition*, *feeling*, and *will*, which everyone who has properly and thoroughly investigated the depths of a human being surely must acknowlege as forming the basis of a human being's spiritual existence" (*Bemærkninger og Undersøgelser* [→ 404,*4*], p. 96).

the world's development . . . a higher plane] 3 Widely held view of the philosophy of history, especially among Hegelians.

contemporary form theory] Presumably alludes in 20 particular to the Hegelian J. L. Heiberg and his school, who were criticized at the time for having overemphasized the importance of form in aesthetics.

The collateral] The expression stems from F. C. 23 Sibbern, who used it in a number of contexts, including his critique of Hegel's one-sided emphasis on cognition (thinking) at the expense of feeling and will: "Everyone who examines the matter properly must acknowledge that thinking can only be a principal element in existence when accompanied by other elements that are placed on the same level. But here we once again see Hegel's great lack of attention to the collateral in existence and to the genuine idea of organization, or to the sort of organization to which the collateral essentially belongs" (*Bemærkninger og Undersøgelser* [→ 404,*4*], p. 95). See also pp. 12, 41, 130–133.

In the doctrine of being, everything is that does 1 413 **not pass away**] See bk. 1 ("The Doctrine of Being") in *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1 (in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 3, pp. 57–468; *Jub*. vol. 4, pp. 67–478; *Science of Logic*, pp. 67–385). Here being is presented as immediate being undetermined by any dialectical relation to any other determinations, into which it thus does not "pass away."

something even Werder admitted, cf. the small 2 **books**] Alludes to *Notebook 9* and *Notebook 10*, both small pocket-sized books in octavo format (see the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 9* and *Notebook 10*," p. 623 in the present volume. Entries Not9:2–9 are Kierkegaard's notes on the lectures

given by German philosophy professor Karl Werder (1806–1893) in Berlin during the winter semester of 1841–1842; see especially Not9:3, p. 274 in the present volume.

3 **the doctrine of essence . . . cause—effect—ground—consequence—reciprocal action**] See bk. 2 ("The Doctrine of Essence") in *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.2 (in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 4, pp. 1–414; *Jub*. vol. 4, pp. 479–721; *Science of Logic*, pp. 389–571), where all determinations of essence are characterized by the *Beziehung* (German, "relation") in which they stand to their dialectical opposites, e.g., cause and effect (in *Hegel's Werke* vol. 4, pp. 223–239; *Jub*. vol. 4, pp. 701–717; *Science of Logic*, pp. 558–569) or ground and consequence (in *Hegel's Werke,* vol. 4, pp. 73–118; *Jub*. vol. 4, pp. 551–596; *Hegel's Science of Logic*, pp. 444–478). — **reciprocal action**: "Reciprocity," in *Wissenschaft der Logik,* vol. 1.2 (in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 4, pp. 239–243; *Jub*. vol. 4, pp. 717–721; *Science of Logic*, pp. 569–571).

7 **The concept is a trichotomy**] That is, trichotomy is found in "The Doctrine of the Concept"; see bk. 3 ("The Subjective Logic or the Doctrine of the Concept") in *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 2 (in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 5; *Jub*. vol. 5; *Science of Logic*, pp. 573–844), where the concept is presented as having three moments: "*universality*," "*particularity*," and "*individuality*" (p. 35; *Science of Logic*, p. 600). Hegel himself refers to his methodical tripartition as "triplicity" (pp. 344–345; *Science of Logic*, p. 836). The word "trichotomy" stems from Kant, which is why Sibbern, in a section titled "Om den Hegelske Trilogisering" [On the Hegelian Tripartition] refers to "the extreme tripartition that first emerged in Kant and has since manifested itself in a multiplicity of ways" (*Bemærkninger og Undersøgelser* [→ 404,4], p. 130). See also pp. 124–137.

10 **the category of transition**] In his logic, Hegel tries to demonstrate how the various categories can be derived from one another with necessity, starting from the concept of "pure being" all the way to the concept of "the Absolute Idea." This development follows the dialectical idea of reason in such a way that a category "passes over" into its opposite and is then "sublated" into a higher category in which both the opposition and the identity are "preserved." The point at which a category "passes over" into another is called "transition" and is not itself labeled as a category.

the Aristotelian doctrine of κίνησις] See Not13:27, pp. 392–393 in the present volume, and → 393,4. 11

Is mediation the zero point, or is it a third] In a discussion of the principle of the excluded middle (the law of contradiction) in the late 1830s, the Hegelian J. L. Heiberg conceded that there can be no mediation between two divergent predicates (→ 388,13): "For it is self-evident that opposite tendencies in the same subject exclude one another. If the subject is not positive, it must be negative, and vice versa. Therefore the path from the positive to the negative passes through zero, i.e., through an absence of mediation. But this is only the case for the finite and empirical world of which it is itself the representative" (J. L. Heiberg, "En logisk Bemærkning i Anledning af H. H. Herr Biskop Dr. Mynsters Afhandling om Rationalisme og Supranaturalisme i forrige Hefte af dette Tidsskrift" [A Remark on Logic in Reference to the Right Reverend Bishop Dr. Mynster's Treatise on Rationalism and Supernaturalism in the Previous Number of This Journal], in *Tidsskrift for Litteratur og Kritik* [Journal for Literature and Criticism], vol. 1, 1839, no. 5, pp. 441–456). The cited passage is on pp. 443–444. Similarly, Heiberg concedes that mediation is also inapplicable to Aristotelian ethics "insofar as they [Aristotelian ethics] make use of a description of the nature of morality in which virtue is defined as the midpoint between two opposing vices; inasmuch as this midpoint is a sort of zero point, virtue—which cannot be a mediation of vices—cannot here be described as anything other than a zero, i.e., a zero of vices" (pp. 444–445). 12

immanent movement] Here Kierkegaard has in mind Hegelian logic in which the concept moves by virtue of its inner contradictions and thus is not driven by any external force. The result of this dialectical development is the actualization of that which was present as possibility from the beginning. See, e.g., Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*, vol. 1.1: "Progress in philosophy is rather a retrogression and a grounding . . . by means of which we first obtain the result that what we began with is not something merely arbitrarily assumed but is in fact the *truth*, and also the *primary* truth . . . Thus consciousness on its onward path from the immediacy with which it began is led back to absolute knowledge as its innermost *truth* . . . The essential requirement for the science of logic is not so much 13

that the beginning be a pure immediacy, but rather that the whole of the science be within itself a circle in which the first is also the last and the last is also the first" (in *Hegel's Werke*, vol. 3, pp. 64–65; *Jub.* vol. 4, pp. 74–75; *Science of Logic*, pp. 70–71).

14 **one wants to apply it to the world of actuality**] In the article cited above (→ 413,12), J. L. Heiberg writes with respect to "the concept and the idea, . . . [that] the entirety of their activity has to do with the mediation of opposites. That which admits of no mediation does not belong to this ideal, concrete sphere but to the subordinate, empirical [sphere], for the oppression under which the empirical world suffers is precisely the fact that it must allow that which in the Idea is immanent and unitary to fall apart, as if into pieces" (p. 445).

413*m* 1 **Tennemann 3rd vol. p. 125 . . . κινησις as transformation**] See W. G. Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (→ 382,1), vol. 3 (1801), p. 125: "Already beginning with Plato, the word of κινησις [→ 393,4] had both a broader and a more narrow meaning and was used both to designate transition in general as well as for movement in space. Aristotle used it in the broader sense."

414 1 **human beings are saved by faith . . . explanation derived from sin**] Refers to Luther's Reformation doctrine that because of innate sinfulness human beings cannot justify themselves before God by means of their works, but only by means of faith or in faith. See *Confessio Augustana* [The Augsburg Confession], §§ 2 and 4, in *Confessio augustana invariata* [The Unchanged Augsburg Confession] (Copenhagen: 1817; ASKB 469), pp. 15–17; and *Den rette uforandrede Augsburgske Troesbekjendelse* [The True and Unaltered Augsburg Confession of Faith], trans. A. G. Rudelbach (Copenhagen, 1825; ASKB 386), p. 46 ("Om Arvesynden" [On Original Sin]) and p. 48 ("Om Retfærdiggjørelsen" [On Justification]). See also K. Hase, *Hutterus redivivus oder Dogmatik der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* [Hutterus redivivus or the Dogmatics of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church], 4th ed. (Leipzig, 1839 [1829]; ASKB 581), § 108 ("The Faith That Is the Sole Source of Blessedness"), pp. 268–273.

415 1 **Antisthenes' claim . . . p. 97**] See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 3 (1801), pp. 234–235: "Every substance, insofar as it consists of material and form, can be defined, but with respect to the final ground of it, for the very reason that it is final, it cannot be further analyzed and no definition can be given. This sort of a case requires that Antisthenes be corrected for having asserted: No thing can be defined in accordance with what it is, and every attempted definition of this sort is nothing but sheer tautology; only the properties of the thing can be described."

philosophy is mediation] A reference to the concept of *Vermittlung* (German, "mediation"), which the Danish Hegelians termed *mediation* in Danish. In Hegel's philosophy it was connected to his critique of the principle of the excluded middle in which he asserted that there are no absolute oppositions because two opposing concepts can be mediated in a third concept, e.g., God and man in the God-man Christ. Thus, in a subsequent portion of the previously cited essay (→ 413,12) Heiberg states: "But if the *principium exclusi medii* [principle of the excluded middle] was not itself excluded by the Idea, then the human being, as a unity of soul and body, would be an impossibility; the state could not be a unity of opposing forces; Christ would be *exclusus* [excluded] as *medium* [middle] between God and human beings; no religion, art, poetry, [or] philosophy could exist; for everywhere it would be apparent that the *principium exclusi medii* was the *principium exclusi Dei* [principle of the exclusion of God]" (pp. 445–446.) 2 416

In the book "JJ" there are a few remarks pp. 18, 23–24, 28] See journal entries JJ:58, JJ:73, and JJ:84 in *KJN* 2, 147, 150–151, and 154. 12

pure philosophy . . . alloyed itself with Xty] Refers to speculative theology, which believed it could conceptualize Christianity with the help of Hegelian philosophy. 1 417

knowledge (wisdom) is virtue . . . Socrates] A reference to the Socratic proposition that "virtue is knowledge," which is the theme of a number of Plato's dialogues (→ 386,4). 3

the expression "to act in truth."] Kierkegaard's Danish reads "at gjøre Sandheden," which could also be translated "to do the truth." It is an allusion to Jn 3:21: "their deeds have been done in God." 6

Movement in Aristotle . . . γενεσις—φθορα] Refers 1 418

to the German philosopher and philologist Friedrich Adolph Trendelenburg (1802–1872), *Geschichte der Kategorienlehre* [History of the Doctrine of Categories] (in *Historische Beiträge zur Philosophie* [Historical Contributions to Philosophy], vol. 1) (Berlin: 1846; ASKB 848; all references in this journal entry are to the first essay). Trendelenburg states: "Transformation . . . according to Aristotle, is the broader concept, movement (κίνησις) is the narrower. Inasmuch as each has a point at which not-being makes the transition into being, and being makes the transition into not-being—and in these cases . . . as far as substance is concerned, it appears as coming-into-being and passing away (γένεσις, φθορά)—movement is linked to being and to the substrate, for not-being does not move and there is no movement except of things" (p. 171).

8 **in quantity . . . on the doctrine of categories p. 188.**] Refers to Trendelenburg's essay in *Geschichte der Kategorienlehre* (→ 418,1), p. 188: "The general category of κίνησις differentiates itself according to the relevant categories: αὔξησις [increase] and φθίσις [decrease] with respect to quantity, ἀλλοίωσις [change] with respect to quality, φορά [local movement] with respect to place."

cf p. 163] See Trendelenburg, pp. 162–163. 19

cf pp. 136–137 . . . pathos-laden transition] See Trendelenburg, pp. 136–138. — **difference betw. a dialectical and pathos-laden transition**: See Not13:8.a, Not13:8.c, and Not12:4, pp. 384 and 373 in the present volume. 22

cf. p. 99. Aristotle . . . to be changed] Kierkegaard's rendering of p. 99, where Trendelenburg refers to Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, bk. 4, chap. 21 (1022b 15–16). 28

There is an excellent index] See Trendelenburg, pp. 387–392. 34

Feb. 47] See the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 13*," pp. 731–732 in the present volume. 35

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NOTES FOR NOTEBOOK 14

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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript

Notebook 14 is a small bound notebook made up of forty-three leaves or eighty-six pages. It is preserved today in the Kierkegaard Archive (KA) of the Royal Library.

II. Dating and Chronology

Notebook 14, which is not dated, contains short excerpts from the first volume of German philosopher Wilhelm Gottlieb Tennemann's *Geschichte der Philosophie* [History of Philosophy], 11 vols. (Leipzig, 1798–1819; ASKB 815–826).[1]

It is clear from *Notebook 13* that at the beginning of 1843 Kierkegaard began a thorough study of Tennemann's *Geschichte der Philosophie*.[2] Likewise, a series of entries in *Journal JJ*, dated from February to April 1843, reveals that Kierkegaard was then engaged in the study of Tennemann's work, especially the first volume.[3] Given Kierkegaard's strong interest in Tennemann's history of philosophy at the time, it is likely *Notebook 14* was written during this same period, that is, the first several months of 1843.

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1) Kierkegaard purchased Tennemann's large philosophy of history at J. H. Schubothe's Bookstore, which was located in the stock exchange building in Copenhagen. The sales record at Schubothe's from 1830 to 1854 indicates that Kierkegaard paid nine rix-dollars for the work. See H. P. Rohde, "Om Søren Kierkegaard som bogsamler. Studier i hans efterladte papirer og bøger på Det kongelige Bibliotek"[On Søren Kierkegaard as Book Collector: Studies of His Posthumous Papers and Books at the Royal Library], in *Fund og Forskning i Det kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger* [Discoveries and Research in the Collections of the Royal Library], vol. 8 (Copenhagen, 1961), pp. 79–127, p. 124.

2) See esp. Not13:27–28, pp. 392–395 in this volume.

3) See "The Critical Account of the Text of *Journal JJ*" in KJN 2, 453–467.

III. Contents

The first volume of Tennemann's *Geschichte der Philosophie* treats the pre-Socratic philosophers, and Kierkegaard's excerpts follow closely the organization of the first seven sections of Tennemann's exposition. Beneath headlines such as "The Ionian School," "The Pythagorean School," and "The Eleatics," Kierkegaard notes the primary features of Tennemann's treatment of philosophers like Anaximander, Anaximenes, Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Zeno.

Kierkegaard gives extra attention to the Pythagoreans and the philosophical claim that everything is number and that everything can be understood in terms of numbers. According to the Pythagoreans, the foundational principles of things are the limited and the unlimited, the even and the odd. In connection with this, Kierkegaard reproduces Tennemann's two-column chart of the Pythagorean categories,[1] a chart he also copied into *Notebook 13*.[2]

In the section treating the Eleatics, Kierkegaard does little more than record the primary principles of Parmenides' thought as well as Zeno's paradoxes. Notes on Tennemann's discussion of Heraclitus, Empedocles, and Leucippus are briefer and are limited to keywords.

The excerpts in *Notebook 14* end when Kierkegaard reaches Tennemann's treatment of Democritus.

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1) See Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 1, p. 115, and Not14:1, p. 423 in this volume.

2) See Not13:4, p. 382 in this volume.

Explanatory Notes

423 *1* **Tennemann**] Wilhelm Gottlieb Tennemann (1761–1819), German philosopher, extraordinary professor at Jena beginning in 1798, ordinary professor at Marburg beginning in 1804; especially well known for his history of philosophy, *Geschichte* der *Philosophie* [History of Philosophy], 11 vols. (Leipzig, 1798–1819; ASKB 815–826; abbreviated hereafter as *Geschichte*, vol. 1). Kierkegaard owned this work and used it diligently. Here, he takes notes from pt. 1, "Philosophie der Griechen" [Greek Philosophy], § 1, "Erste Periode bis auf Sokrates" [The First Period before Socrates], chaps. 2–7. See *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 53–298.

2 **The Ionian School**] See chap. 2, "Darstellung der Philosopheme der Jonier" [Presentation of the Philosophy of the Ionians], in *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 53–74. The Ionian school designates a group of pre-Socratic philosophers from the Ionian peninsula of Asia Minor.

3 **Thales; Anaximander; Anaximenes All from Miletus**] Kierkegaard's summary of *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 53. Thales (ca. 624–ca. 545 B.C.), Anaximander (ca. 610–ca. 546 B.C.), and Anaximenes (6th century B.C.), Greek philosophers from the Ionian city of Miletus.

4 **Anaximander assumed . . . ground of everything**] Kierkegaard's summary of *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 65.

5 **The infinite . . . coarser than fire**] Kierkegaard's translation of a passage from *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 68.

6 **He believed . . . must be nursed**] Kierkegaard's summary of *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 71–72.

9 **Anaximenes assumed . . . matter was air**] Kierkegaard's summary of *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 73.

11 **The Pythagorean School**] See chap. 3, "Darstellung der Philosopheme der Pythagoräer" [Presentation of the Philosophy of the Pythagoreans], in *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 75–150. The Pythagorean school refers to the philosophical and religious community founded by Pythagoras (→ 423,*18*) in southern Italy.

12 **Ocellus Lucanus, Timaeus Locrus**] See *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 76–77. In a work on the Pythagoreans by the Neoplatonic thinker Iamblichus (ca. A.D. 300), Ocellus from Lucania is named, though the authenticity of his works are questionable. In Plato's *Timaeus*, Timaeus from Locri is a Pythagorean, but because he is only known from this dialogue, it is possible that he is a fictional character. For these reasons, Tennemann does not use them as sources for his discussion of Pythagorean philosophy.

The famous 10 Aristotelian categories . . . probably inauthentic] See *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 82–83. Tennemann indicates that the work named here, περι του παντος φυσιος [On the Nature of the Universe], was originally attributed to the Greek mathematician and Pythagorean philosopher Archytas of Tarentum (4th century B.C.), but the work is probably inauthentic because the doctrine of categories found there is not essentially different from that found in Aristotle. In Aristotle's philosophy, the categories are understood as logical concepts (the fundamental predicates of thought) and as ontological concepts (the fundamental categories of actuality). Aristotle names ten categories—what a thing is (substance), quantity, quality, relation, place, time, position, state, activity, and passivity (see *Topics*, bk. 1, chap. 9 [103b 21–23]; there is a slightly different list in *Categories*, chap. 4 [1b 25–27])—but he does not claim that his table of categories is exhaustive. Prior to Aristotle, some Pythagoreans had claimed that there must be exactly ten categories (→ 424,*2*). *13*

This fragment teaches . . . noumena] Kierkegaard's summary of *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 84. *15*

Born in Samos—traveled] See *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 87. A reference to Pythagoras, Greek mathematician and philosopher (ca. 570–497 B.C.), who founded the Pythagorean school. Tennemann writes that it may have been Pythagoras's participation in his father's business travels that awakened his imagination and inspired him to seek the company of learned men. *18*

went to Croton . . . the famous institute] See *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 92–99. After leaving Samos and doing much traveling, Pythagoras settled down ca. *18*

530 B.C. in the small but powerful and wealthy Greek state of Croton on the southern coast of Italy. Here he founded an educational institute for the sons of the middle class; over time the school developed into a community with religious and cultic overtones.

20 **Alcmaeon; Philolaus; Timaeus; Archytas; Eudoxus**] See *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 99. Tennemann names Alcmaeon of Croton (ca. 500 B.C.), Philolaus of Croton (5th century B.C.), Timaeus of Locri (→ 423,*12*), Archytas of Tarentum (→ 423,*13*), and Eudoxus of Cnidus (ca. 408–355 B.C.) as the most famous Pythagoreans.

21 **Numbers Are the Principles of Things**] A translation from *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 102.

22 **Things are themselves numbers . . . a cohesive quantity**] Kierkegaard's summary of *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p.104.

24 **The element of number is the even and the odd**] Kierkegaard's summary of *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 105.

24 **One is not a number . . . perfect and complete**] Kierkegaard's translation of *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 105.

28 **The odd number . . . no middle**] See *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 106.

31 **the limitless . . . the principles of things**] Kierkegaard adds the Greek equivalents (in opposite order), but otherwise follows along word-for-word from *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 108. — **το πεπερασμενον—το απειρον**: Greek (to peperasménon—to ápeiron), "the limited," "the unlimited." See Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, bk. 1, chap. 5 (987a 13–19), which Tennemann cites in *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 108–109 n.12.

424 1 **the finite . . . oblong rectangle (ἑτερομηκες)**] In part a translation of a passage from *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 115. Tennemann explains that some of the Pythagoreans claimed that there must be exactly ten categories. They organized a table of categories in which these ten categories, understood as the perfect or the complete, were contrasted with their complementary categories, the imperfect or the incomplete. — **περας**: Greek (péras), "finite." — **απειρον**: Greek (ápeiron), "infinite." — **εν**: Greek (hen), "oneness." — **πληθος**: Greek (plēthos), "multiplicity." — **περιττον**: Greek (perittón), "odd." — **αρτιον**: Greek (ártion), "even." — **δεξιον**: Greek (dexión), "right." — **αριστερον**: Greek (aristerón), "left." — **αρρεν**: Greek (árren), "masculine." — **θηλυ**: Greek (thēly), "feminine." — **ηρεμουν**: Greek (ēremoún), "at rest." — **κινουμενον**: Greek (kinoúmenon), "in motion." — **ευθυ**: Greek (euthý), straight." — **καμπυλον**: Greek (kampýlon), "crooked." — **φως**: Greek (phōs), "light." — **σκοτος**: Greek (skótos), "dark." — **αγαθον**: Greek (agathón), "good." — **κακον**: Greek (kakón), "evil." — **τετραγωνον**: Greek (tetrágōnon), "square." — **ἑτερομηκες**: Greek (heterómēkes), "oblong rectangle."

Unity is the principle of things . . . (αοριστος δυας)] Kierkegaard's summary of *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 121. — **monad**: simple, immaterial substance. *11*

Things are divided . . . the two principles] Cf. *Geschichten*, vol. 1, p. 122, where Tennemann writes: "Some objects can be thought *for themselves without relating to other* [*objects*], such as *human beings, horses, plants*; others [thought] as *opposites*, e.g., *good, evil, justice, injustice, movement, rest*; still others only *in relation to something else*, e.g., *right, left, over, under, half, double*." — **the two principles**: → 424,*2*. *15*

ἡ δικαιοσυνη αριθμος ισακις ισος] Greek, "justice is a number that remains even no matter how many times it is multiplied." Kierkegaard cites the Greek word-for-word from *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 126 n. 31. Tennemann also refers to Aristotle's *Magna Moralia*, bk.1, chap. 1, (1182a 14), where this appears in a somewhat different form: "Pythagoras first attempted to speak about excellence, but not successfully; for by referring the excellences to numbers he submitted the excellences to a treatment which was not proper to them. For justice is not a square number." English translation from Jonathan Barnes, ed., *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), vol. 2, p. 1868. *18*

Virtue is a number . . . it is multiplied] Cf. *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 126, where Tennemann correctly translates ἡ δικαιοσυνη as "die Gerechtigkeit" (German, "justice"), which is just one virtue among others, and not, as it is in Kierkegaard's version, virtue as such. *18*

Pythagoras would not have said . . . κατα αριθμον παντα γινεσθαι] See *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 118, where Tennemann notes that the Greeks have been criticized because "they have attributed to Pythagoras the claim that everything originates *from numbers*, though he merely claimed that everything originates *according to numbers*." — **(εξ αριθμου) but** *20*

κατα αριθμον παντα γινεσθαι: Greek, "from number" but "everything [the universe] arises according to number." Kierkegaard summarizes *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 118 n. 21, but writes γινεσθαι instead of γιγνεσθαι.

22 **Philolaus taught . . . limited and unlimited**] See *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 146.—**Philolaus**: Philolaos of Croton (→ 423,*20*). Tennemann mistakenly indicates that he was from Tarentum.

26 **The Eleatics**] See chap. 4, "Darstellung der Eleatischen Philosopheme" [Presentation of Eleatic Philosophy], *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 150–209. The Eleatics, or philosophers of the Eleatic school, derive their name from the Ionian colony Elea (today Velia) in southern Italy. The Eleatic school was one of the oldest in the Greek Empire, founded ca. 540 B.C. by the philosopher Xenophanes of Colophon, who is often referred to as the first Skeptic because he doubted the validity of human knowledge. The Eleatic school continued under the direction of Parmenides and his students (especially Zeno), who expressed themselves in paradoxical assertions concerning the infinity of being and the impossibility of every form of motion.

27 **Xenophanes . . . Melissus**] See *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 151–153.

28 **the older philosophers . . . thinking of becoming**] See *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 154.

30 **In the world, there is only being, not becoming**] Kierkegaard translates from *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 155.

31 **Parmenides**] See *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 166–181.

31 **What is, is; what is not, is not**] Kierkegaard translates from *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 169.

32 **To think nothing . . . not to think at all**] Kierkegaard translates from *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 169.

33 **Being is identical . . . an impossibility**] See *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 169.

35 **His poem consists of 2 parts: περι νοητου—τα προς δοξαν**] A partial translation of *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 168 n. 28. Parmenides' poem "On Nature," which has survived in fragments, describes his meeting with a goddess who reveals to him the eternal truth in comparison with the opinions of mortals.

36 **Zeno**] Zeno of Elea (5th century B.C.), Greek philosopher. See *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 191–209.

36 **The infinity of space . . . the finitude of time**] Kierkegaard translates from *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 197.

the 4 proofs against movement] See *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 197–200, where Tennemann lists Zeno's four arguments against the reality of movement. 38

when a body moves . . . infinitely divisible] Kierkegaard's summary of *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 197. 38

A body traveling . . . had been] Kierkegaard translates from *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 198. 40

when a body moves . . . to be at rest] Kierkegaard translates from *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 198. 3 425

Two bodies . . . a contradiction] Kierkegaard translates from *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 199. 6

ει τις αυτῳ . . . τα οντα] Greek, "If someone will explain to him what the one is, he will explain what being is." Cited word-for-word from *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 202 n. 74, where the Greek philosopher Simplicius (6th century A.D.) is given as the source. 8

το ἑν] Greek (to hen), "the one." See the following note. 8

μηδεν των οντων εστι το ἑν] Greek, "the one is not of being." Cited word-for-word from *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 202 n. 75, where Simplicius is cited as the source. The note follows this passage: "Ancient and modern authors have claimed that *Zeno has not only doubted the existence of one substance, but altogether denied it*, and said: [the one substance] is *not a part of existing things*; he has thus concluded: *there is nothing that exists*." 10

Heraclitus] See chap. 5, "Philosophie des Heraclits" [The Philosophy of Heraclitus] in *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 209–239. The Greek philosopher Heraclitus (ca. 540–480 B.C.) is known for expressing his thoughts in paradoxes. Only fragments of his work survive. 11

Fire is the power . . . become actual] Kierkegaard translates from *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 217. 12

The world's original condition was fire] Kierkegaard translates from *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 218. 14

Everything is in constant transition and change] See *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 219. 15

ἡ κατω ὁδος; ἡ ανω ὁδος] Greek (hē kátō hodós), "the way down"; and Greek (hē ánō hodós), "the way up." See *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 221: "A constant *course of nature* happens through these changes. Fire turns into air, air into water, and finally water into earth. Inversely, earth dissolves into water, water into air, and air finally into fire. *Heraclitus* called the former *the way down* (ἡ κατω ὁδος), the way of *generation*, he called the latter *the way up* (ἡ ανω 16

ὁδος), the way of *dissolution*." Tennemann cites Diogenes Laertius's *History of Philosophy*, bk. 9, chap. 1.8, as the source.

17 **Everything is and everything is not**] Kierkegaard translates from *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 237.

18 **the law ... (εναντιοτροπη; εναντιοτης; εναντιοδρομια)**] Greek (enantiotrópē), "turned toward," "facing," "opposite"; Greek (enantiótēs), "resistance," "strife," "opposition"; Greek (enantiodromía), "run into," "run up against." Kierkegaard translates word-for-word from *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 232. In n. 40 to this text, Tennemann cites Diogenes Laertius's *Philosophy of History*, bk. 9, chap. 1.7–8, as the source.

21 **Empedocles**] See chap. 6, "Philosophie des Empedocles" [The Philosophy of Empedocles] in *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 240–256. The Greek philosopher Empedocles (ca. 490–430 B.C.) presented his cosmology in a poem, "On Nature" only fragments of which have which survived.

22 **All knowledge ... the known**] Kierkegaard translates from *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 251.

24 **Leucippus**] See chap. 7, "Philosophie des Leucippus und Demokritus" [The Philosophy of Leucippus and Democritus] in *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 256–271 and 271–298. The Greek philosopher Leucippus of Miletus (5th century B.C.) is thought to have authored *Megas Diakosmos* [The Great Order of the Universe], of which a fragment has survived.

25 **It is impossible ... objective plurality**] Kierkegaard's summary of *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 260.

27 **The principles for all actuality ... το μη ον**] Kierkegaard's summary of *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 262: "The principles for all actuality also the *real in space*, that which *fills space* (πληρες), and *empty space*, the *void* (το κενον). Only these are actual in nature, the former as the *positive* (ον), the latter as the *privative* (μη ον)." — **πληρες**: Greek (plēres), "full." — **το κενον**: Greek (to kenón), "the empty." — **το ον**: Greek (to on), "being." — **το μη ον**: Greek (to mē on), "nonbeing."

29 **He is the true founder of the system of atoms**] See *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 270. — **system of atoms**: the philosophical doctrine that teaches that reality consists of atoms—eternal and unchanging elements—and the empty space in which they move and form various combinations.

30 **Democritus**] See chap. 7, "Philosophie des Leucippus and Democritus" in *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 256–271 and 271–298. The Greek philosopher Democritus of Abdera (ca. 460–370 B.C.) was a student of Leucippus, and an atomist.

31 **this proof said to be Achilles'**] See *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 198 n. 70: "This proof is called *Achilles'* because Achilles himself, the fastest of all, shows up along with the tortoise, the slowest." — **Achilles**: Greek hero, known from Homer's *Iliad*. Achilles is sometimes referred to as "swift-footed Achilles."

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NOTES FOR NOTEBOOK 15

Critical Account of the Text by
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Critical Account of the Text

I. Description of the Manuscript

Notebook 15, "My Relationship to 'her,'" is a bound book in quarto format consisting of thirty-eight leaves or seventy-six pages. The notebook is preserved in the Kierkegaard Archive (KA) at the Danish Royal Library in Copenhagen. The handwriting is rather large, rapidly written, and flows easily, although beginning with entry Not15:6 the writing is somewhat smaller and less agitated. Some of the additions are written with flourishes. There are few corrections.

II. Provenance

Notebook 15 is not registered in H. P. Barfod's catalogue of Kierkegaard's posthumous papers (*B-Cat.*).[1] The explanation for this is that after Kierkegaard's death Henrik Lund removed *Notebook 15* from Kierkegaard's personal effects and sent it to Regine Schlegel in the West Indies. The notebook was included in one of two packages sent to her, packages that also contained Regine's letters to Kierke-

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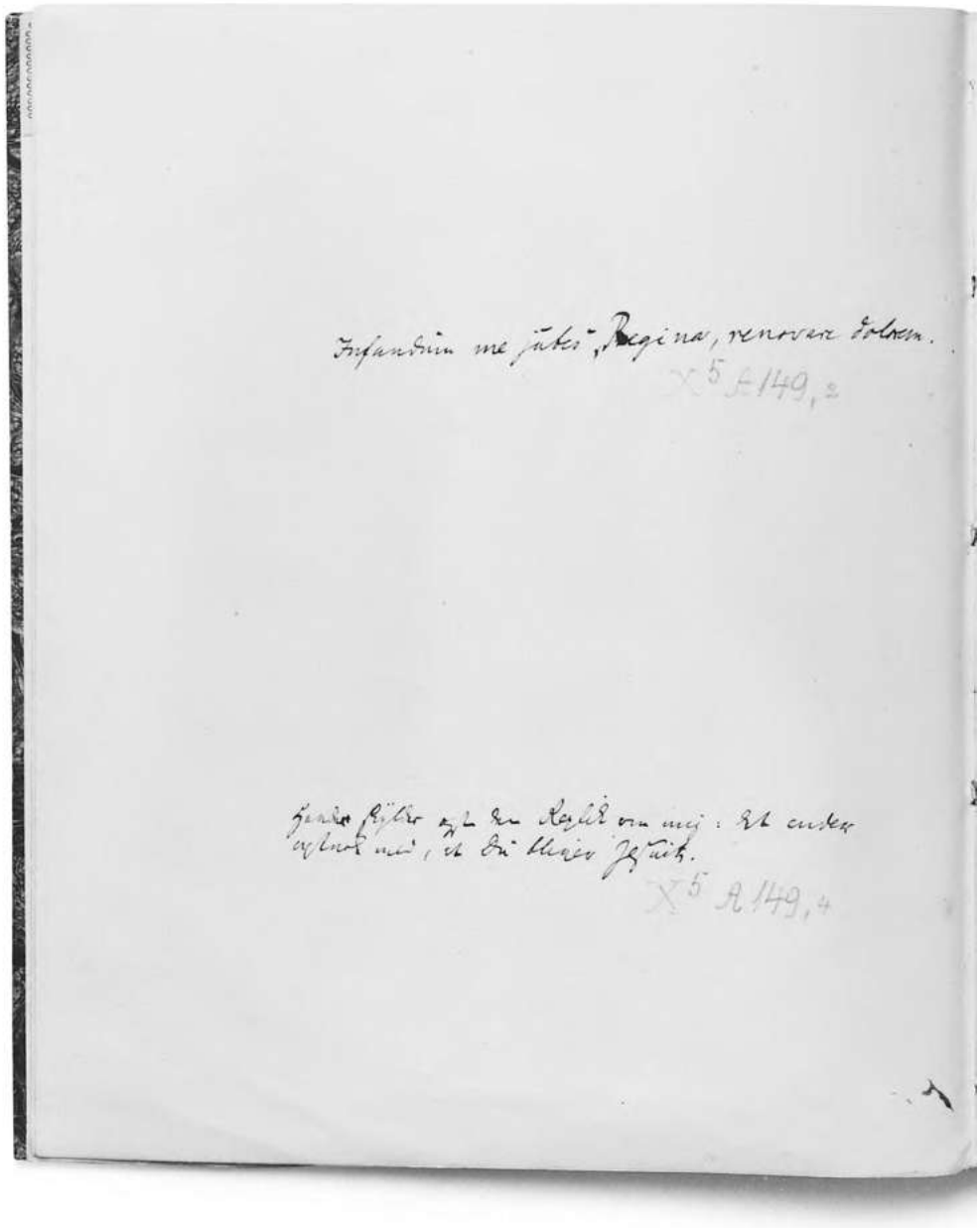
1) Barfod notes the following in connection with item number 240 in *B-Cat.*: "According to H. Lund's catalogue, at K.'s death the following items were also found listed under this no.: sealed letters '*to her*' and to *R. Nielsen* plus 'sealed packages to be burned,' papers which naturally are **not** to be found now." Entry number 240 in Lund's catalogue reads: "What lay in the second of the 2 small drawers when I moved to Østerbro. Some sealed letters to 'Her'—to R. Nielsen.—sealed packages to be burned—insurance policies, etc." With respect to the materials that were listed as being "*to her*," it is, however, made clear that these consisted of letters, etc., and the materials concerning "My Relationship to 'her' " were presumably not included in the "sealed packages to be burned." In NB14:44.b, a marginal note to entry NB14:44 (*KJN* 6; *SKS* 22, 369), "My Relationship to 'her' " is in fact mentioned as being in a different packet of papers from the "little packet of papers on which is written 'to be burned after my death,' which packet is lying in the little drawer in my desk."


Infandum me jubes, Regina, renovare dolorem.
X5 A 149,2
Fandes Königin befiehlst du mir, daß ich erneue
unsäglichen Schmerz, wie die Griechen Ilion
X5 A 149,4

Notebook 15:2–4

X⁵ R 149,1

X⁵ R 149,2

gaard, now lost: "luckily, however, I burned them," she reported to Raphael Meyer, who wrote down the conversations he had held with her during the winter of 1898–1899 and, in accordance with her wishes, subsequently published the materials relevant to her engagement to Kierkegaard.[1] For a time in the late 1890s, the papers were at the home of Kierkegaard's niece, Henriette Lund, until Meyer presented them to the University of Copenhagen Library (now a part of the Danish Royal Library) on November 12, 1898. After Regine Schlegel's death on March 18, 1904, the sealed package was opened, and "My Relationship to 'her'" became a part of the Kierkegaard Archive.[2] The text was published for the first time in the above-mentioned volume edited by Raphael Meyer.

III. Dating and Chronology

According to its title page, *Notebook 15* was begun on August 24, 1849. The notebook contains no other dates. Therefore it cannot be determined with certainty when it was concluded, even though it is very likely that the entire notebook was written in a relatively short period of time. Thus, the lengthy historical account, Not15:4, appears to have been written all at once; if nothing else, the large, flowing handwriting suggests that this portion of the notebook was written down rather quickly. On the other hand, it is more difficult to decide when the rest was written; here the handwriting is less agitated but uniform, nor do the elegant flourishes that often characterize the marginal notes appear to provide any criterion. In his edition Raphael Meyer notes that "the second [column, i.e., the

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1) Raphael Meyer, *Kierkegaardske Papirer. Forlovelsen. Udgivne for Fru Regine Schlegel* [Kierkegaardian Papers: The Engagement. Published for Mrs. Regine Schlegel] (Copenhagen, 1904); a translation of Meyer's account of his conversations with Regine Schlegel is available in Bruce H. Kirmmse, *Encounters with Kierkegaard*, trans. Bruce H. Kirmmse and Virginia R. Laursen (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 39–42 and 280.

2) The register compiled by P. A. Heiberg provides the following information: "X^5 A 148–150. 'My Relationship to her.' 1849.—One volume. Arrived May 1904."

marginal column] contains interpolations, some written at the time, some later."[1]

In Not15:5, Kierkegaard mentions the death of Regine's father, Councillor of State Terkild Olsen. According to an obituary published in *Adresseavisen*, no. 150, June 29, 1849, he passed away "the night of the 25th and 26th of this month," i.e., June 1849. Despite the wording, "Now the councillor of state is dead," the event had taken place well before entry Not15:5 was written.[2] Another external event mentioned is the engagement of Regine's sister, Cornelia Olsen; see Not15:12. But a definite date cannot be assigned to that engagement.[3]

In Not15:6, Kierkegaard mentions a "cabinet made of Brazilian rosewood" he has had made, in which "is found everything that reminds me of her and that could remind her of me." The cabinet also contained "My Relationship to 'her,'" as is clear from NB14:44 and NB14:44.b, a marginal entry to a main entry that has the heading "A Further Step in Relation to 'her'" (in *KJN* 6; *SKS* 22, 369). In the same journal entry it is stated: "I have written a letter to Schlegel with a letter to her enclosed, and have received his reply sent back with the other letter, unopened. Everything is found in a packet in her cabinet, in a white envelope with the inscription: Concerning her. It was Novbr 19th."[4] In *Notebook 15* there is nothing to indicate

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1) Meyer, *Kierkegaardske Papirer*, p. viii.

2) The reference in Not15:5 to "somewhere in *Journal NB12* about in the middle" refers to the journal entry now published as NB12:105 (*KJN* 6; *SKS* 22, 201–202), in which the councillor of state's death is also mentioned. In *Journal NB12* Kierkegaard also notes the following: "No sooner had I come to an agreement with Luno on the printing of *The Sickness unto Death* than I learned that Councillor of State Olsen had died" (NB12:28 in *KJN* 6; *SKS* 22, 160), and in the margin is noted: "*Councillor of State Olsen* is dead" (NB:12:28.a in *KJN* 6; *SKS* 22, 160). On the same day that the obituary was published, i.e., June 29, 1849, *The Sickness unto Death* is listed under "orders" in Bianco Luno's *Erindringsbog* [Memorandum Book] for 1849, serial number 442 (in the archives of Bianco Luno's Printing Press, Copenhagen).

3) It is, however, known that Cornelia Olsen was married to Fr. Emil Winning on November 6, 1849.

4) See *LD*, 334–337; *B&A* 1, 262–264; cf. the drafts, *LD*, 332–334; *B&A* 1, 253–262. The earliest of the drafts is dated September 10.

that Kierkegaard had yet taken this "further step" and written to Johan Frederik Schlegel. According to the above-mentioned entry in *Journal NB14*, "My Relationship to 'her'" was placed in the same envelope containing the letters to Johan Frederik and Regine Schlegel, as well as Johan Frederik Schlegel's reply.[1] Even though it is not stated that the envelope in question was sealed at this point, it must be assumed to be very likely that, at the latest, *Notebook 15* was finished by this time. Thus, from Kierkegaard's own dating we know that *Notebook 15* was begun on August 24, 1849, and it seems that it most likely was concluded by November 19, 1849.

IV. Contents

Notebook 15, "My Relationship to 'her,'" is from a later period than the other notebooks. It is in part retrospective, in part an assessment of how things stood—a "Settlement"—with respect to his relationship with Regine.

Not15:4 constitutes a significant portion of the notebook and provides a historical account of the development of the relationship from the time before the engagement to the time after it was broken off.

The historical presentation essentially ends with Not15:5, which begins abruptly with the words "Now the councillor of state is dead." This entry and those that follow constitute a series of more diffuse reflections, touching in particular on Regine's marriage to Johan Frederik Schlegel. Concerning this, in entry Not15:12 it is remarked:

> My interpretation, which is absolutely the only true interpretation, makes it into what it is: a plus.

The nature of the case makes it impossible to determine how close Kierkegaard's "interpretation" of the entire course of the engagement (and its consequences) comes to reality. The notebook appears to assume the shape, alternately, of a historical report and, as indicated in its subtitle, an account that is "somewhat poetical." Lastly, the three final entries, Not15:13–15, have the heading "Settlement"

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1) See above, p. 775, note 1.

and contain Kierkegaard's further attempts to gain psychological insight into Regine and his relationship to her.

In addition to *Notebook 15*, other of Kierkegaard's journals also attest to his attempts to come to terms with his relationship to Regine. In particular, *Journals NB12–14*, from the last six months of 1849, contain entries that are closely related, both in style and content, to *Notebook 15*, which Kierkegaard was writing at the same time. Thus, four entries in those notebooks bear the titles "Her Relationship to me,"[1] "My Relationship to her,"[2] "My Relationship to her. Ultimatum for This Time,"[3] and "A Further Step in Relation to 'her.'"[4]

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[1]) NB12:120, NB12:120.a, and NB12:120.b (*KJN* 6; *SKS* 22, 213–215).

[2]) NB12:122 (*KJN* 6; *SKS* 22, 216–217).

[3]) NB13:16 (*KJN* 6; *SKS* 22, 281–283).

[4]) NB14:44 (*KJN* 6; *SKS* 6, 367–373).

Explanatory Notes

429 1 **'her'**] Regine Olsen (→ 431,*2* and → 431,*23*).

3 **somewhat poetical**] It is possible to read the original subtitle of *Notebook 15* either as "somewhat poetical" or "something poetical." Kierkegaard's Danish is "*noget Digterisk*." In Kierkegaard's day the initial letters of nouns were capitalized, and the large "D" with which *Digterisk* (i.e., "poetical," or "literary") begins appears to point in the direction of this being a noun phrase. The word *noget* can function as a pronoun meaning "something," or "anything." Thus, an alternative translation of Kierkegaard's subtitle for *Notebook 15* could be "something poetical." On the other hand, when Kierkegaard uses *noget* in this substantive sense he usually capitalizes the initial "N" as in *Noget*. Furthermore, *noget* can also function adverbially meaning "somewhat" or "to a certain degree," and in this connection it should be noted that in *Journal NB14*, in entry NB14:44.b, written very shortly after the completion of *Notebook 15*, probably in the period November 19–21, 1849 (see the "Critical Account of the Text of *Notebook 15*," pp. 778–780 in the present volume, and the "Critical Account of the Text of *Journal NB14*," in *KJN* 6; *SKS* K22, 425), Kierkegaard uses quotation marks in referring very specifically to the subtitle of *Notebook 15* as "*noget digterisk*," with lowercase "d" in *digterisk* as well as a lowercase "n" on *noget*, which seems clearly to indicate that it should be understood adverbially as "somewhat."

430 1 **Infandum me jubes, Regina, renovare dolorem**] Latin, "Too deep for words, O queen, is the grief you bid me renew." Cited in slightly revised form from Virgil (70–19 B.C.), *Aeneid*, 2.3, which reads: "Infandum, Regina, iubes renouare dolorem," *P. Virgilii Maronis opera* [The Works of Virgil], ed. J. Baden, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1778–1780), vol. 1, p. 366; English translation from Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid 1–6*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, rev. G. P. Goold, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 316. See also the Danish translation of Kierkegaard's time, *Virgils Æneide* [Virgil's Aeneid], trans. J. H. Schønheyder, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1812), vol.1, p. 51, where the passage is rendered: "Unspeakable pain you command, O Queen! me to renew." Kierkegaard had used this passage earlier in *Journal NB3* (NB3:43 in *KJN* 4; *SKS* 20, 268).

the remark with respect to myself: It will most likely end with your becoming a Jesuit] Regine's quip is attributed to Judge William, who, in the second part of *Either/Or*, says the following to his aesthetic friend: "You are clever; one cannot deny you that. And what a young girl said about you is true, that you will most likely end up becoming a Jesuit" (*EO* 2, 233; *SKS* 3, 223). Cf. an entry from the early summer of 1848 in *Journal NB5* (NB5:127 in *KJN* 4; *SKS* 20, 421), in which Kierkegaard gives Regine's quip a slightly different twist. In 1534, the Spanish Basque Ignatius Loyola founded the Society of Jesus, known as the Jesuits; they were reputed to be ruthless in pursuit of their goals. 2 430

Regine Olsen] Regine Olsen (1822–1904) was engaged to Kierkegaard from September 10, 1840, until October 11 or 18, 1841 (→ 434,*5*). — **Regine Olsen.—**: Variant: *added*. 2 431

I saw her for the first time at the Rørdams'] Cathrine Georgia Rørdam (1777–1842), the widow of Dean Thomas Schatt Rørdam (d. 1831), lived in Frederiksberg with her son, cand. theol. Peter Rørdam, and her three daughters, of whom the youngest was Bolette (see the note after the next). Kierkegaard probably met Regine for the first time during a visit to the Rørdam family in the spring of 1837. 2

before I visited the family] i.e., before he visited the Olsen family. 3

Bollette Rørdam] Bolette Christine Rørdam (1815–1887), was engaged to cand. theol. Peter Købke (d. 1839); worked from 1841 to 1850 as a housekeeper for her brother Peter Rørdam; married parish priest N. L. Feilberg in 1857. 5

10 **my father died**] Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard died on August 9, 1838, at the age of eighty-one. In his diary, Peter Christian Kierkegaard described his father's final hours; for an English translation of excerpts and a summary from this account, see Joakim Garff, *Søren Kierkegaard: A Biography*, trans. Bruce H. Kirmmse (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 129–130.

11 **I studied for the examinations**] Kierkegaard intensified his theological studies after his father's death; see journal entry JJ:297, where he writes, with respect to his theological degree, that "Had Father lived on, I would never have got it" (*KJN* 2, 214; *SKS* 18, 234).

14 **In the summer of 40 I took the examination for the theol. degree**] Kierkegaard received his theological degree on July 3, 1840.

16 **I traveled to Jutland**] Kierkegaard set out on his journey to Jutland on Saturday, July 18, 1840; see entry Not6:1, with its accompanying note, in this volume.

18 **angling**] Variant: *first written* "tightening."

19 **I returned in Aug.**] Kierkegaard was back in Copenhagen on August 7 or 8, 1840; see Not6:35, with its accompanying note, in this volume.

22 **Septbr**] Variant: *first written* "7."

23 **just outside their house**] Regine lived with her parents in Nye-Børs in a house, now torn down, known as "The Six Sisters," between the Stock Exchange and Knippelsbro (*see map 2, C3*). According to the census of February 1, 1840, the Olsen family lived on the second floor of the house, and the occupants were registered as follows: "Terkild Olsen, 57, married, Councillor of Justice and Royal Bookkeeper / Regina Malling, 62, ditto, his wife / Maria Dorothea Frederike Olsen, 31, unmarried, their daughter / Olivia Christiane Olsen, 29, unmarried, their daughter / Oluf Christian Olsen, 26, unmarried, their son, university student / Jonas Christian Olsen, 24, unmarried, their son, university student / Cornelia Olsen, 23, unmarried, their daughter / Regina Olsen, 19, unmarried, their daughter / Kirstine Michelsen, 35, unmarried, serving maid."

37 **a relationship to Schlegel . . . parenthesis**] Johan Frederik Schlegel (1817–1896), university student, 1833; law degree, 1838; worked for a time as a private tutor in the Olsen household and developed tender feelings for Regine. In 1842, he started as an intern in the state Office of Customs and Commerce, becoming a head clerk there in 1847; the following year he became "Chief of the Colonial Office"; and in 1854, he was appointed governor of the Danish West Indies (today's U. S. Virgin Islands), where his duties included dealing with matters that had arisen in the wake of the abolition of slavery in 1848. — **parenthesis**: Variant: *following this has been deleted* "namely, that my relationship to myself, even if we had never approached one another like this."

I immediately went up to the councillor of state] 1 432
i.e., to Regine's father, Terkild Olsen (1784–1849), who was head of an office in the Finance Ministry, which was located on the second floor of the chancellery building at the corner between the Stock Exchange and Christiansborg Castle, the seat of government (*see map 2, B3*). — **the councillor of state**: properly "actual councillor of state," a title that according to the decree on rank and precedence of October 14, 1756, was ranked in the third place of the third class (out of a total of six classes); in 1840, however, Terkild Olsen still held only the title of "actual councillor of justice," a title that was ranked in the third place of the fourth class. See, e.g., "Titulaturer til Rangspersoner i alfabetisk Orden" [The Titles of Persons of Rank, Listed in Alphabetical Order], in C. Bartholin, *Almindelig Brev- og Formularbog* [General Book of Letters and Forms], 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1844; ASKB 933), vol. 1, pp. 49–56.

I asked if we could speak together] i.e., if Kierkegaard and Regine could have a private conversation. 7

declared that she had accepted me out of pity] 20
The young woman in " 'Guilty?' / 'Not Guilty?' " makes a similar declaration (*SLW*, 267; *SKS* 6, 249).

of worship] Variant: *added*. 34

The note was included word for word in "The Psychological Experiment."] 21 433
See " 'Guilty?' / 'Not Guilty?' " in *Stages on Life's Way* (*SLW*, 184–494; *SKS* 6, 173–454), where the contents of the note (i.e., a brief letter, usually brought by a servant) are rendered as follows: "So as not to have to rehearse yet again something which must, in the end, be done; something which, when it has been done, will surely give the strength that is needed; let it be done, then. Above all, forget the person who writes this; forgive a person who, whatever he might have been capable of, was incapable of making a girl

happy" (*SLW* 329–330; *SKS* 6, 307). Kierkegaard's original note to Regine is not extant.

28 **In her feminine desperation she overstepped the boundary**] Presumably, Kierkegaard is here referring to the circumstance that Regine, after having received the note and her ring on August 11, 1841, attempted to speak with Kierkegaard in his apartment on Nørregade (→ 438,3), a step that would have been viewed as highly improper for a young lady to take at that time; see the entry titled "My Relationship with her," from ca. September 1, 1849, in *Journal NB12*: "Instead of letting the matter be decided now, she went up to my rooms in my absence and wrote me a note of utter despair in which she implored me for the sake of Jesus Christ and the memory of my late father, not to leave her" (NB12:122 and NB12:122.b from *Journal NB12* in *KJN* 6; *SKS* 22, 216).

434 5 **Then it broke, about two months later**] Kierkegaard broke off the engagement to Regine unequivocally on October 11 or 18, 1841 (see the next note); see entries NB12:122 and NB12:122.b in *Journal NB12* (*KJN* 6; *SKS* 22, 216).

8 **theater because I wanted to meet Emil Boesen**] Emil Ferdinand Boesen (1812–1881), university student, 1829; cand. theol., 1834; teacher at Westens School until 1849; thereafter resident curate in Horsens; and from 1863 archdeacon in Århus. Boesen had been Kierkegaard's best friend since their early youth. "I do not know on what date I broke off the engagement," Kierkegaard wrote in November 1849, but after reconstructing "the adjacent circumstances," he believed that the break must have taken place on "the 11th or 18th of October." As one of these "circumstances" he notes that on the day the breach became a reality, "*The White Lady* was presented in the theater that evening, and I was there to look for someone with whom I had to talk" (*LD*, 336; *B&A* 1, 264). The play *The White Lady* was performed at the Royal Theater on October 12 and 18, 1841, so if Kierkegaard remembers correctly that it was this piece that was played on the day the engagement came to an end, the date can only have been October 18, 1841.

14 **the councillor of state**] i.e., Regine's father (→ 432,1).

17 **He**] Variant: *Pap.* has "She"

435 3 **My brother**] Peter Christian Kierkegaard (1805–1888), earned his licentiate degree in theology in 1836; from 1842, he was parish priest in Pedersborg and Kindertofte near Sorø.

I traveled to Berlin] Kierkegaard set out for Berlin on October 25, 1841, and returned to Copenhagen on March 6, 1842; see Not8:2 with its accompanying note in this volume. 8

priest's melange] Presumably "preacher's blend," a tobacco mixture. 16

"The Seducer's Diary" was written for her sake] In an undated entry in *Journal NB10* from 1849, Kierkegaard writes: "I wrote 'The Seducer's Diary' for her sake, in order to clear her out of the relationship" (NB10:185 in *KJN* 4; *SKS* 21, 354). This notion that "The Seducer's Diary" was a well-meant deception aimed at Regine is repeated on a loose piece of paper dated October 13, 1853: " 'The Seducer's Diary' was of course [written] in order to repulse, or, as it says in *Fear and Trembling*, 'when the child is to be weaned, the mother blackens her breast' " (*Pap.* X 5 A 146, p. 151). 1 436

The preface to the *Two Edifying Discourses* was intended for her] See the preface to *Two Edifying Discourses* from 1843 (*EUD*, 5; *SKS* 5, 13); see also the note on this in *SKS* K5, 35. 2

the book's date, the dedication to Father] The preface is dated May 5, 1843, Kierkegaard's thirtieth birthday; see *EUD*, 5; *SKS* 5, 13. The discourses are dedicated to Kierkegaard's father, Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard; see *EUD*, 3; *SKS* 5, 11. 4

Sibbern] Frederik Christian Sibbern (1785–1872), Danish philosopher and author; professor of philosophy at the University of Copenhagen, 1813–1870, where he was one of Kierkegaard's professors. 6

I was in Berlin for only half a year] Kierkegaard was in Berlin for about four and a half months (→ 435,8). 7

after Mynster's sermon on Easter Day] Jakob Peter Mynster (1775–1854), bishop of Zealand and primate of the Danish State Church from 1834 until his death; on Easter Day, March 27, 1842, he preached at the vespers service at the Church of Our Lady (*see map 2, B1*); see *Kjøbenhavns kongelig alene privilegerede Adressecomptoirs Efterretninger* [Information from Copenhagen's Only Royally Licensed Advertising Office] (known in everyday speech as *Adresseavisen*), March 26, 1842, no. 71. — **Easter Day**: Variant: *first written* "2." The Danish term for Easter Day or Easter Sunday is "1st Easter 10

Day," and "2nd Easter Day" means Easter Monday; thus the Danish term for "Easter Sunday" begins with the number "1," and the Danish term for "Easter Monday" begins with the number "2," which Kierkegaard had originally written here.

18 **Shortly before her engagement to Schlegel she caught sight of me in a church**] On Easter Day, April 16, 1843, Bishop Mynster preached at the vespers service at the Church of Our Lady (*see map 2, B1*). Kierkegaard provides a full description of the episode in JJ:107 (see *KJN* 2, 161), where, however, one does not get the impression that he was aware of the engagement.

31 **The day the banns were read for her, I was sitting in the Church of Our Savior**] It is not known when the banns were read for Regine Olsen and Johan Frederik Schlegel, but they were married on November 3, 1847, in the Church of Our Savior in the Christianshavn district of Copenhagen (*see map 2, C4*).

431*m* 2 **In the later journals . . . there is a single remark about her here and there**] See *Journal NB7*, which Kierkegaard started using on August 21, 1848, entries NB7:10, NB7:10.a, NB7:20, and NB7:20.a (*KJN* 5; *SKS* 21, 80–81 and 86–87). See also *Journal NB9*, which Kierkegaard started using on January 2, 1849, entry NB9:24 (*KJN* 5; *SKS* 21, 210–212); and *Journal NB10*, which Kierkegaard started using on February 9, 1849, entry NB10:121 (*KJN* 5; *SKS* 21, 318–319).

433*m* 18 **a person gets fat by getting married**] This line is spoken by an unnamed gentleman in " 'Guilty?' / 'Not Guilty?' " (*SLW*, 371; *SKS* 6, 344).

23 **The retort: that one can break off an engagement in two ways . . . I rlly think that you are mad**] Both retorts are found in " 'Guilty?' / 'Not Guilty?' " (*SLW*, 385–386; *SKS* 6, 357–358).

434*m* 20 **She took out a little note on which were some words from me**] The wording of the note is not known.

34 **I should come like Wilhelm in Lenore**] Kierkegaard refers to the ballad *Lenore* (1774) by the German poet Gottfried August Bürger (1747–1794); see, e.g., *Bürgers Gedichte* [Bürger's Poems] (Gotha, 1828), pp. 48–57. The passage alluded to tells of the dead warrior Wilhelm who late at night fetches his beloved Lenore and rides away with her to his grave in the cemetery.

That this behavior is gallantry . . . explained to Constantin Constantius] Here Kierkegaard is referring to *Repetition: A Venture in Experimenting Psychology, by Constantin Constantius*, which appeared on October 16, 1843. In that book Constantin Constantius meets a Young Man who has fallen head over heels in love with a girl; the infatuation releases such violent, artistic powers within him that the actual girl becomes almost an inconvenience. When the Young Man cannot get himself to transfigure the girl—because of "the confusing circumstance, that she was only the visible form, while his thoughts, his soul, sought something else, which he attributed to her" (*R*, 141; *SKS* 4, 18)—Constantin Constantius suggests that he employ the following method: "Destroy everything, transform yourself into a despicable human being whose only pleasure consists in deceit and deception . . . First, try, if possible, to make yourself a bit unpleasant to her. Don't tease her, it will incite her. No! Be inconsistent, drivelling, do one thing one day, something else the next, though without emotion, in a total rut. . . . Rather than any of the delights of love, generate a sort of cloying quasi-love, which is neither indifference nor desire. Let the whole of your conduct be as unpleasing as watching a man drool" (*R*, 142; *SKS* 4, 19). 5 435*m*

The day . . . it was returned unopened] The letter and its contents have not been preserved in any way other than the account in this entry. 10

something that indeed utterly failed to happen] Kierkegaard is apparently referring here to the fact that *Either/Or*, owing in no small measure to "The Seducer's Diary," was a great success with the public; see the "Critical Account of the Text" of *Enten—Eller* in *SKS* K2–3, 61. 7 436*m*

to increase] Variant: *added*. 11

Now the councillor of state is dead] On June 29, 1849, the following obituary was published in *Adresseavisen*, no. 150: "on the night of the 25th and 26th of this month, the Lord called away, after 40 years of marriage, my beloved husband, the father of my 6 children, Terkild Olsen, Councillor of State and Knight of the Dannebrog. / Regina Olsen, née Malling." See entry NB12:28.a in *Journal NB12* (*KJN* 6; *SKS* 22, 160). 1 437

she would die for love] When Kierkegaard broke off the engagement (→ 434,5), Regine supposedly 12

said that it would be her death, which Kierkegaard interpreted as meaning that he now had a murder on his conscience; see entry NB:210 from May 1847 in *Journal NB* (*KJN* 4; *SKS* 20, 122–123).

18 **She once showed me how far beyond the boundary she could go**] → 433,*28*.

41 **completed**] Variant 1: *changed from* "completed as never before"; Variant 2: *deletion*: prior to "completed" the words "for me" have been deleted.

438 1 **brotherly**] Variant: *changed from* "sisterly."

437*m* 1 **see somewhere in Journal NB12 about in the middle**] See entries NB12:105 and NB12:105.a in *Journal NB12*, which Kierkegaard began using on July 19, 1849 (*KJN* 6; *SKS* 22, 201–202).

437*m* 6 **wished to be an actress**] Cf. journal entry JJ:115, where Kierkegaard mentions Regine's wish to be a "theater princess" (*KJN* 2, 164–165).

438 3 **When I was living on Nørregade, on the second floor**] Kierkegaard lived at what is now number 38 Nørregade from April or October 1840 until October 1844.

16 **a letter concerning her, to be opened after my death**] See *LD*, 33; *B&A* 1, 25.

438 32 **Schlegel . . . is successful**] On December 29, 1848, Johan Frederik Schlegel (→ 431,*37*) was appointed chief of the Colonial Office in the Finance Ministry; see entry NB9:24 in *Journal NB9*, which Kierkegaard began using on January 2, 1849 (*KJN* 5; *SKS* 21, 210–212).

439 4 **what Miss Dencker told me**] Elise Dencker was the housekeeper for Johan Christian Lund, who lived at the corner of Købmagergade and Klareboderne (*see map 2, C2*), and had been married to Kierkegaard's sister Nicoline Christine from 1824 until her death in 1832. In the census of February 1, 1845, Elise Dencker is registered as a forty-four-year-old, unmarried "housemaid," born in Eckernförde. She was said to be exacting and difficult, but it is not known what her relations with Regine were like.

12 **two months before the decisive event she received a letter of separation**] (→ 433,*21*).

18 **pull out an entire additional alphabet**] Presumably an allusion to the compositor's need to use various type fonts.

As for Cornelia, her engagement has in a sense saddened me] Cornelia Olsen (1818–1901), Regine's older sister, was married to F. E. Winning on November 6, 1849, but it has not been possible to determine the date of their engagement. See also journal entry JJ:300: "Under the title 'Private Studies,' and to be kept as delicate as possible, I would like to depict a female character who was great by virtue of her lovably modest and bashful resignation, (e.g., a somewhat idealized Cornelia Olsen, the most excellent female figure I have known and the only one who compelled my admiration). She would have the experience of seeing her sister marry the person whom she herself loved. This is the collision for resignation" (*KJN* 2, 215). — **Cornelia**: Variant: *first written* "Cordel." 7 440

it pains me that I now have the advantage] Variant: "now" *added*. 1 441

Settlement] Variant: *changed from* "View." Kierkegaard here substituted the Danish term *Opgjørelse* ("settlement," as in settlement of accounts) for *Opfattelse* ("view, understanding, perception, interpretation"). 1 442

Ergo I will do everything to break it] Kierkegaard here imagines Regine to be speaking these words, so the sentence should be understood to mean "Ergo I [Regine] will do everything to break it [Kierkegaard's melancholia]." 6

she who was not the least bit developed religiously] In an effort to develop Regine religiously, Kierkegaard, according to his own account in JJ:145, "read Mynster's sermons aloud to her once a week" (*KJN* 2, 174). 9

that general who himself commanded that he be shot] It has not been possible to determine to which general Kierkegaard is referring. 22

Goethe's Frederikke . . . to have loved Goethe must be enough for a girl] Friederike Brion (1752–1813), a pastor's daughter from Sesenheim, near Strasbourg, was Johann Wolfgang Goethe's (1749–1832) sweetheart from October 1770 until August 1771. Goethe tells about their relationship in books 10, 11, and 12 of his *Aus meinem Leben. Dichtung und Wahrheit* [From My Life: Poetry and Truth]; see *Goethe's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand* [Goethe's Works: Complete Edition, with the Author's Final Changes], 60 vols. (Stuttgart, 1828–1842; ASKB 1641–1668 [vols. 1–55]), vols. 35

25–26 (1829), esp. vol. 26, pp. 80–84 and pp. 118–121. Goethe ended the relationship when he left Strasbourg after finishing his examinations. Friederike never married.

443 13 **when first I saw her**] Variant: *first written* "when I first saw her" (→ 431,2).

13 **Lovely she was**] Variant: *first written* "She was lovely."

38 **there it is not denied me**] i.e., "there," in history.

444 2 **"our own dear little Regine."**] Here Kierkegaard is quoting himself, inasmuch as in an undated letter to Regine from the first period of his engagement he speaks of her as "our own little Regine" (*LD*, 61; *B&A* 1, 47). In the autumn of 1849, when Kierkegaard had plans for writing a series of letters that would explain to Regine some of the reasons for the failure of their engagement, he again used the expression "our own dear little Regine" (*LD*, 324; *B&A* 1, 254).

443*m* 5 **She is the source of the story about a girl and boy**] It has not been possible to identify the story.

Mrs. Munter who ran away with Pollon] It has not been possible to identify the characters in the story. 11 443*m*

God, honestly ... superiority] Variant: *changed from* "God." 9 444

look, that is "fear and trembling."] See Phil 2:12, where Paul writes to the Philippians: "Therefore, my beloved, just as you have always obeyed me, not only in my presence, but much more now in my absence, work out your salvation with fear and trembling." Here Kierkegaard seems especially to connect his own erotic crisis with themes in the work *Fear and Trembling* from 1843. 33

like those demons in the fairy tale] Here Kierkegaard is presumably referring to his own demonic variations on the tale of Agnete and the Merman in *Fear and Trembling*; see *FT*, 94–99; *SKS* 4, 183–191. The motif takes on personal depth in journal entry JJ:120, where Kierkegaard drafts the first sketches of the work. 1 445

MAPS

Map 1, Copenhagen, 1839, by Severin Sterm
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Map 2 , Copenhagen Locator Map
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Map 3, Mols
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Map 4, Ringkjøbing
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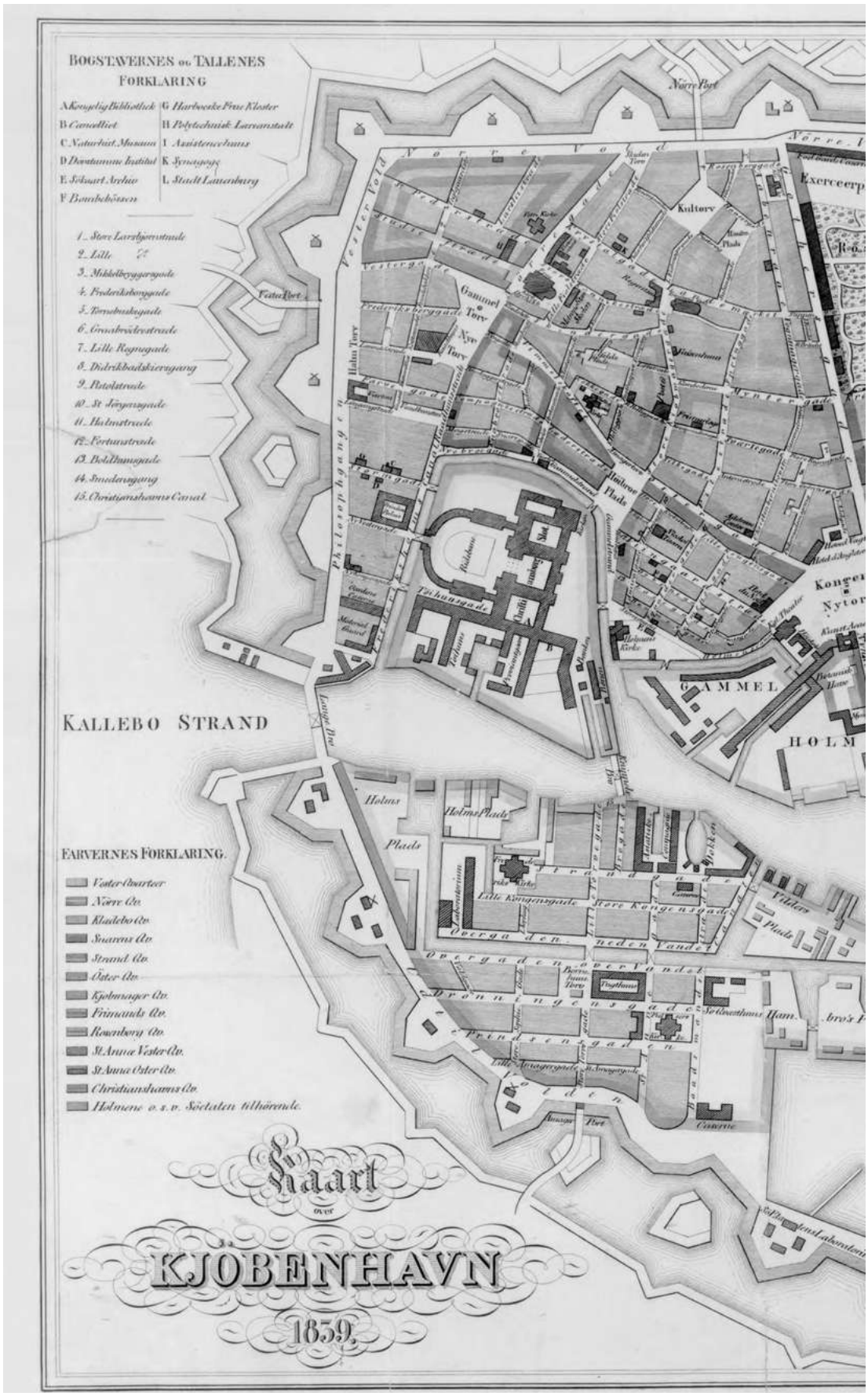
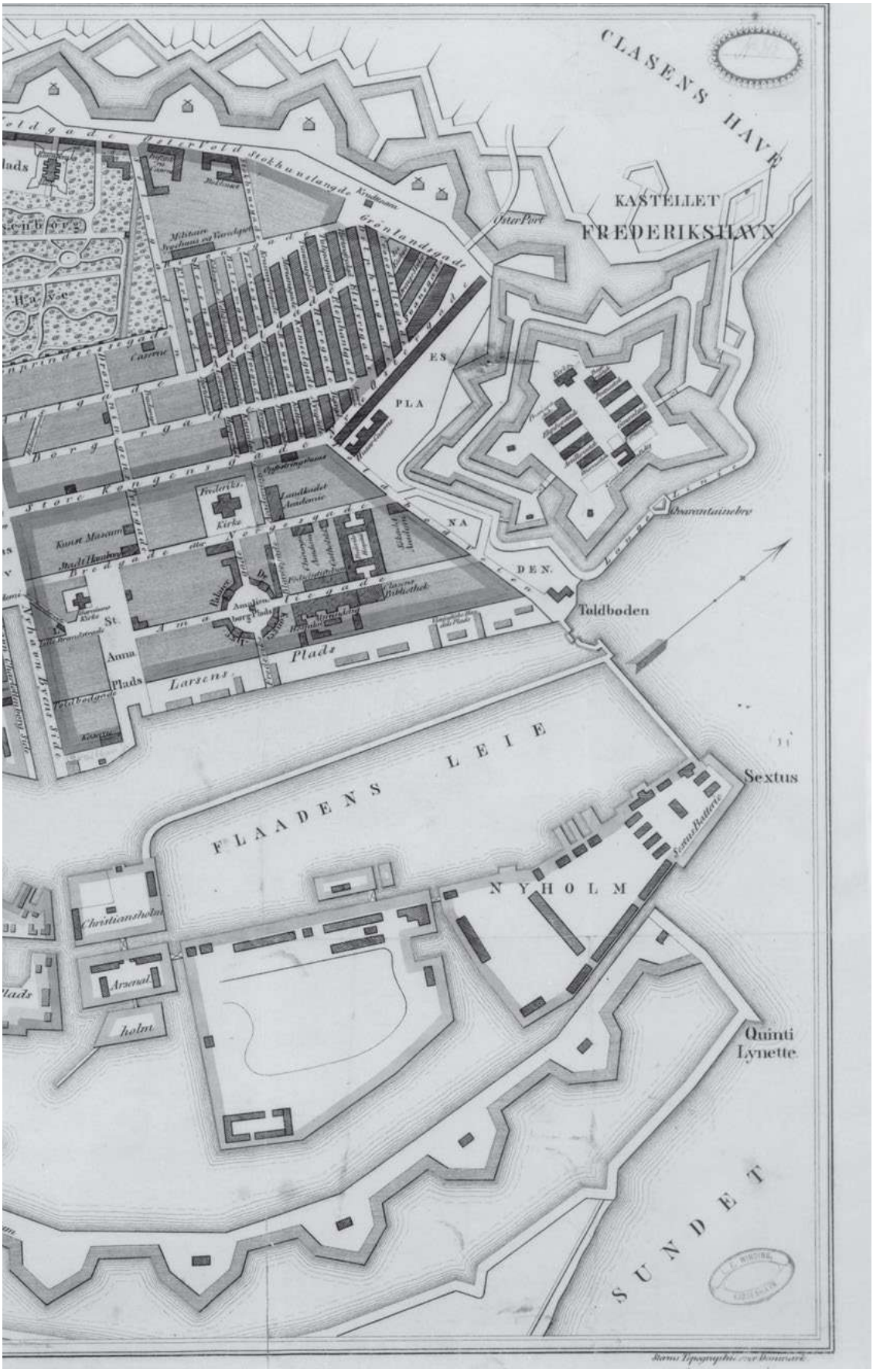
Map 5, Viborg
797


BOGSTAVERNES og TALLENES FORKLARING
A Kongelig Bibliothek
B Cancelliet
C Naturhist. Museum
D Døvstumme Institut
E Søkvart Archiv
F Bombehôsen
G Harbocske Frue Kloster
H Polytechnisk Læreanstalt
I Assistentvelhuus
K Synagoge
L Stadt Lauenburg
1 Store Larebjerestraade
2 Lille "
3 Mikkelbryggergade
4 Frederiksborggade
5 Tornebuskegade
6 Grønnebrødretorvet
7 Lille Regnegade
8 Didrikbadskjerregang
9 Pistolstrade
10 St Jørgensgade
11 Halmstrade
12 Fortunstrade
13 Boldhusgade
14 Snedkergang
15 Christianshavns Canal
KALLEBO STRAND
FARVERNES FORKLARING.
Vester Quarteer
Nørre Qv.
Kjedelho Qv.
Snarens Qv.
Strand Qv.
Øster Qv.
Kjøbmager Qv.
Frimands Qv.
Rosenberg Qv.
St Annæ Vester Qv.
St Annæ Øster Qv.
Christianshavns Qv.
Holmene o. s. v. Sóetaten tilhørende.
Kaart
over
KJØBENHAVN
1859.
Nørre Port
Vester Port
Øster Port
Kultorv
Gammel Torv
Nye Torv
Hôibro Plads
Rådhuspladsen
Raadhuus
Holmens Plads
Lille Kongensgade
Store Kongensgade
Børse
Toldhuus
Arsenalet
Citadellet
GAMMEL
HOLM

Map 1


CLASENS HAVE
KASTELLET
FREDERIKSHAVN
Ester Port
Grønlandsgade
Militair Sygehus og Varetægt
Caserne
Havne
Bredgade
Store Kongensgade
Frederiks Kirke
Landhandel Academie
Kunst Museum
Stadt Hambro
Amalien borg Plads
Anna Plads
Larsens Pladz
Toldboden
Sextus
FLAADENS LEIE
NYHOLM
Christianshavn
Arsenal
Holm
Quinti Lynette
SUNDET

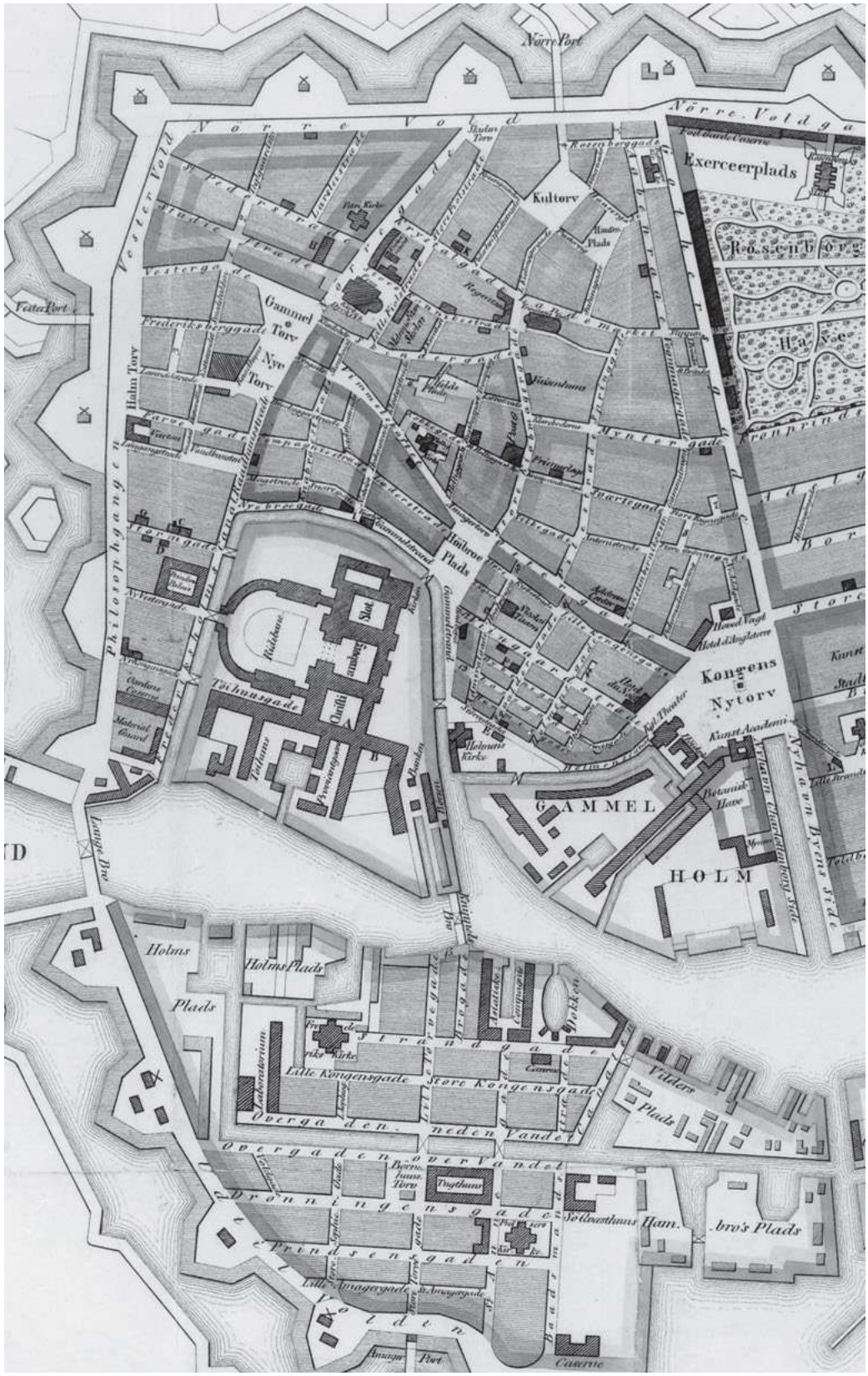
A | B | C | D

1

2

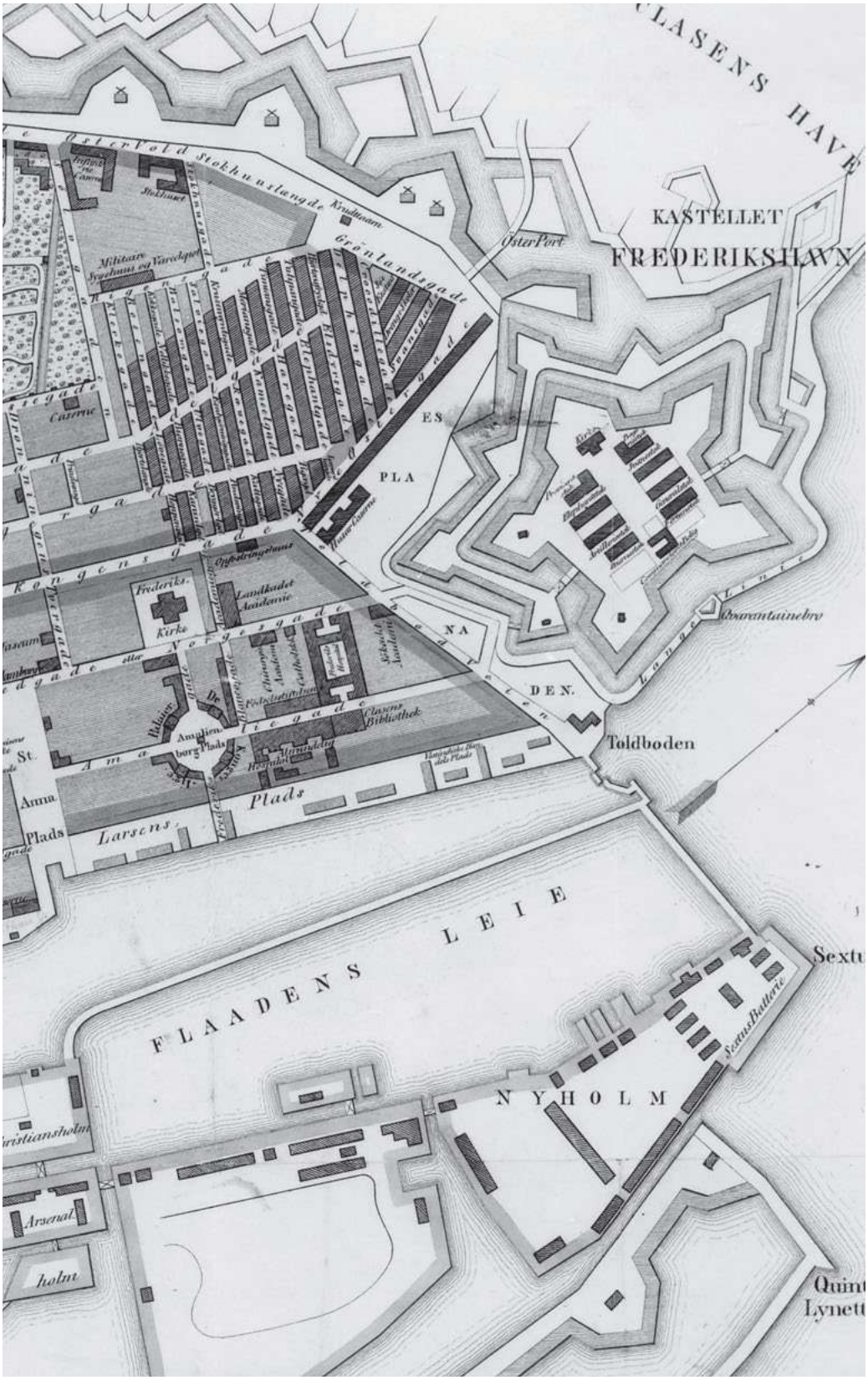
3

4



Map 2

E | F | G | H


KASTELLET
FREDERIKSHAVN
Toldboden
Plads
Larsens
Amalienborg Plads
Frederiks Kirke
Landkadet Academie
Palais
Clasens Bibliothek
Militaire Syehuus og Varelager
Caserne
Grönlandsgade
Kongens Nytorv
Amagertorv
Amagerport
Langelinie
Quarantainebro
Sextus Batterie
NYHOLM
FLAADENS LEIE
Arsenal
holm

1 — 2 — 3 — 4

A | B | C | D

1 — 2 — 3 — 4

Map 3

E | F | G | H

Glesborg
Rimsø
7
Karleby
Vegerslev
Kastberg
Vorlby
Hammelev
Villersø
Orum
Skjervad
Orbek
Gumerup
GRENAA
Enslev
Nimtofte
Tostrup
Hessel
Veilby
Aalsø
Kolind
Veveile
Vedo
Koed
Albøge
Lyngby
Hoinø
Katholm
Skarresø
Ebdrup
Nødager
Bjernholm
Lykkesholm
Høgholm
8
Hoed
Tirstrup
Rosmus
Feldballe
Fuglslev
Hylle
Sted
Lyngsbek
Skjerso
Agrie
9
Knebel
Draaby
Ebeltoft
Viig
Bogenholm
Vistoft
EBELTOFT
Helgenæs
1
2
3
4

A | B | C | D

1

2

3

4

Map 4

A | B | C | D

Liim
Nørre
Herred
Astrup
Hessel
Louens
Alstrup
Ullids
Vesterbölle
Østerbölle
Restrup
Fjelsø
Hvam
Fjorden
Landöe
Ulbjerg
Tostrup
Orslev Kloster
Starupgd
Strandet
Rind
Laastrup
Holmgd
Bjerregrav
Lyndrup
Orum
Fjends
Skals
Donnerby
Taarup
Quols
Vorde
Løvel
Kobberup
Feldingberg
Fiskbek
Gammelstrup
Lundgaard
Borrids
Rom
Lund
Smollerup
Mønsted
Ravnstrup
VIBORG
Tapdrup
Dagberg
Herred
Finderup
Hald
Resen
Dollerup
Almind
Rind
Frederikshöi
Frederiks
Kirke
Ivsgaard
Marsvinslund
Brandstrup
Farsø
Gislum
Vognsild
Lerkenfeld
Testrup
Kjeldstrup
Byrup
Kjerup
Eltrup
Tulstrup
Spandgd
Skinderup
Viegd
Holmgd
Pedersgrav
Skals
Aastrup
Løvel M.
Kistrup
Rødding
Lyngsgd
Fiskbek Aa
Vorbek
Vormstrup
Rogenstrup
Bollerup
Kirkebek
Jestrup
Gaardsdal
Hellerupgde
Agerskov
Stanghede
Flygade
Fuldelsgde
Frederikshöi
Over Tostrup
Nedr Tostrup
Katballe
Sjerup
Tolstrup
Vranum
Almindby
Snabe
Mellem
Vandel
Brødles
Skavn gd
Vinkel
Ran
Kjerstrup
Tapdrup
Asmild K
Asmild
Overland
Gammel Asmild
Tapdrup
Vinkel
Vindu
Vindum
Faar
Ingstrup
Meilgd
Bjerregholm
Nørregd
Overkjelholm
Nørre Kjelholm
Lundgaard
Lolstrup
Toogd
Batum
Lolstrup
Ingstrup
Engelsborgd
Nørre Vosborg
Vosborg
Nørre Vosborg
Vosborg
Nørre Vosborg
Vosborg

CALENDAR

For January 1, 1835, through December 31, 1843,
Indicating Danish State and Church Holidays

800

1835

January		February		March		April		May		June	
Th 1	New Year's Day	Su 1	4th S. a. Epiphany	Su 1	Quinquagesima	W 1		F 1		M 1	
F 2		M 2	Candlemas	M 2		Th 2		Sa 2		Tu 2	
Sa 3		Tu 3		Tu 3	Shrove Tuesday	F 3		Su 3	2nd S. a. Easter	W 3	
Su 4	2nd S. a. Christm.	W 4		W 4	Ash Wednesday	Sa 4		M 4		Th 4	
M 5		Th 5		Th 5		Su 5	5th S. in Lent	Tu 5		F 5	
Tu 6	Epiphany	F 6		F 6		M 6		W 6		Sa 6	
W 7		Sa 7		Sa 7		Tu 7		Th 7		Su 7	Whit Sunday
Th 8		Su 8	5th S. a. Epiphany	Su 8	1st S. in Lent	W 8		F 8		M 8	Whit Monday
F 9		M 9		M 9	40 Martyrs	Th 9		Sa 9		Tu 9	
Sa 10		Tu 10		Tu 10		F 10		Su 10	3rd S. a. Easter	W 10	Ember Day
Su 11	1st S. a. Epiphany	W 11		W 11		Sa 11		M 11		Th 11	
M 12		Th 12		Th 12		Su 12	Palm Sunday	Tu 12		F 12	
Tu 13		F 13		F 13		M 13		W 13		Sa 13	
W 14		Sa 14		Sa 14		Tu 14		Th 14		Su 14	Trinity Sunday
Th 15		Su 15	Septuagesima	Su 15	2nd S. in Lent	W 15		F 15	Rogation Day	M 15	
F 16		M 16		M 16		Th 16	Maundy Thursday	Sa 16		Tu 16	
Sa 17		Tu 17		Tu 17		F 17	Good Friday	Su 17	4th S. a. Easter	W 17	
Su 18	2nd S. a. Epiphany	W 18		W 18		Sa 18		M 18		Th 18	Corpus Christi
M 19		Th 19		Th 19		Su 19	Easter Day	Tu 19		F 19	
Tu 20		F 20		F 20		M 20	Easter Monday	W 20		Sa 20	
W 21		Sa 21		Sa 21		Tu 21		Th 21		Su 21	1st S. a. Trinity
Th 22		Su 22	Sexagesima	Su 22	3rd S. in Lent	W 22		F 22		M 22	
F 23			St. Peter's Chair	M 23		Th 23	Moving day	Sa 23		Tu 23	
Sa 24		M 23		Tu 24		F 24		Su 24	5th S. a. Easter	W 24	Birth of John Bapt.
Su 25	3rd S. a. Epiphany	Tu 24		W 25		Sa 25		M 25		Th 25	
M 26		W 25		Th 26		Su 26	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 26		F 26	
Tu 27		Th 26		F 27		M 27		W 27		Sa 27	7 Sleepers
W 28		F 27		Sa 28		Tu 28		Th 28	Ascension Day	Su 28	2nd S. a. Trinity
Th 29		Sa 28		Su 29	4th S. in Lent	W 29		F 29		M 29	
F 30				M 30		Th 30		Sa 30		Tu 30	
Sa 31				Tu 31				Su 31	6th S. a. Easter		

1835

July		August		September		October		November		December	
W 1		Sa 1		Tu 1		Th 1		Su 1	20th S. a. Trinity/	Tu 1	
Th 2	The Visitation	Su 2	7th S. a. Trinity	W 2		F 2			All Saints' Day	W 2	
F 3		M 3		Th 3		Sa 3		M 2		Th 3	
Sa 4		Tu 4		F 4		Su 4	16th S. a. Trinity	Tu 3		F 4	
Su 5	3rd S. a. Trinity	W 5		Sa 5		M 5		W 4		Sa 5	
M 6		Th 6		Su 6	12th S. a. Trinity	Tu 6		Th 5		Su 6	2nd S. in Advent
Tu 7		F 7		M 7		W 7		F 6		M 7	
W 8		Sa 8		Tu 8		Th 8		Sa 7		Tu 8	
Th 9		Su 9	8th S. a. Trinity	W 9		F 9		Su 8	21st S. a. Trinity	W 9	
F 10		M 10		Th 10		Sa 10		M 9		Th 10	
Sa 11		Tu 11		F 11		Su 11	17th S. a. Trinity	Tu 10		F 11	
Su 12	4th S. a. Trinity	W 12		Sa 12		M 12		W 11	St. Martin	Sa 12	
M 13		Th 13		Su 13	13th S. a. Trinity	Tu 13		Th 12		Su 13	3rd S. in Advent
Tu 14		F 14		M 14		W 14		F 13		M 14	
W 15		Sa 15		Tu 15		Th 15		Sa 14		Tu 15	
Th 16		Su 16	9th S. a. Trinity	W 16	Ember Day	F 16		Su 15	22nd S. a. Trinity	W 16	Ember Day
F 17		M 17		Th 17		Sa 17		M 16		Th 17	
Sa 18		Tu 18		F 18		Su 18	18th S. a. Trinity	Tu 17		F 18	
Su 19	5th S. a. Trinity	W 19		Sa 19		M 19		W 18		Sa 19	
M 20		Th 20		Su 20	14th S. a. Trinity	Tu 20	Moving day	Th 19		Su 20	4th S. in Advent
Tu 21		F 21		M 21		W 21		F 20		M 21	
W 22		Sa 22		Tu 22		Th 22		Sa 21		Tu 22	
Th 23		Su 23	10th S. a. Trinity	W 23		F 23		Su 22	23rd S. a. Trinity	W 23	
F 24		M 24		Th 24		Sa 24		M 23		Th 24	
Sa 25		Tu 25		F 25		Su 25	19th S. a. Trinity	Tu 24		F 25	Christmas Day
Su 26	6th S. a. Trinity	W 26		Sa 26		M 26		W 25		Sa 26	St. Stephen
M 27		Th 27		Su 27	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 27		Th 26		Su 27	1st S. a. Christm.
Tu 28		F 28		M 28		W 28		F 27		M 28	
W 29		Sa 29		Tu 29	St. Michael and	Th 29		Sa 28		Tu 29	
Th 30		Su 30	11th S. a. Trinity		All Angels	F 30		Su 29	1st S. in Advent	W 30	
F 31		M 31		W 30		Sa 31		M 30		Th 31	

1836

January		February		March		April		May		June	
F 1	New Year's Day	M 1		Tu 1		F 1	Good Friday	Su 1	4th S. a. Easter	W 1	
Sa 2		Tu 2	Candlemas	W 2		Sa 2		M 2		Th 2	Corpus Christi
Su 3	2nd S. a. Christm.	W 3		Th 3		Su 3	Easter Day	Tu 3		F 3	
M 4		Th 4		F 4		M 4	Easter Monday	W 4		Sa 4	
Tu 5		F 5		Sa 5		Tu 5		Th 5		Su 5	1st S. a. Trinity
W 6	Epiphany	Sa 6		Su 6	3rd S. in Lent	W 6		F 6		M 6	
Th 7		Su 7	Sexagesima	M 7		Th 7		Sa 7		Tu 7	
F 8		M 8		Tu 8		F 8		Su 8	5th S. a. Easter	W 8	
Sa 9		Tu 9		W 9	40 Martyrs	Sa 9		M 9		Th 9	
Su 10	1st S. a. Epiphany.	W 10		Th 10		Su 10	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 10		F 10	
M 11		Th 11		F 11		M 11		W 11		Sa 11	
Tu 12		F 12		Sa 12		Tu 12		Th 12	Ascension Day	Su 12	2nd S. a. Trinity
W 13		Sa 13		Su 13	4th S. in Lent	W 13		F 13		M 13	
Th 14		Su 14	Quinquagesima	M 14		Th 14		Sa 14		Tu 14	
F 15		M 15		Tu 15		F 15		Su 15	6th S. a. Easter	W 15	
Sa 16		Tu 16	Shrove Tuesday	W 16		Sa 16		M 16		Th 16	
Su 17	2nd S. a. Epiphany.	W 17	Ash Wednesday	Th 17		Su 17	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 17		F 17	
M 18		Th 18		F 18		M 18		W 18		Sa 18	
Tu 19		F 19		Sa 19		Tu 19	Moving day	Th 19		Su 19	3rd S. a. Trinity
W 20		Sa 20		Su 20	5th S. in Lent	W 20		F 20		M 20	
Th 21		Su 21	1st S. in Lent	M 21		Th 21		Sa 21		Tu 21	
F 22		M 22	St. Peter's Chair	Tu 22		F 22		Su 22	Pentecost	W 22	
Sa 23		Tu 23		W 23		Sa 23		M 23	Pentecost Monday	Th 23	
Su 24	3rd S. a. Epiphany	W 24	Ember Day	Th 24		Su 24	3rd S. a. Easter	Tu 24		F 24	Birth of John Bapt.
M 25		Th 25		F 25	The Annunciation	M 25		W 25	Ember Day	Sa 25	
Tu 26		F 26		Sa 26		Tu 26		Th 26		Su 26	4th S. a. Trinity
W 27		Sa 27		Su 27	Palm Sunday	W 27		F 27		M 27	7 Sleepers
Th 28		Su 28	2nd S. in Lent	M 28		Th 28		Sa 28		Tu 28	
F 29		M 29		Tu 29		F 29	Great Prayer Day	Su 29	Trinity Sunday	W 29	
Sa 30				W 30		Sa 30		M 30		Th 30	
Su 31	Septuagesima			Th 31	Maundy Thursday			Tu 31			

1836

July		August		September		October		November		December	
F 1		M 1		Th 1		Sa 1		Tu 1	All Saints' Day	Th 1	
Sa 2	The Visitation	Tu 2		F 2		Su 2	18th S. a. Trinity	W 2		F 2	
Su 3	5th S. a. Trinity	W 3		Sa 3		M 3		Th 3		Sa 3	
M 4		Th 4		Su 4	14th S. a. Trinity	Tu 4		F 4		Su 4	2nd S. in Advent
Tu 5		F 5		M 5		W 5		Sa 5		M 5	
W 6		Sa 6		Tu 6		Th 6		Su 6	23rd S. a. Trinity	Tu 6	
Th 7		Su 7	10th S. a. Trinity	W 7		F 7		M 7		W 7	
F 8		M 8		Th 8		Sa 8		Tu 8		Th 8	
Sa 9		Tu 9		F 9		Su 9	19th S. a. Trinity	W 9		F 9	
Su 10	6th S. a. Trinity	W 10		Sa 10		M 10		Th 10		Sa 10	
M 11		Th 11		Su 11	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 11		F 11	St. Martin	Su 11	3rd S. in Advent
Tu 12		F 12		M 12		W 12		Sa 12		M 12	
W 13		Sa 13		Tu 13		Th 13		Su 13	24th S. a. Trinity	Tu 13	
Th 14		Su 14	11th S. a. Trinity	W 14		F 14		M 14		W 14	Ember Day
F 15		M 15		Th 15		Sa 15		Tu 15		Th 15	
Sa 16		Tu 16		F 16		Su 16	20th S. a. Trinity	W 16		F 16	
Su 17	7th S. a. Trinity	W 17		Sa 17		M 17		Th 17		Sa 17	
M 18		Th 18		Su 18	16th S. a. Trinity	Tu 18	Moving day	F 18		Su 18	4th S. in Advent
Tu 19		F 19		M 19		W 19		Sa 19		M 19	
W 20		Sa 20		Tu 20		Th 20		Su 20	25th S. a. Trinity	Tu 20	
Th 21		Su 21	12th S. a. Trinity	W 21	Ember Day	F 21		M 21		W 21	
F 22		M 22		Th 22		Sa 22		Tu 22		Th 22	
Sa 23		Tu 23		F 23		Su 23	21st S. a. Trinity	W 23		F 23	
Su 24	8th S. a. Trinity	W 24		Sa 24		M 24		Th 24		Sa 24	
M 25		Th 25		Su 25	17th S. a. Trinity	Tu 25		F 25		Su 25	Christmas Day
Tu 26		F 26		M 26		W 26		Sa 26		M 26	St. Stephen
W 27		Sa 27		Tu 27		Th 27		Su 27	1st S. in Advent	Tu 27	
Th 28		Su 28	13th S. a. Trinity	W 28		F 28		M 28		W 28	
F 29		M 29		Th 29	St. Michael and	Sa 29		Tu 29		Th 29	
Sa 30		Tu 30			All Angels	Su 30	22nd S. a. Trinity	W 30		F 30	
Su 31	9th S. a. Trinity	W 31		F 30		M 31				Sa 31	

1837

January		February		March		April		May		June	
Su 1	New Year's Day	W 1		W 1		Sa 1		M 1		Th 1	
M 2		Th 2	Candlemas	Th 2		Su 2	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 2		F 2	
Tu 3		F 3		F 3		M 3		W 3		Sa 3	
W 4		Sa 4		Sa 4		Tu 4		Th 4	Ascension Day	Su 4	2nd S. a. Trinity
Th 5		Su 5	Quinquagesima	Su 5	4th S. in Lent	W 5		F 5		M 5	
F 6	Epiphany	M 6		M 6		Th 6		Sa 6		Tu 6	
Sa 7		Tu 7	Shrove Tuesday	Tu 7		F 7		Su 7	6th S. a. Easter	W 7	
Su 8	1st S. a. Epiphany.	W 8	Ash Wednesday	W 8		Sa 8		M 8		Th 8	
M 9		Th 9		Th 9	40 Martyrs	Su 9	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 9		F 9	
Tu 10		F 10		F 10		M 10		W 10		Sa 10	
W 11		Sa 11		Sa 11		Tu 11		Th 11		Su 11	3rd S. a. Trinity
Th 12		Su 12	1st S. in Lent	Su 12	5th S. in Lent	W 12		F 12		M 12	
F 13		M 13		M 13		Th 13		Sa 13		Tu 13	
Sa 14		Tu 14		Tu 14		F 14		Su 14	Pentecost	W 14	
Su 15	2nd S. a. Epiphany.	W 15	Ember Day	W 15		Sa 15		M 15	Pentecost Monday	Th 15	
M 16		Th 16		Th 16		Su 16	3rd S. a. Easter	Tu 16		F 16	
Tu 17		F 17		F 17		M 17		W 17	Ember Day	Sa 17	
W 18		Sa 18		Sa 18		Tu 18	Moving day	Th 18		Su 18	4th S. a. Trinity
Th 19		Su 19	2nd S. in Lent	Su 19	Palm Sunday	W 19		F 19		M 19	
F 20		M 20		M 20		Th 20		Sa 20		Tu 20	
Sa 21		Tu 21		Tu 21		F 21	Great Prayer Day	Su 21	Trinity Sunday	W 21	
Su 22	Septuagesima	W 22	St. Peter's Chair	W 22		Sa 22		M 22		Th 22	
M 23		Th 23		Th 23	Maundy Thursday	Su 23	4th S. a. Easter	Tu 23		F 23	
Tu 24		F 24		F 24	Good Friday	M 24		W 24		Sa 24	Birth of John Bapt.
W 25		Sa 25		Sa 25	The Annunciation	Tu 25		Th 25	Corpus Christi	Su 25	5th S. a. Trinity
Th 26		Su 26	3rd S. in Lent	Su 26	Easter Day	W 26		F 26		M 26	
F 27		M 27		M 27	Easter Monday	Th 27		Sa 27		Tu 27	7 Sleepers
Sa 28		Tu 28		Tu 28		F 28		Su 28	1st S. a. Trinity	W 28	
Su 29	Sexagesima			W 29		Sa 29		M 29		Th 29	
M 30				Th 30		Su 30	5th S. a. Easter	Tu 30		F 30	
Tu 31				F 31				W 31			

July		August		September		October		November		December		1837
Sa 1		Tu 1		F 1		Su 1	19th S. a. Trinity	W 1	All Saints' Day	F 1		
Su 2	6th S. a. Trinity/	W 2		Sa 2		M 2		Th 2		Sa 2		
M 3	The Visitation	Th 3		Su 3	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 3		F 3		Su 3	1st S. in Advent	
Tu 4		F 4		M 4		W 4		Sa 4		M 4		
W 5		Sa 5		Tu 5		Th 5		Su 5	24th S. a. Trinity	Tu 5		
Th 6		Su 6	11th S. a. Trinity	W 6		F 6		M 6		W 6		
F 7		M 7		Th 7		Sa 7		Tu 7		Th 7		
Sa 8		Tu 8		F 8		Su 8	20th S. a. Trinity	W 8		F 8		
Su 9	7th S. a. Trinity	W 9		Sa 9		M 9		Th 9		Sa 9		
M 10		Th 10		Su 10	16th S. a. Trinity	Tu 10		F 10		Su 10	2nd S. in Advent	
Tu 11		F 11		M 11		W 11		Sa 11	St. Martin	M 11		
W 12		Sa 12		Tu 12		Th 12		Su 12	25th S. a. Trinity	Tu 12		
Th 13		Su 13	12th S. a. Trinity	W 13		F 13		M 13		W 13		
F 14		M 14		Th 14		Sa 14		Tu 14		Th 14		
Sa 15		Tu 15		F 15		Su 15	21st S. a. Trinity	W 15		F 15		
Su 16	8th S. a. Trinity	W 16		Sa 16		M 16		Th 16		Sa 16		
M 17		Th 17		Su 17	17th S. a. Trinity	Tu 17	Moving day	F 17		Su 17	3rd S. in Advent	
Tu 18		F 18		M 18		W 18		Sa 18		M 18		
W 19		Sa 19		Tu 19		Th 19		Su 19	26th S. a. Trinity	Tu 19		
Th 20		Su 20	13th S. a. Trinity	W 20	Ember Day	F 20		M 20		W 20	Ember Day	
F 21		M 21		Th 21		Sa 21		Tu 21		Th 21		
Sa 22		Tu 22		F 22		Su 22	22nd S. a. Trinity	W 22		F 22		
Su 23	9th S. a. Trinity	W 23		Sa 23		M 23		Th 23		Sa 23		
M 24		Th 24		Su 24	18th S. a. Trinity	Tu 24		F 24		Su 24	4th S. in Advent	
Tu 25		F 25		M 25		W 25		Sa 25		M 25	Christmas Day	
W 26		Sa 26		Tu 26		Th 26		Su 26	27th S. a. Trinity	Tu 26	St. Stephen	
Th 27		Su 27	14th S. a. Trinity	W 27		F 27		M 27		W 27		
F 28		M 28		Th 28		Sa 28		Tu 28		Th 28		
Sa 29		Tu 29		F 29	St. Michael and	Su 29	23rd S. a. Trinity	W 29		F 29		
Su 30	10th S. a. Trinity	W 30			All Angels	M 30		Th 30		Sa 30		
M 31		Th 31		Sa 30		Tu 31				Su 31	1st S. a. Christmas	

1838

January		February		March		April		May		June	
M 1	New Year's Day	Th 1		Th 1		Su 1	5th S. in Lent	Tu 1		F 1	
Tu 2		F 2	Candlemas	F 2		M 2		W 2		Sa 2	
W 3		Sa 3		Sa 3		Tu 3		Th 3		Su 3	Pentecost
Th 4		Su 4	5th S. a. Epiphany	Su 4	1st S. in Lent	W 4		F 4		M 4	Pentecost Monday
F 5		M 5		M 5		Th 5		Sa 5		Tu 5	
Sa 6	Epiphany	Tu 6		Tu 6		F 6		Su 6	3rd S. a. Easter	W 6	Ember Day
Su 7	1st S. a. Epiphany.	W 7		W 7	Ember Day	Sa 7		M 7		Th 7	
M 8		Th 8		Th 8		Su 8	Palm Sunday	Tu 8		F 8	
Tu 9		F 9		F 9	40 Martyrs	M 9		W 9		Sa 9	
W 10		Sa 10		Sa 10		Tu 10		Th 10		Su 10	Trinity Sunday
Th 11		Su 11	Septuagesima	Su 11	2nd S. in Lent	W 11		F 11	Great Prayer Day	M 11	
F 12		M 12		M 12		Th 12	Maundy Thursday	Sa 12		Tu 12	
Sa 13		Tu 13		Tu 13		F 13	Good Friday	Su 13	4th S. a. Easter	W 13	
Su 14	2nd S. a. Epiphany.	W 14		W 14		Sa 14		M 14		Th 14	Corpus Christi
M 15		Th 15		Th 15		Su 15	Easter Day	Tu 15		F 15	
Tu 16		F 16		F 16		M 16	Easter Monday	W 16		Sa 16	
W 17		Sa 17		Sa 17		Tu 17		Th 17		Su 17	1st S. a. Trinity
Th 18		Su 18	Sexagesima	Su 18	3rd S. in Lent	W 18		F 18		M 18	
F 19		M 19		M 19		Th 19	Moving day	Sa 19		Tu 19	
Sa 20		Tu 20		Tu 20		F 20		Su 20	5th S. a. Easter	W 20	
Su 21	3rd S. a. Epiphany	W 21		W 21		Sa 21		M 21		Th 21	
M 22		Th 22	St. Peter's Chair	Th 22		Su 22	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 22		F 22	
Tu 23		F 23		F 23		M 23		W 23		Sa 23	
W 24		Sa 24		Sa 24		Tu 24		Th 24	Ascension Day	Su 24	2nd S. a. Trinity / Birth of John Bapt.
Th 25		Su 25	Quinquagesima	Su 25	4th S. in Lent /	W 25		F 25			
F 26		M 26		M 26	The Annunciation	Th 26		Sa 26		M 25	
Sa 27		Tu 27	Shrove Tuesday	Tu 27		F 27		Su 27	6th S. a. Easter	Tu 26	
Su 28	4th S. a. Epiphany	W 28	Ash Wednesday	W 28		Sa 28		M 28		W 27	7 Sleepers
M 29				Th 29		Su 29	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 29		Th 28	
Tu 30				F 30		M 30		W 30		F 29	
W 31				Sa 31				Th 31		Sa 30	

July		August		September		October		November		December		1838
Su 1	3rd S. a. Trinity	W 1		Sa 1		M 1		Th 1	All Saints' Day	Sa 1		
M 2	The Visitation	Th 2		Su 2	12th S. a. Trinity	Tu 2		F 2		Su 2	1st S. in Advent	
Tu 3		F 3		M 3		W 3		Sa 3		M 3		
W 4		Sa 4		Tu 4		Th 4		Su 4	21st S. a. Trinity	Tu 4		
Th 5		Su 5	8th S. a. Trinity	W 5		F 5		M 5		W 5		
F 6		M 6		Th 6		Sa 6		Tu 6		Th 6		
Sa 7		Tu 7		F 7		Su 7	17th S. a. Trinity	W 7		F 7		
Su 8	4th S. a. Trinity	W 8		Sa 8		M 8		Th 8		Sa 8		
M 9		Th 9		Su 9	13th S. a. Trinity	Tu 9		F 9		Su 9	2nd S. in Advent	
Tu 10		F 10		M 10		W 10		Sa 10		M 10		
W 11		Sa 11		Tu 11		Th 11		Su 11	22nd S. a. Trinity / St. Martin	Tu 11		
Th 12		Su 12	9th S. a. Trinity	W 12		F 12				W 12		
F 13		M 13		Th 13		Sa 13		M 12		Th 13		
Sa 14		Tu 14		F 14		Su 14	18th S. a. Trinity	Tu 13		F 14		
Su 15	5th S. a. Trinity	W 15		Sa 15		M 15		W 14		Sa 15		
M 16		Th 16		Su 16	14th S. a. Trinity	Tu 16	Moving day	Th 15		Su 16	3rd S. in Advent	
Tu 17		F 17		M 17		W 17		F 16		M 17		
W 18		Sa 18		Tu 18		Th 18		Sa 17		Tu 18		
Th 19		Su 19	10th S. a. Trinity	W 19	Ember Day	F 19		Su 18	23rd S. a. Trinity	W 19	Ember Day	
F 20		M 20		Th 20		Sa 20		M 19		Th 20		
Sa 21		Tu 21		F 21		Su 21	19th S. a. Trinity	Tu 20		F 21		
Su 22	6th S. a. Trinity	W 22		Sa 22		M 22		W 21		Sa 22		
M 23		Th 23		Su 23	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 23		Th 22		Su 23	4th S. in Advent	
Tu 24		F 24		M 24		W 24		F 23		M 24		
W 25		Sa 25		Tu 25		Th 25		Sa 24		Tu 25	Christmas Day	
Th 26		Su 26	11th S. a. Trinity	W 26		F 26		Su 25	24th S. a. Trinity	W 26	St. Stephen	
F 27		M 27		Th 27		Sa 27		M 26		Th 27		
Sa 28		Tu 28		F 28		Su 28	20th S. a. Trinity	Tu 27		F 28		
Su 29	7th S. a. Trinity	W 29		Sa 29	St. Michael and All Angels	M 29		W 28		Sa 29		
M 30		Th 30				Tu 30		Th 29		Su 30	1st S. a. Christmas	
Tu 31		F 31		Su 30	16th S. a. Trinity	W 31		F 30		M 31		

1839

January		February		March		April		May		June	
Tu 1	New Year's Day	F 1		F 1		M 1	Easter Monday	W 1		Sa 1	
W 2		Sa 2	Candlemas	Sa 2		Tu 2		Th 2		Su 2	1st S. a. Trinity
Th 3		Su 3	Sexagesima	Su 3	3rd S. in Lent	W 3		F 3		M 3	
F 4		M 4		M 4		Th 4		Sa 4		Tu 4	
Sa 5		Tu 5		Tu 5		F 5		Su 5	5th S. a. Easter	W 5	
Su 6	Epiphany	W 6		W 6		Sa 6		M 6		Th 6	
M 7		Th 7		Th 7		Su 7	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 7		F 7	
Tu 8		F 8		F 8		M 8		W 8		Sa 8	
W 9		Sa 9		Sa 9	40 Martyrs	Tu 9		Th 9	Ascension Day	Su 9	2nd S. a. Trinity
Th 10		Su 10	Quinquagesima	Su 10	4th S. in Lent	W 10		F 10		M 10	
F 11		M 11		M 11		Th 11		Sa 11		Tu 11	
Sa 12		Tu 12	Shrove Tuesday	Tu 12		F 12		Su 12	6th S. a. Easter	W 12	
Su 13	1st S. a. Epiphany.	W 13	Ash Wednesday	W 13		Sa 13		M 13		Th 13	
M 14		Th 14		Th 14		Su 14	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 14		F 14	
Tu 15		F 15		F 15		M 15		W 15		Sa 15	
W 16		Sa 16		Sa 16		Tu 16	Moving day	Th 16		Su 16	3rd S. a. Trinity
Th 17		Su 17	1st S. in Lent	Su 17	5th S. in Lent	W 17		F 17		M 17	
F 18		M 18		M 18		Th 18		Sa 18		Tu 18	
Sa 19		Tu 19		Tu 19		F 19		Su 19	Pentecost	W 19	
Su 20	2nd S. a. Epiphany.	W 20	Ember Day	W 20		Sa 20		M 20	Pentecost Monday	Th 20	
M 21		Th 21		Th 21		Su 21	3rd S. a. Easter	Tu 21		F 21	
Tu 22		F 22	St. Peter's Chair	F 22		M 22		W 22	Ember Day	Sa 22	
W 23		Sa 23		Sa 23		Tu 23		Th 23		Su 23	4th S. a. Trinity
Th 24		Su 24	2nd S. in Lent	Su 24	Palm Sunday	W 24		F 24		M 24	Birth of John Bapt.
F 25		M 25		M 25	The Annunciation	Th 25		Sa 25		Tu 25	
Sa 26		Tu 26		Tu 26		F 26	Great Prayer Day	Su 26	Trinity Sunday	W 26	
Su 27	Septuagesima	W 27		W 27		Sa 27		M 27		Th 27	7 Sleepers
M 28		Th 28		Th 28	Maundy Thursday	Su 28	4th S. a. Easter	Tu 28		F 28	
Tu 29				F 29	Good Friday	M 29		W 29		Sa 29	
W 30				Sa 30		Tu 30		Th 30	Corpus Christi	Su 30	5th S. a. Trinity
Th 31				Su 31	Easter Day			F 31			

1839

July		August		September		October		November		December	
M 1		Th 1		Su 1	14th S. a. Trinity	Tu 1		F 1	All Saints' Day	Su 1	1st S. in Advent
Tu 2	The Visitation	F 2		M 2		W 2		Sa 2		M 2	
W 3		Sa 3		Tu 3		Th 3		Su 3	23rd S. a. Trinity	Tu 3	
Th 4		Su 4	10th S. a. Trinity	W 4		F 4		M 4		W 4	
F 5		M 5		Th 5		Sa 5		Tu 5		Th 5	
Sa 6		Tu 6		F 6		Su 6	19th S. a. Trinity	W 6		F 6	
Su 7	6th S. a. Trinity	W 7		Sa 7		M 7		Th 7		Sa 7	
M 8		Th 8		Su 8	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 8		F 8		Su 8	2nd S. in Advent
Tu 9		F 9		M 9		W 9		Sa 9		M 9	
W 10		Sa 10		Tu 10		Th 10		Su 10	24th S. a. Trinity	Tu 10	
Th 11		Su 11	11th S. a. Trinity	W 11		F 11		M 11	St. Martin	W 11	
F 12		M 12		Th 12		Sa 12		Tu 12		Th 12	
Sa 13		Tu 13		F 13		Su 13	20th S. a. Trinity	W 13		F 13	
Su 14	7th S. a. Trinity	W 14		Sa 14		M 14		Th 14		Sa 14	
M 15		Th 15		Su 15	16th S. a. Trinity	Tu 15	Moving day	F 15		Su 15	3rd S. in Advent
Tu 16		F 16		M 16		W 16		Sa 16		M 16	
W 17		Sa 17		Tu 17		Th 17		Su 17	25th S. a. Trinity	Tu 17	
Th 18		Su 18	12th S. a. Trinity	W 18	Ember Day	F 18		M 18		W 18	Ember Day
F 19		M 19		Th 19		Sa 19		Tu 19		Th 19	
Sa 20		Tu 20		F 20		Su 20	21st S. a. Trinity	W 20		F 20	
Su 21	8th S. a. Trinity	W 21		Sa 21		M 21		Th 21		Sa 21	
M 22		Th 22		Su 22	17th S. a. Trinity	Tu 22		F 22		Su 22	4th S. in Advent
Tu 23		F 23		M 23		W 23		Sa 23		M 23	
W 24		Sa 24		Tu 24		Th 24		Su 24	26th S. a. Trinity	Tu 24	
Th 25		Su 25	13th S. a. Trinity	W 25		F 25		M 25		W 25	Christmas Day
F 26		M 26		Th 26		Sa 26		Tu 26		Th 26	St. Stephen
Sa 27		Tu 27		F 27		Su 27	22nd S. a. Trinity	W 27		F 27	
Su 28	9th S. a. Trinity	W 28		Sa 28		M 28		Th 28		Sa 28	
M 29		Th 29		Su 29	18th S. a. Trinity/	Tu 29		F 29		Su 29	1st S. a. Christmas
Tu 30		F 30			St. Michael and	W 30		Sa 30		M 30	
W 31		Sa 31		M 30	All Angels	Th 31				Tu 31	

1840

January		February		March		April		May		June	
W 1	New Year's Day	Sa 1		Su 1	Quinquagesima	W 1		F 1		M 1	
Th 2		Su 2	4th S. a. Epiphany/ Candlemas	M 2		Th 2		Sa 2		Tu 2	
F 3				Tu 3	Shrove Tuesday	F 3		Su 3	2nd S. a. Easter	W 3	
Sa 4		M 3		W 4	Ash Wednesday	Sa 4		M 4		Th 4	
Su 5	2nd S. a. Christm.	Tu 4		Th 5		Su 5	5th S. in Lent	Tu 5		F 5	
M 6	Epiphany	W 5		F 6		M 6		W 6		Sa 6	
Tu 7		Th 6		Sa 7		Tu 7		Th 7		Su 7	Pentecost
W 8		F 7		Su 8	1st S. in Lent	W 8		F 8		M 8	Pentecost Monday
Th 9		Sa 8		M 9	40 Martyrs	Th 9		Sa 9		Tu 9	
F 10		Su 9	5th S. a. Epiphany	Tu 10		F 10		Su 10	3rd S. a. Easter	W 10	Ember Day
Sa 11		M 10		W 11	Ember Day	Sa 11		M 11		Th 11	
Su 12	1st S. a. Epiphany.	Tu 11		Th 12		Su 12	Palm Sunday	Tu 12		F 12	
M 13		W 12		F 13		M 13		W 13		Sa 13	
Tu 14		Th 13		Sa 14		Tu 14		Th 14		Su 14	Trinity Sunday
W 15		F 14		Su 15	2nd S. in Lent	W 15		F 15	Great Prayer Day	M 15	
Th 16		Sa 15		M 16		Th 16	Maundy Thursday	Sa 16		Tu 16	
F 17		Su 16	Septuagesima	Tu 17		F 17	Good Friday	Su 17	4th S. a. Easter	W 17	
Sa 18		M 17		W 18		Sa 18		M 18		Th 18	Corpus Christi
Su 19	2nd S. a. Epiphany.	Tu 18		Th 19		Su 19	Easter Day	Tu 19		F 19	
M 20		W 19		F 20		M 20	Easter Monday	W 20		Sa 20	
Tu 21		Th 20		Sa 21		Tu 21		Th 21		Su 21	1st S. a. Trinity
W 22		F 21		Su 22	3rd S. in Lent	W 22		F 22		M 22	
Th 23		Sa 22	St. Peter's Chair	M 23		Th 23	Moving day	Sa 23		Tu 23	
F 24		Su 23	Sexagesima	Tu 24		F 24		Su 24	5th S. a. Easter	W 24	Birth of John Bapt.
Sa 25		M 24		W 25	The Annunciation	Sa 25		M 25		Th 25	
Su 26	3rd S. a. Epiphany	Tu 25		Th 26		Su 26	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 26		F 26	
M 27		W 26		F 27		M 27		W 27		Sa 27	7 Sleepers
Tu 28		Th 27		Sa 28		Tu 28		Th 28	Ascension Day	Su 28	2nd S. a. Trinity
W 29		F 28		Su 29	4th S. in Lent	W 29		F 29		M 29	
Th 30		Sa 29		M 30		Th 30		Sa 30		Tu 30	
F 31				Tu 31				Su 31	6th S. a. Easter		

1840

July		August		September		October		November		December	
W 1		Sa 1		Tu 1		Th 1		Su 1	20th S. a. Trinity/	Tu 1	
Th 2	The Visitation	Su 2	7th S. a. Trinity	W 2		F 2			All Saints' Day	W 2	
F 3		M 3		Th 3		Sa 3		M 2		Th 3	
Sa 4		Tu 4		F 4		Su 4	16th S. a. Trinity	Tu 3		F 4	
Su 5	3rd S. a. Trinity	W 5		Sa 5		M 5		W 4		Sa 5	
M 6		Th 6		Su 6	12th S. a. Trinity	Tu 6		Th 5		Su 6	2nd S. in Advent
Tu 7		F 7		M 7		W 7		F 6		M 7	
W 8		Sa 8		Tu 8		Th 8		Sa 7		Tu 8	
Th 9		Su 9	8th S. a. Trinity	W 9		F 9		Su 8	21st S. a. Trinity	W 9	
F 10		M 10		Th 10		Sa 10		M 9		Th 10	
Sa 11		Tu 11		F 11		Su 11	17th S. a. Trinity	Tu 10		F 11	
Su 12	4th S. a. Trinity	W 12		Sa 12		M 12		W 11	St. Martin	Sa 12	
M 13		Th 13		Su 13	13th S. a. Trinity	Tu 13		Th 12		Su 13	3rd S. in Advent
Tu 14		F 14		M 14		W 14		F 13		M 14	
W 15		Sa 15		Tu 15		Th 15		Sa 14		Tu 15	
Th 16		Su 16	9th S. a. Trinity	W 16	Ember Day	F 16		Su 15	22nd S. a. Trinity	W 16	Ember Day
F 17		M 17		Th 17		Sa 17		M 16		Th 17	
Sa 18		Tu 18		F 18		Su 18	18th S. a. Trinity	Tu 17		F 18	
Su 19	5th S. a. Trinity	W 19		Sa 19		M 19		W 18		Sa 19	
M 20		Th 20		Su 20	14th S. a. Trinity	Tu 20	Moving day	Th 19		Su 20	4th S. in Advent
Tu 21		F 21		M 21		W 21		F 20		M 21	
W 22		Sa 22		Tu 22		Th 22		Sa 21		Tu 22	
Th 23		Su 23	10th S. a. Trinity	W 23		F 23		Su 22	23rd S. a. Trinity	W 23	
F 24		M 24		Th 24		Sa 24		M 23		Th 24	
Sa 25		Tu 25		F 25		Su 25	19th S. a. Trinity	Tu 24		F 25	Christmas Day
Su 26	6th S. a. Trinity	W 26		Sa 26		M 26		W 25		Sa 26	St. Stephen
M 27		Th 27		Su 27	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 27		Th 26		Su 27	1st S. a. Christmas
Tu 28		F 28		M 28		W 28		F 27		M 28	
W 29		Sa 29		Tu 29	St. Michael and	Th 29		Sa 28		Tu 29	
Th 30		Su 30	11th S. a. Trinity		All Angels	F 30		Su 29	1st S. in Advent	W 30	
F 31		M 31		W 30		Sa 31		M 30		Th 31	

1841

January		February		March		April		May		June	
F 1	New Year's Day	M 1		M 1		Th 1		Sa 1		Tu 1	
Sa 2		Tu 2	Candlemas	Tu 2		F 2		Su 2	3rd S. a. Easter	W 2	Ember Day
Su 3	2nd S. a. Christm.	W 3		W 3	Ember Day	Sa 3		M 3		Th 3	
M 4		Th 4		Th 4		Su 4	Palm Sunday	Tu 4		F 4	
Tu 5		F 5		F 5		M 5		W 5		Sa 5	
W 6	Epiphany	Sa 6		Sa 6		Tu 6		Th 6		Su 6	Trinity Sunday
Th 7		Su 7	Septuagesima	Su 7	2nd S. in Lent	W 7		F 7	Great Prayer Day	M 7	
F 8		M 8		M 8		Th 8	Maundy Thursday	Sa 8		Tu 8	
Sa 9		Tu 9		Tu 9	40 Martyrs	F 9	Good Friday	Su 9	4th S. a. Easter	W 9	
Su 10	1st S. a. Epiphany.	W 10		W 10		Sa 10		M 10		Th 10	Corpus Christi
M 11		Th 11		Th 11		Su 11	Easter Day	Tu 11		F 11	
Tu 12		F 12		F 12		M 12	Easter Monday	W 12		Sa 12	
W 13		Sa 13		Sa 13		Tu 13		Th 13		Su 13	1st S. a. Trinity
Th 14		Su 14	Sexagesima	Su 14	3rd S. in Lent	W 14		F 14		M 14	
F 15		M 15		M 15		Th 15		Sa 15		Tu 15	
Sa 16		Tu 16		Tu 16		F 16		Su 16	5th S. a. Easter	W 16	
Su 17	2nd S. a. Epiphany.	W 17		W 17		Sa 17		M 17		Th 17	
M 18		Th 18		Th 18		Su 18	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 18		F 18	
Tu 19		F 19		F 19		M 19		W 19		Sa 19	
W 20		Sa 20		Sa 20		Tu 20	Moving day	Th 20	Ascension Day	Su 20	2nd S. a. Trinity
Th 21		Su 21	Quinquagesima	Su 21	4th S. in Lent	W 21		F 21		M 21	
F 22		M 22	St. Peter's Chair	M 22		Th 22		Sa 22		Tu 22	
Sa 23		Tu 23	Shrove Tuesday	Tu 23		F 23		Su 23	6th S. a. Easter	W 23	
Su 24	3rd S. a. Epiphany	W 24	Ash Wednesday	W 24		Sa 24		M 24		Th 24	Birth of John Bapt.
M 25		Th 25		Th 25	The Annunciation	Su 25	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 25		F 25	
Tu 26		F 26		F 26		M 26		W 26		Sa 26	
W 27		Sa 27		Sa 27		Tu 27		Th 27		Su 27	3rd S. a. Trinity / 7 Sleepers
Th 28		Su 28	1st S. in Lent	Su 28	5th S. in Lent	W 28		F 28			
F 29				M 29		Th 29		Sa 29		M 28	
Sa 30				Tu 30		F 30		Su 30	Pentecost	Tu 29	
Su 31	4th S. a. Epiphany			W 31				M 31	Pentecost Monday	W 30	

1841

July		August		September		October		November		December	
Th 1		Su 1	8th S. a. Trinity	W 1		F 1		M 1	All Saints' Day	W 1	
F 2	The Visitation	M 2		Th 2		Sa 2		Tu 2		Th 2	
Sa 3		Tu 3		F 3		Su 3	17th S. a. Trinity	W 3		F 3	
Su 4	4th S. a. Trinity	W 4		Sa 4		M 4		Th 4		Sa 4	
M 5		Th 5		Su 5	13th S. a. Trinity	Tu 5		F 5		Su 5	2nd S. in Advent
Tu 6		F 6		M 6		W 6		Sa 6		M 6	
W 7		Sa 7		Tu 7		Th 7		Su 7	22nd S. a. Trinity	Tu 7	
Th 8		Su 8	9th S. a. Trinity	W 8		F 8		M 8		W 8	
F 9		M 9		Th 9		Sa 9		Tu 9		Th 9	
Sa 10		Tu 10		F 10		Su 10	18th S. a. Trinity	W 10		F 10	
Su 11	5th S. a. Trinity	W 11		Sa 11		M 11		Th 11	St. Martin	Sa 11	
M 12		Th 12		Su 12	14th S. a. Trinity	Tu 12		F 12		Su 12	3rd S. in Advent
Tu 13		F 13		M 13		W 13		Sa 13		M 13	
W 14		Sa 14		Tu 14		Th 14		Su 14	23rd S. a. Trinity	Tu 14	
Th 15		Su 15	10th S. a. Trinity	W 15	Ember Day	F 15		M 15		W 15	Ember Day
F 16		M 16		Th 16		Sa 16		Tu 16		Th 16	
Sa 17		Tu 17		F 17		Su 17	19th S. a. Trinity	W 17		F 17	
Su 18	6th S. a. Trinity	W 18		Sa 18		M 18		Th 18		Sa 18	
M 19		Th 19		Su 19	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 19	Moving day	F 19		Su 19	4th S. in Advent
Tu 20		F 20		M 20		W 20		Sa 20		M 20	
W 21		Sa 21		Tu 21		Th 21		Su 21	24th S. a. Trinity	Tu 21	
Th 22		Su 22	11th S. a. Trinity	W 22		F 22		M 22		W 22	
F 23		M 23		Th 23		Sa 23		Tu 23		Th 23	
Sa 24		Tu 24		F 24		Su 24	20th S. a. Trinity	W 24		F 24	
Su 25	7th S. a. Trinity	W 25		Sa 25		M 25		Th 25		Sa 25	Christmas Day
M 26		Th 26		Su 26	16th S. a. Trinity	Tu 26		F 26		Su 26	St. Stephen
Tu 27		F 27		M 27		W 27		Sa 27		M 27	
W 28		Sa 28		Tu 28		Th 28		Su 28	1st S. in Advent	Tu 28	
Th 29		Su 29	12th S. a. Trinity	W 29	St. Michael and	F 29		M 29		W 29	
F 30		M 30			All Angels	Sa 30		Tu 30		Th 30	
Sa 31		Tu 31		Th 30		Su 31	21st S. a. Trinity			F 31	

January		February		March		April		May		June		1842
Sa 1	New Year's Day	Tu 1		Tu 1		F 1		Su 1	5th S. a. Easter	W 1		
Su 2	2nd S. a. Christm.	W 2	Candlemas	W 2		Sa 2		M 2		Th 2		
M 3		Th 3		Th 3		Su 3	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 3		F 3		
Tu 4		F 4		F 4		M 4		W 4		Sa 4		
W 5		Sa 5		Sa 5		Tu 5		Th 5	Ascension Day	Su 5	2nd S. a. Trinity	
Th 6	Epiphany	Su 6	Quinquagesima	Su 6	4th S. in Lent	W 6		F 6		M 6		
F 7		M 7		M 7		Th 7		Sa 7		Tu 7		
Sa 8		Tu 8	Shrove Tuesday	Tu 8		F 8		Su 8	6th S. a. Easter	W 8		
Su 9	1st S. a. Epiphany.	W 9	Ash Wednesday	W 9	40 Martyrs	Sa 9		M 9		Th 9		
M 10		Th 10		Th 10		Su 10	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 10		F 10		
Tu 11		F 11		F 11		M 11		W 11		Sa 11		
W 12		Sa 12		Sa 12		Tu 12		Th 12		Su 12	3rd S. a. Trinity	
Th 13		Su 13	1st S. in Lent	Su 13	5th S. in Lent	W 13		F 13		M 13		
F 14		M 14		M 14		Th 14		Sa 14		Tu 14		
Sa 15		Tu 15		Tu 15		F 15		Su 15	Pentecost	W 15		
Su 16	2nd S. a. Epiphany.	W 16		W 16		Sa 16		M 16	Pentecost Monday	Th 16		
M 17		Th 17		Th 17		Su 17	3rd S. a. Easter	Tu 17		F 17		
Tu 18		F 18		F 18		M 18		W 18	Ember Day	Sa 18		
W 19		Sa 19		Sa 19		Tu 19	Moving day	Th 19		Su 19	4th S. a. Trinity	
Th 20		Su 20	2nd S. in Lent	Su 20	Palm Sunday	W 20		F 20		M 20		
F 21		M 21		M 21		Th 21		Sa 21		Tu 21		
Sa 22		Tu 22	St. Peter's Chair	Tu 22		F 22	Great Prayer Day	Su 22	Trinity Sunday	W 22		
Su 23	Septuagesima	W 23		W 23		Sa 23		M 23		Th 23		
M 24		Th 24		Th 24	Maundy Thursday	Su 24	4th S. a. Easter	Tu 24		F 24	Birth of John Bapt.	
Tu 25		F 25		F 25	Good Friday /	M 25		W 25		Sa 25		
W 26		Sa 26		Sa 26	The Annunciation	Tu 26		Th 26	Corpus Christi	Su 26	5th S. a. Trinity	
Th 27		Su 27	3rd S. in Lent	Su 27	Easter Day	W 27		F 27		M 27	7 Sleepers	
F 28		M 28		M 28	Easter Monday	Th 28		Sa 28		Tu 28		
Sa 29				Tu 29		F 29		Su 29	1st S. a. Trinity	W 29		
Su 30	Sexagesima			W 30		Sa 30		M 30		Th 30		
M 31				Th 31				Tu 31				

July		August		September		October		November		December		1842
F 1		M 1		Th 1		Sa 1		Tu 1	All Saints' Day	Th 1		
Sa 2	The Visitation	Tu 2		F 2		Su 2	19th S. a. Trinity	W 2		F 2		
Su 3	6th S. a. Trinity	W 3		Sa 3		M 3		Th 3		Sa 3		
M 4		Th 4		Su 4	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 4		F 4		Su 4	2nd S. in Advent	
Tu 5		F 5		M 5		W 5		Sa 5		M 5		
W 6		Sa 6		Tu 6		Th 6		Su 6	24th S. a. Trinity	Tu 6		
Th 7		Su 7	11th S. a. Trinity	W 7		F 7		M 7		W 7		
F 8		M 8		Th 8		Sa 8		Tu 8		Th 8		
Sa 9		Tu 9		F 9		Su 9	20th S. a. Trinity	W 9		F 9		
Su 10	7th S. a. Trinity	W 10		Sa 10		M 10		Th 10		Sa 10		
M 11		Th 11		Su 11	16th S. a. Trinity	Tu 11		F 11	St. Martin	Su 11	3rd S. in Advent	
Tu 12		F 12		M 12		W 12		Sa 12		M 12		
W 13		Sa 13		Tu 13		Th 13		Su 13	25th S. a. Trinity	Tu 13		
Th 14		Su 14	12th S. a. Trinity	W 14		F 14		M 14		W 14	Ember Day	
F 15		M 15		Th 15		Sa 15		Tu 15		Th 15		
Sa 16		Tu 16		F 16		Su 16	21st S. a. Trinity	W 16		F 16		
Su 17	8th S. a. Trinity	W 17		Sa 17		M 17		Th 17		Sa 17		
M 18		Th 18		Su 18	17th S. a. Trinity	Tu 18	Moving day	F 18		Su 18	4th S. in Advent	
Tu 19		F 19		M 19		W 19		Sa 19		M 19		
W 20		Sa 20		Tu 20		Th 20		Su 20	26th S. a. Trinity	Tu 20		
Th 21		Su 21	13th S. a. Trinity	W 21	Ember Day	F 21		M 21		W 21		
F 22		M 22		Th 22		Sa 22		Tu 22		Th 22		
Sa 23		Tu 23		F 23		Su 23	22nd S. a. Trinity	W 23		F 23		
Su 24	9th S. a. Trinity	W 24		Sa 24		M 24		Th 24		Sa 24		
M 25		Th 25		Su 25	18th S. a. Trinity	Tu 25		F 25		Su 25	Christmas Day	
Tu 26		F 26		M 26		W 26		Sa 26		M 26	St. Stephen	
W 27		Sa 27		Tu 27		Th 27		Su 27	1st S. in Advent	Tu 27		
Th 28		Su 28	14th S. a. Trinity	W 28		F 28		M 28		W 28		
F 29		M 29		Th 29	St. Michael and	Sa 29		Tu 29		Th 29		
Sa 30		Tu 30			All Angels	Su 30	23rd S. a. Trinity	W 30		F 30		
Su 31	10th S. a. Trinity	W 31		F 30		M 31				Sa 31		

January		February		March		April		May		June		1843
Su 1	New Year's Day	W 1		W 1	Ash Wednesday	Sa 1		M 1		Th 1		
M 2		Th 2	Candlemas	Th 2		Su 2	5th S. in Lent	Tu 2		F 2		
Tu 3		F 3		F 3		M 3		W 3		Sa 3		
W 4		Sa 4		Sa 4		Tu 4		Th 4		Su 4	Pentecost	
Th 5		Su 5	5th S. a. Epiphany	Su 5	1st S. in Lent	W 5		F 5		M 5	Pentecost Monday	
F 6	Epiphany	M 6		M 6		Th 6		Sa 6		Tu 6		
Sa 7		Tu 7		Tu 7		F 7		Su 7	3rd S. a. Easter	W 7	Ember Day	
Su 8	1st S. a. Epiphany.	W 8		W 8	Ember Day	Sa 8		M 8		Th 8		
M 9		Th 9		Th 9	40 Martyrs	Su 9	Palm Sunday	Tu 9		F 9		
Tu 10		F 10		F 10		M 10		W 10		Sa 10		
W 11		Sa 11		Sa 11		Tu 11		Th 11		Su 11	Trinity Sunday	
Th 12		Su 12	Septuagesima	Su 12	2nd S. in Lent	W 12		F 12	Great Prayer Day	M 12		
F 13		M 13		M 13		Th 13	Maundy Thursday	Sa 13		Tu 13		
Sa 14		Tu 14		Tu 14		F 14	Good Friday	Su 14	4th S. a. Easter	W 14		
Su 15	2nd S. a. Epiphany.	W 15		W 15		Sa 15		M 15		Th 15	Corpus Christi	
M 16		Th 16		Th 16		Su 16	Easter Day	Tu 16		F 16		
Tu 17		F 17		F 17		M 17	Easter Monday	W 17		Sa 17		
W 18		Sa 18		Sa 18		Tu 18		Th 18		Su 18	1st S. a. Trinity	
Th 19		Su 19	Sexagesima	Su 19	3rd S. in Lent	W 19		F 19		M 19		
F 20		M 20		M 20		Th 20	Moving day	Sa 20		Tu 20		
Sa 21		Tu 21		Tu 21		F 21		Su 21	5th S. a. Easter	W 21		
Su 22	3rd S. a. Epiphany	W 22	St. Peter's Chair	W 22		Sa 22		M 22		Th 22		
M 23		Th 23		Th 23		Su 23	1st S. a. Easter	Tu 23		F 23		
Tu 24		F 24		F 24		M 24		W 24		Sa 24	Birth of John Bapt.	
W 25		Sa 25		Sa 25	The Annunciation	Tu 25		Th 25	Ascension Day	Su 25	2nd S. a. Trinity	
Th 26		Su 26	Quinquagesima	Su 26	4th S. in Lent	W 26		F 26		M 26		
F 27		M 27		M 27		Th 27		Sa 27		Tu 27	7 Sleepers	
Sa 28		Tu 28	Shrove Tuesday	Tu 28		F 28		Su 28	6th S. a. Easter	W 28		
Su 29	4th S. a. Epiphany			W 29		Sa 29		M 29		Th 29		
M 30				Th 30		Su 30	2nd S. a. Easter	Tu 30		F 30		
Tu 31				F 31				W 31				

July		August		September		October		November		December		1843
Sa 1		Tu 1		F 1		Su 1	16th S. a. Trinity	W 1	All Saints' Day	F 1		
Su 2	3rd S. a. Trinity/	W 2		Sa 2		M 2		Th 2		Sa 2		
M 3	The Visitation	Th 3		Su 3	12th S. a. Trinity	Tu 3		F 3		Su 3	1st S. in Advent	
Tu 4		F 4		M 4		W 4		Sa 4		M 4		
W 5		Sa 5		Tu 5		Th 5		Su 5	21st S. a. Trinity	Tu 5		
Th 6		Su 6	8th S. a. Trinity	W 6		F 6		M 6		W 6		
F 7		M 7		Th 7		Sa 7		Tu 7		Th 7		
Sa 8		Tu 8		F 8		Su 8	17th S. a. Trinity	W 8		F 8		
Su 9	4th S. a. Trinity	W 9		Sa 9		M 9		Th 9		Sa 9		
M 10		Th 10		Su 10	13th S. a. Trinity	Tu 10		F 10		Su 10	2nd S. in Advent	
Tu 11		F 11		M 11		W 11		Sa 11	St. Martin	M 11		
W 12		Sa 12		Tu 12		Th 12		Su 12	22nd S. a. Trinity	Tu 12		
Th 13		Su 13	9th S. a. Trinity	W 13		F 13		M 13		W 13		
F 14		M 14		Th 14		Sa 14		Tu 14		Th 14		
Sa 15		Tu 15		F 15		Su 15	18th S. a. Trinity	W 15		F 15		
Su 16	5th S. a. Trinity	W 16		Sa 16		M 16		Th 16		Sa 16		
M 17		Th 17		Su 17	14th S. a. Trinity	Tu 17	Moving day	F 17		Su 17	3rd S. in Advent	
Tu 18		F 18		M 18		W 18		Sa 18		M 18		
W 19		Sa 19		Tu 19		Th 19		Su 19	23rd S. a. Trinity	Tu 19		
Th 20		Su 20	10th S. a. Trinity	W 20	Ember Day	F 20		M 20		W 20	Ember Day	
F 21		M 21		Th 21		Sa 21		Tu 21		Th 21		
Sa 22		Tu 22		F 22		Su 22	19th S. a. Trinity	W 22		F 22		
Su 23	6th S. a. Trinity	W 23		Sa 23		M 23		Th 23		Sa 23		
M 24		Th 24		Su 24	15th S. a. Trinity	Tu 24		F 24		Su 24	4th S. in Advent	
Tu 25		F 25		M 25		W 25		Sa 25		M 25	Christmas Day	
W 26		Sa 26		Tu 26		Th 26		Su 26	24th S. a. Trinity	Tu 26	St. Stephen	
Th 27		Su 27	11th S. a. Trinity	W 27		F 27		M 27		W 27		
F 28		M 28		Th 28		Sa 28		Tu 28		Th 28		
Sa 29		Tu 29		F 29	St. Michael and	Su 29	20th S. a. Trinity	W 29		F 29		
Su 30	7th S. a. Trinity	W 30			All Angels	M 30		Th 30		Sa 30		
M 31		Th 31		Sa 30		Tu 31				Su 31	1st S. a. Christmas	

CONCORDANCE

From *Søren Kierkegaards Papirer*
to *Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks*

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Concordance

Pap.	*KJN*	*Pap.*	*KJN*	*Pap.*	*KJN*	*Pap.*	*KJN*
I C 19	Not1:1		Not1:7.l	I C 52	Not2:1	II C 14	Not4:5
	Not1:2		Not1:7.m	I C 53	Not2:2.b		Not4:5.a
	Not1:2.a		Not1:7.n	I C 54	Not2:3		Not4:5.b
	Not1:2.b		Not1:7.o	I C 55	Not2:4	II C 15	Not4:5.c
	Not1:2.c		Not1:7.p	I C 56	Not2:5	II C 16	Not4:5.d
	Not1:2.d		Not1:7.q	I C 57	Not2:6	II C 17	Not4:6
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